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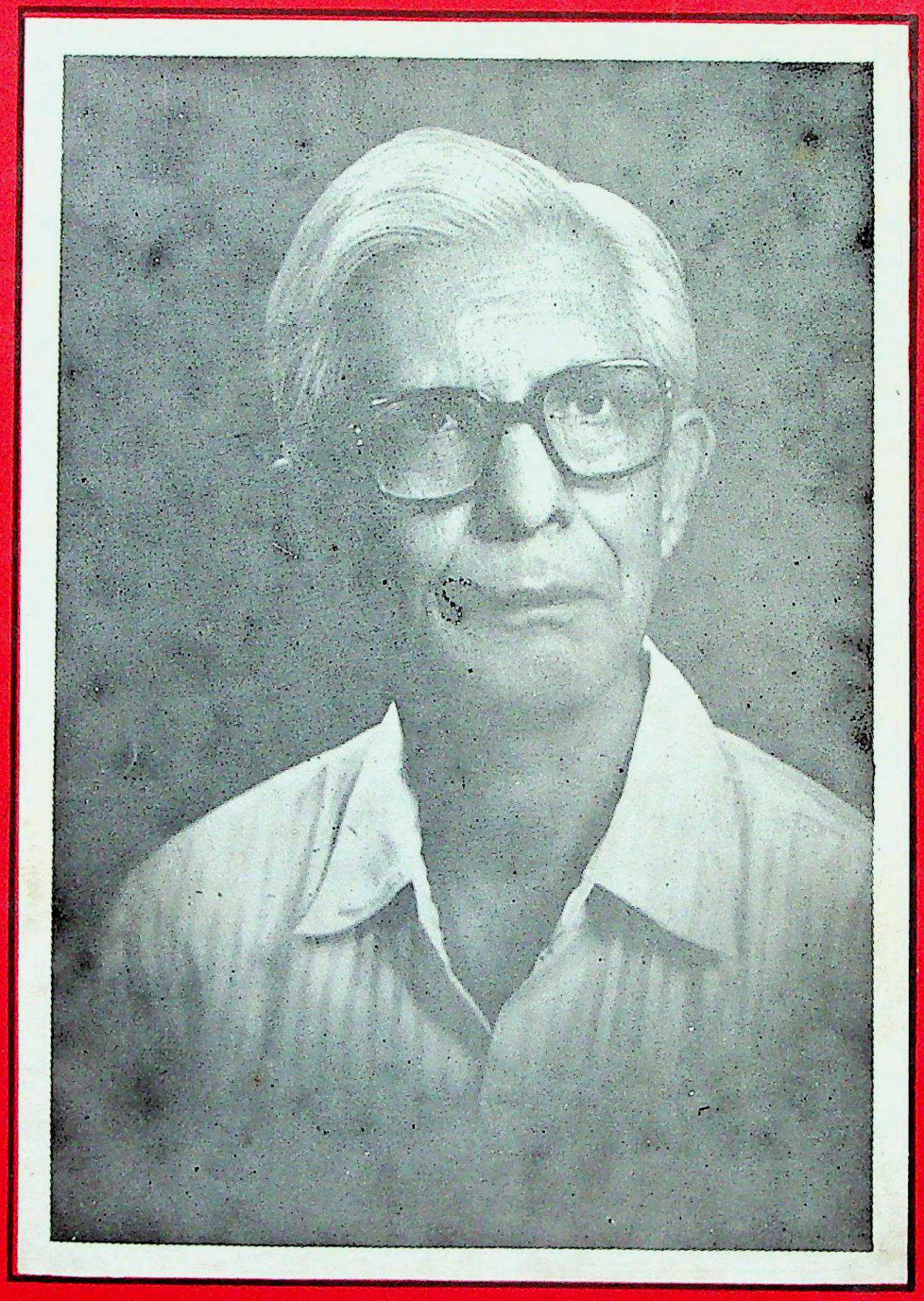

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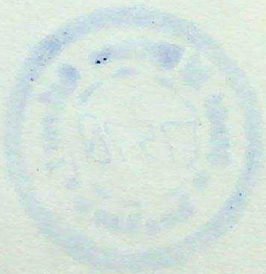

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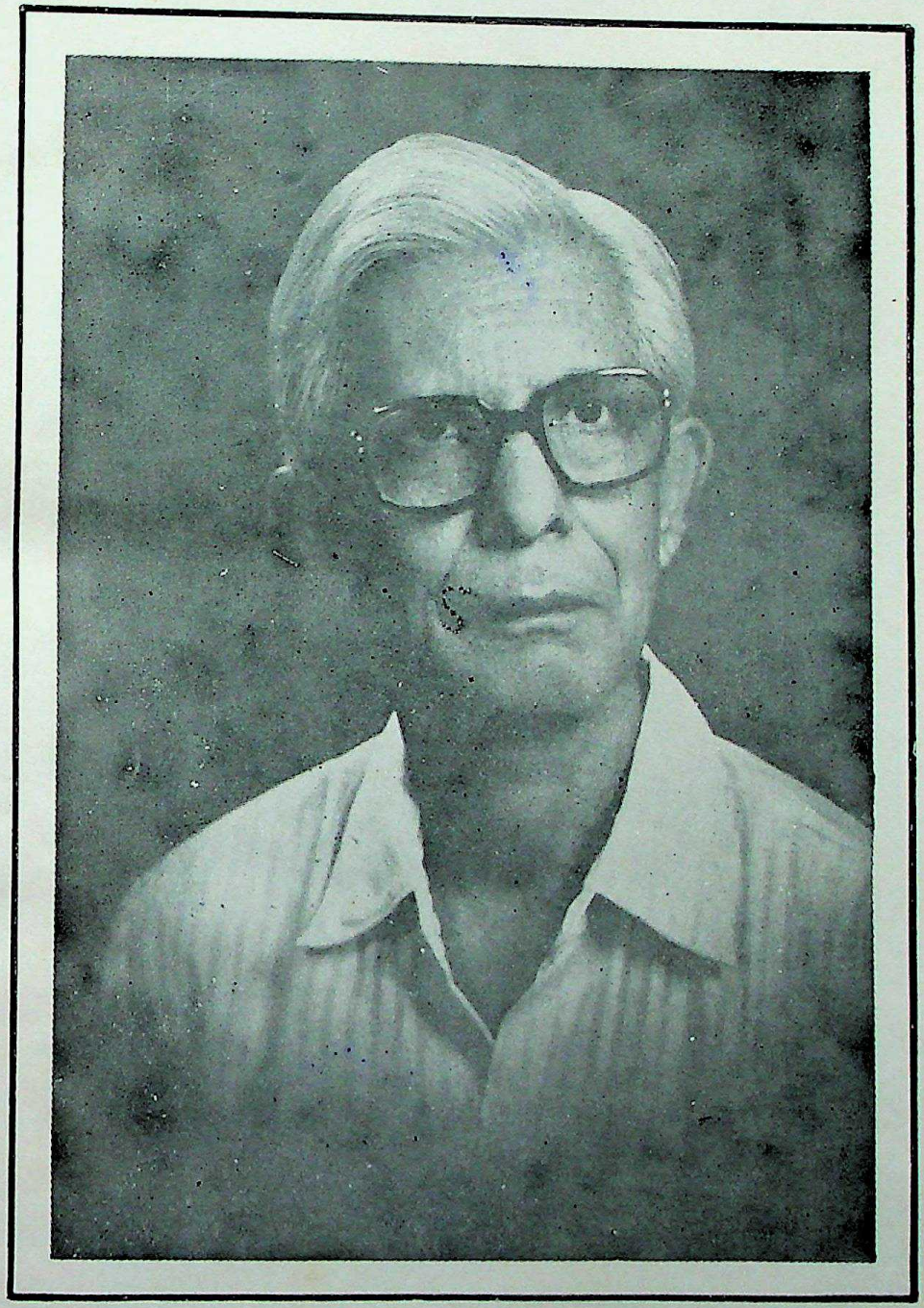

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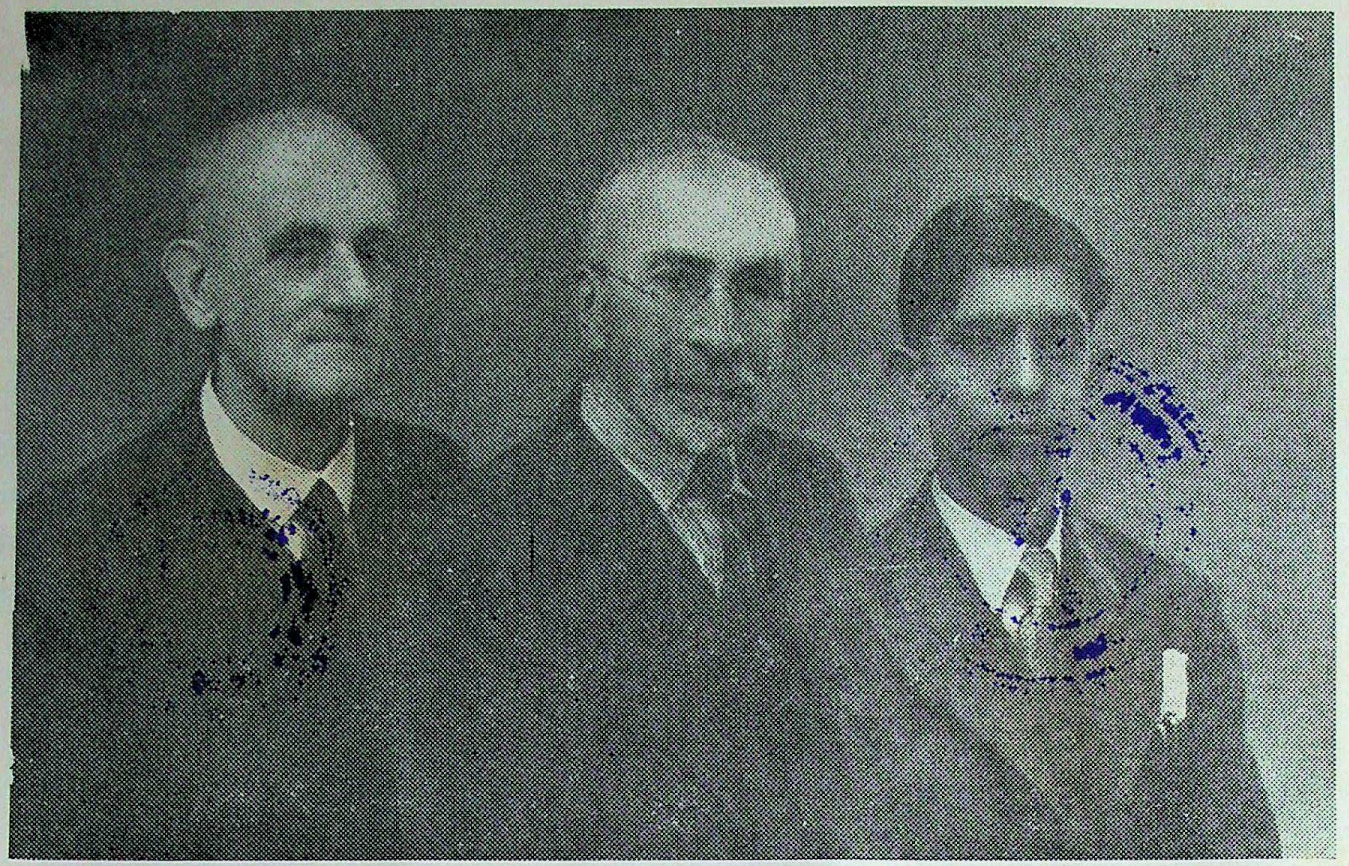

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HISTORY AND CULTURE

B. P. SINHA FELICITATION VOLUME

CHIEF EDITOR

DR. BHAGWANT SAHAI

Head Dept. of Ancient Indian
History and Archaeology,
Patna University.

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Chief Editor's Note

Dr. Bindeshwari Prasad Sinha (popularly known by his abbreviated name as Dr. B.P. Sinha) retired after forty years from the active service of the Patna University on the 31st January 1981. He had served the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology for over thirty-one years and was the Head of the Department for about twenty-two years.

I had the privilege of coming into contact with Dr. B.P. Sinha some thirty-three years back when I was admitted as a postgraduate student in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology (then known as the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture). Dr. A. S. Altekar was then the Head of the Department and Dr. B. Upadhyaya a lecturer; another lecturer Dr. Madan Mohan Singh had joined the Department only a few days earlier. Dr B. P. Sinha, who was then a Reader in the Department, had already made a mark as a very successful and competent teacher. Political history and polity were though his favourite subjects, he taught us ancient Indian architecture as well with equal ease and felicity, a subject regarded as sufficiently tough by the student. His lectures were extremely beneficial to the student from the examination point of view, and we, his students, could hardly afford to miss a single word uttered by him in the class room. It was he alone in the Department who went into greater details of every topic he lectured on.

A teacher may be judged by the quality of the teaching imparted by him to his students, the research works produced by him, the research students successfully completing their research works under his supervision, and his students occupying positions of trust and responsibility in their different walks of life. Dr. Sinha was fortunate enough on all these counts. That he was unquestionably a highly efficient teacher, there cannot be two opinions. He also produced a number of quality research works and published numerous research articles in standard research journals, embracing different aspects of ancient Indian history, culture and archaeology. Judged from all standards, his work, '*The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*' the *magnum opus* of the author, will remain a standard work for years to come, and no further judicious research work on the political history of the period will be possible unless one goes through thoroughly this work of Dr. Sinha. '*The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*' has become a part and parcel of Dr. Sinha. As a matter of fact, Dr. Sinha has earned his popularity because of '*The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*' and '*The Decline of*

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the Kingdom of Magadha' has become popular because of Dr. Sinha. His another work, '*Bharatiya Kala ko Bihara ki Dena*', written in Hindi, has proved to be an indispensable reference book to the research students carrying on research on the art and architecture of Bihar. His other important works include '*The Dynastic History of Magadha*', '*Readings in Kautilya's Arthasastra*', '*Archaeology and Art of India*' and *The Comprehensive History of Bihar*', Vol. I (Ancient Period) in two parts edited by him.

When Dr. A.S. Altekar left the Department to take over as the full-fledged Director of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, Dr. Sinha became the Head of the Department and subsequently he was elevated to the post of University Professor in the Department in 1959. He was also the Honorary Director of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar, for about twelve years between 1962 and 1974. As a profound scholar, leading historian and able administrator, Dr. Sinha put in his entire weight for the over all development of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, over the destiny of which he presided. The regime of Dr. Sinha witnessed the discovery of the site of the Vikramasila Mahavihara, founded in the time of the early Pala ruler Dharmapala, at the village Antichak, about 13 kms. North-east of Kahalgaon in the district of Bhagalpur, and also of a very important neolithic site in Bihar at Chirand on the left bank of the Ganges, about 10 kms. to the east of the district headquarters of Chhapra. Other important sites excavated under the over all supervision of Dr. B.P. Sinha included Champanagar near Bhagalpur and Sonepore near Balaganj in the district of Gaya.

Dr. B.P. Sinha supervised and guided over a dozen of his research students on various topics connected with ancient Indian social, economic, religious and political history, polity, Archaeology, art and iconography, leading them to the successful completion of their works. Two of the students, who obtained the degree of Ph.D. under his supervision were foreign nationals, one, a Japanese, Dr. T. Sugimote and another, a Lactian named Dr. Ammone Singhavong, the former having done research in '*Studies in the Jātakas and the Origin of the Bodhisattva Idea*', and the latter on '*The Impact of Early Buddism on Society*'. Other Ph.D. works produced under the supervison are Dr. H.K. Prasad's '*Socio-Economic Condition of Bihar* (185 B.C.-319 A.D)', Dr. B.S. Verma's '*Socio-Religious, Economic and Litertary Condition of Bihar* (cir. 319 A.D.—1000 A.D.),' Dr. (Smt.) S.M Devi's '*Economic Condition of Northern India* (750 A.D.—1200 A.D.),' Dr. M.C.P. Srivastava's '*The History of the Worship of Mother Goddess in Ancient India*' Dr. B.P. Roy's '*Political Ideas and Institutions in the Mahābhārata*', Dr. T.H.D. Sinha's '*The Cultural History from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,' Dr. S.N. Sahay's '*Indian Costume, Coiffure and Ornament*,' Dr. C.P. Sinha's '*Early Sculpture of Bihar (from Early Time to 7th century A.D.)*,' Dr. (Smt.) Nisha Verma's '*Terracottas of Bihar*', Dr. B. Sahai's '*Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities*,' Dr. Dilip Kumar's '*Archaeology of the Muzaffarpur District*,' Dr. B. Kumar's '*Archaeology of the Patna and Nalanda Districts*' and Dr. Kiran

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Nath's thesis written in Hindi entitled '*Buddha kā Āndolana, Uplabdi aur Viphaltāen* (*Buddha ke Jīvana Kāla se Mahāyāna kī Utpatti taka*'.

Dr. B. P. Sinha has the credit of having a number of his students who rose to high positions in various walks of their life. In his biographical sketch of Dr. B. P. Sinha, Dr. Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha has referred only to Dr. Sinha's students of the History Department. But his students of the Department of Ancient Iindian History and Archaeology have also been serving the society in their own way and have risen to greater heights by dint of their merit and labour. Dr. Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha should have known, and he knows, that Dr. B P. Sinha remained attached to the Department of History for a bare seven or eight years and that too in the beginning of his career; whereas for the rest of his career he was associated with the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University. A number of students of Dr. B. P. Sinha, who belonged to the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, have also occupied eminent positions of trust and responsibility. It would, therefore, be worth mentioning about some such students of Dr. Sinha whose names stand out prominently. One of his students, Dr. B. S. Verma has recently retired as Director from the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. It was under his direct supervision that the prestigious neolithic site of Chirand was discovered, and, as is now proved beyond doubt, the neolithic finds of Chirand are in no way inferior to those found at the neolithic site of Burzahom in Kashmir. To him also goes the credit of having exposed an extensive area of the Vikramaśīla monastic complex at the village Antichak in the district of Bhagalpur. Very recently Dr. Verma visited U.K. on an invitation received from there for delivering a lecture on the archaeological excavations conducted by him before a select gathering in the British Museum at London. This is certainly a great laurel having been earned by a student of Dr. Sinha. Another student of Dr. Sinha, Sri Shiva Shankar Kumar had been appointed as a District Education Officer in the prime of his youth some thiry years back; but destiny ordained otherwise and the cruel hand of death snatched him away from among us. Had he survived till this day, he may also have occupied one of the highest posts in the Department of Education, Government of Bihar. Dr. K.C. Jain still another student of Dr. Sinha has been gracing the post of University Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Vikram University, Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, for the last one decade. Recently Dr. R C P. Singh has been elevated to the Post of University Professor in the Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodhgaya. In the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, Dr. B P. Roy, Dr. (Smt.) S.M. Devi, Dr. M.C.P. Srivastava, Dr. O.P. Jaiswal and Dr. S. N. Sahay are soon going to be promoted as University Professors. Dr. T.H.D Sinha has been occupying the post of the Head of the Postgraduate Departments of History and Ancient Indian History and Culture, G D. College, Begusarai, under the L. N. Mithila University, Darbhanga, while Dr. A.K. Sinha is the Head of the Postgraduate Department of

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Ancient Indian History and Asian Studies in the Nalanda College at Biharsharif under the Magadh University, Bodhgaya. Dr. S.S. Sahay has been working as the Head of the Postgraduate Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Postgraduate M. M. College at Ballia under the Gorakhpur University, Uttar Pradesh. In the field of archaeology, Dr. S. R. Roy has been the Director of Archaeology and Museums of Bihar for the last one decade, while Dr. H.K. Prasad is the Director of Patna Museum, Patna. Sri Arjun Joshi has been occupying the post of Director of Archaeology, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneshwar, and Sri Sureshwaranand is the Superintendent of Museums, Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur. While Sri A.D.P. Singh has already retired, Sri R.G. Pandey, Sri Amarendra Nath and Sri D. Bhengra have been serving as the Superintending Archaeologists under the Archaeological Survey of India. Sri L. A. Narain is the Director of Musuems attached to the Parliament House in New Delhi. Sri N. Akhtar and Dr. P.C. Prasad have recently been promoted as Deputy Directors in the Directorate of Archaeology and Musuems, Bihar. One of the students of Dr. Sinha, Sri Kumud Ranjan Jha is very deep in active politics. He is presently a Member of Legislative Assembly and had been a Deputy Minister of Bihar only a few years back. Sri G.K. Chowdhary has been a Registrar of the Bihar Research Society, which is one of the best institutions for the research students in Bihar. Even Dr. Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha has been occupying the post of Assistant Director of the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute at Patna. To this list may also be added the name of the humble editor of the present Felicitation Volume who also happened to be the student of Dr. B.P. Sinha.

Dr. B. P. Sinha shines brilliantly as a lode star in the firmament of the seminar and symposia. One becomes thrilled and charmed and hears him with rapt attention at the speeches delivered by him. All have nothing but praises and appreciations for his rich delivery and erudition.

May God grant Dr. B. P. Sinha a long, happy and healthy life to enable him to serve the cause of education and disseminate the knowledge of ancient Indian history, culture and archaeology !

I would snatch this opportunity to thank the Chairman of the Felicitation Volume Committee Prof. B. B. Lal and the members of the Editorial Advisory Board, Prof. K. D. Bajpai, Sri M. N. Deshpande, Prof. B. N. Puri, Prof. A. M. Shastri, Sri K. V. Soundarajan, Sri B. Ch. Chhabra and Sri K. Deva but for whose valuable suggestions and well wishes it would have been well nigh impossipble to accomplish the task of the publication of the Felicitation Volume. My thanks are also due to Dr. B. S. Verma, formerly Director, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, Dr. (Smt.) S. M. Devi, Dr. M. C. P. Shrivastava, Dr. S. N. Sahay, all Readers in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, and Dr. C. P. Sinha, Assistant Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute

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for rendering help in more than one way in the preparation of the Volume. I would also like to express my thanks to all the scholars whose learned contributions have enriched the present volume. And, at the end, I have also to put on record my thanks to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, M.A. Ph.D., for having spared me from the ordeal of its publication.

Bhagwant Sahai

University Professor and
Head of the Department of
Ancient Indian History and Archaeology,
Patna University,
Patna—5.

Patna, the 12th October, 1986

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Tributes and Messages

I

"Kamalasadan" Dharampeth, Nagpur
27.12.83

My Dear Professor Sinha,

I was very glad to receive your letter of 22.12.83. I am glad to know that your friends are trying to present a Felicitation Volume to you. You fully deserve it as you have done excellent work.

I do not do much work now. I am now in my 91st year and shall soon step into the 92nd. I have been suffering from several ailments due to old age. Recently I went through Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar's Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings. I found that there were certain statements in it which required critical examination. So I wrote half a dozen articles, some of which were published in journals like ABORI, VIJ, JESI etc. last year and some other will be published in Felicitation Volumes. That is all. I have now no subject before me on which I can write. So you will kindly excuse me. I am unable to contribute to your Felicitation Volume.

I wish all success to the attempt of your friends to present a Volume to you. I wish you a long, healthy and prosperous life hereafter also. you have done splendid work in the past. We expect the same from you hereafter also. With kind regards.

V.V. Mirashi
27. 12. 83

II

I am extremely glad that the friend and admirers of prof. B.P. Sinha are bringing out a Felicitation Volume in his honour. I heartily join with them, and wish professor Sinha a long life and further useful work.

H.D. Sankalia
29.12.1983

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III

PROF. B. P. SINHA

I started attending the annual conference of the Indian History Congress from 1945. It was my pleasure to meet the young, dynamic person, called B.P. His typical personality and sweet disposition were two points which I have never forgotten. Physically thin, but mentally strong and alert, B.P. could attract any one who came in his contact.

Since then, during a period of the last four decades, I have been meeting Dr. B.P.Sinha almost every year. He has impressed me not only as an academician, but more so as a man. He is endowed with certain virtues of mind and soul which are generally not met with in the present generation. I have found in him a true follower of the ennobling spirit of Indian culture. He cannot tolerate any disruptive tendencies to besmear the cultural heritage. As a true historian, Dr. Sinha is well conversant with the original sources and his power of argumentation is commendable indeed.

By his field-work conducted at several ancient sites in Bihar, he has brought to light meterial of considerable significance for Indian history.

I wish a long, happy life to Dr. Sinha.

K.D. Bajpai
11. 7. 86

IV

MY FRIEND B.P.

It is a pleasure and privilege to associate myself with the Bihar Puravid Parishad in honouring Prof. B.P. Sinha, an erudite scholar and a personal friend of nearly forty years standing. This short-statured Professor with a frail body and an intelligent look combine in himself the felicity of a scholar and the sobriety of a gentlemen. Coming from a respectable Kayastha family, he lost his father at an early age and was brought up by his mother and paternal care of his maternal uncle. This handicap did not stand in the way of his studies and after a brilliant academic career, he joined the Bihar Educational service class II. Subsequently he left for England and worked at the School of Oriental and African Studies under the late Prof. Barnett for his Doctorate which he successfully obtained. On return to India he joined the Patna College and with the opening of the new Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, he was appointed Deputy to the late Prof. Altekar. He succeeded him on the latter's death and was Professor and Head of the Department for nearly twenty years, a post which he held with distiction.

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My association with Bindeshwari Babu began late in the forties and from the fifties we came closer to each other and this friendship gradually turned into family relationship. Bindeshwari Babu looks upon my wife as his sister-incidentally she hails from Muzaffarpur. Hardly a year passed between 1961 onwards when we did not meet. I had occasion to stay with him several times in Patna and he equally obliged me by agreeing to be my guest with his spouse at Muzaffarpur. This bond of close friendship continues even to this day without any sign of misunderstanding on any count-personal, or ideological. His pleasing manners, cool mind, persuasive outlook and wider perspective have endeared him to his friends, colleagues and students. He has been more than liberal in accomodating so many scholars as possible in his best of knowledge to cross the stream of three letters—Ph.D.

As a scholar, I have seen B.P. progressively marching from one area to another widening his forage for academic pursuits. From "*The Decline of Magadha*", the earliest effort for the doctorate to the last one "*Study of Sculputures in Bihar*"—an Indian Council of Historical Research Project has been a long journey with many side tracks in different directions, "*The Excavations at Chirand*" and other sites to "*The Political Ideology of Kautilya*" and from the "*Seminar on Pottery*" to the "*Numismatics Studies in Ancient India*". He was the Treasurer of the Indian History Congress, as also its Sectional President—Ancient India more than 25 years back. The presidentships of several Societies-Numismatic, Epigraphic and also Archaeological and finally Indian History and Culture are exhibits of his wider learning and varied tastes. Health and family responsibilities, no doubt stood in his way for a long detour abroad as a Visiting Professor, thought he has been out of the Country several times.

Prof. Sinha continues to keep the flame of his academic scholarship burning broadening the vista of historical research. One sincerely hopes that like his old Guru Barnett his interests would not flag. He continues to take interest in his Department which celebrated its Silver Jubilee in 1977. I was invited as the Chief Guest to deliver the address the gathering in which three Vice Chancellors were present. I remember a few shots being fired in the air by the gate crashers. Bindeshwari Babu faced the situation with a cool mind and his presence alone ensured a smooth termination of the function after the addresses of many other speakers. The intruders had quietly slipped away.

May God grant my friend long life, happiness and prosperity and may his students and friends have an opportunity to felicitate him again as an octogenarian.

B.N. Puri
Professor Emeritus,
B 58, Sector A.
Mahanagar, Lucknow.
14-7-86.

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V

DR. B.P. SINHA

I first became familiar with Professor B.P. Sinha through his *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha* and some other writing in journals when I was a post-graduate student some three decades ago and I became a great admirer of his scholarship and erudition even though I might have not found all his views acceptable. Later, after I began my professional career, I got myself acquainted, gradually of course, with his multifarious activities, academic and organisational. As Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology of the Patna University, he built ably the superstructure on the foundations laid by his predecessor Professor A S. Altekar and the Department, which is one of the largest in the country and is known for its valuable work in the field of archaeology, is largely his creation. The *pinḍa* of Professor Sinha is, however, primarily that of a scholar and though over-burdened with his stupendous administrative responsibilities as Head of the Department and Director of Archaeology, Bihar Government, besides those appertaining other offices held by him from time to time, he never ignored, actually could not ignore, his scholarly activities. He has been one of our most dependable writers on early Indian history and archaeology and his writings include *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, which is his *magnum opus*, *Dynastic History of Magadha*, *Readings in Kautilya's Arthasastra*, *Readings in Art and Archaeology*, *Potteries in Ancient India* (edited), *Comprehensive History of Bihar* (edited) and a host of other works and research papers published in research journals and other occasional publications which will continue to be consulted with advantage by all serious students of history and archaeology.

I have been personally in touch with Professor Sinha for nearly last two decades, but had the privilege of knowing him more intimately for over one decade. And whenever, I have an opportunity to go over to Patna, I must visit Professor Sinha as if it were a pilgrimage, and I have always returned better informed after every meeting with him I have always found him an embodiment of humility and simplicity, and his hospitality cannot be caught in words. He is a symbol of simple living and high thinking. I always found him a very tender soul and solicitous of others well-being.

Professor Sinha belongs to the elderly generation of our Indologists and is very active at this age of over seventy, continuing to enrich our knowledge of our great heritage. He has contributed a lot and we have great expectations from him in the years to come, all for our selfish academic greed. May God grant him a long life with good health permitting him to continue to serve the cause of Indological studies.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

19. 7. 86

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Dr. B.P. Sinha—Career and Contributions

—Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha

Dr. B.P. Sinha has been an outstanding alumnus, an eminently successful teacher and a researcher of international reputation He was born at Biharsharif in 1919 and passed the matriculation examination of the Patna University from the Nalanda College, Biharsharief in 1935. He joined the Patna College and obtained 1st class Honours in History in 1939 and topped the list of successful candidates at the M.A. examination in History in 1941. He was a receipient of the University gold-medal. He was Secretary of the Archaeological and Historical Society, Patna College, in 1940-41. He became research scholar in August, 1941, under Dr. S.C. Sarkar. He started his teaching career in July, 1942 at the H.D. Jain College, Arrah when the college was founded. Soon he won the hearts of students by his erudition, excellent delivery and stimulating lectures. In December, 1942 he joined the Rajendra College, Chapra which, unlike the H.D. Jain College then, was a degree college. Here he was warmly welcomed, admired and loved by stalwarts like Sri Shiva Pujan Sahay, Sri Janardan Jha Dwij and Principal Manoranjan Sinha. He came to the B.N. College in November, 1943 where he immediately became very popular with his students and collegues. At that time there were two sections in History in I.A. and students of both sections wanted to profit by Dr. Sinha's lectures. Sri Lakshmeshwar Dayal, who later became Chief Secretary of Bihar Government, was one of his students. Mr. Dayal still speaks of Dr. Sinha's scholarly and immensely clear and profitable talks on both Indian and British history. In July 1944 Dr. Sinha joined Patna College as the juniormost lecturer in the History Department. The History Department of the Patna College, which included then M.A. Classes, was one of the most prestigious departments in the State and some of its staff members like Dr. S.C. Sarkar and Prof. Y J. Taraporewala were recognised as first rate teachers and scholars in the country. Dr. Sinha's first lecture in the Patna College was in the sixth year class. While freshers often shudder to take M.A. classes in the first instance, that also in the department known for giants in the subject, Dr. Sinha immediately created a very good impression on the students. His students of 6th year History of 1944 included Dr. B.P. Majumdar, Retired University Professor of History, Patna University, Late Prof. Radha Krishna Chaudhury and Mr. Nityanand Singh, Ex- I.G., Bihar and they all still recall the sweet flavour and rich contents of his maiden lecture in the Patna College. Dr. Sinha soon became known as a competent and scholarly teacher loved and admired by not only students of History but also

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of those of sister disciplines. He was teaching not only Ancient Indian history, but Ancient World history, World Constitutions and British constitutional history in the M.A. and Honours classes. In those days a teacher had to take 24 lectures per week and one can imagine the hard labour that the frail looking young teacher Dr. Sinha had to undertake to prepare his lectures which were characterised by uptodate contents, flawless language and fine exposition.

Dr. Sinha's research contributions began as early as 1943, when he contributed a paper in the Aligarh session of the Indian History Congress. In 1945 his article 'Market Control in Ancient India' based on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra was published in the Patna University journal. In this article he showed how some of the basic market-control measures in India at the time were visualised by Kautilya in the 4th Century B.C. In view of his growing reputation as a very competent teacher and promising researcher, he was selected as a State scholar for higher studies and resarch in Indian history in 1946 by a selection team heated by Mr, Godbole the then Advisor to the State Government. Dr. Sinha left for London in October, 1946 and worked for Ph.D. degree under the Venerable eminent indologist Dr. L.D. Barnett. He had the good fortune to work with Mr. John Allan, the noted numismatist and Alfred Master, the well-known epigraphist. Dr. Sinha successfully completed his work in record time less than two years and was awarded the Ph.D. degree of the London University on his thesis 'Decline of the Kingdom of Magadh, C 455-1000 A.D.' Much work had been done on the Gupta history by very eminent scholars, Indian and foreign, and considerable progress in the studies of the Guptas is a continuing process since Dr. Sinha's work was published in 1954, but even now it is considered by students and scholars of the subject as an indispensable standard work.

On his return journey he visited many countries of Europe such as France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden and met distinguished indologists and saw famous museums and libraries like those at Lonvre, Florence, Rome, Upsala, Leiden etc. This enriched his vision and perspective of History. He also attended the session of the International Congress of Orientalists held in Paris in 1948 and his paper 'Bearing of numismatics on later imperial Gupta History' was very well received. He visited Baghdad, Malta, Nicosia (Cyprus) and Bahrein and saw ancient monuments and Indian influence in the west Asian and east Mediterranean nations.

He rejointed the Patna College in November, 1948 as lecturer in History. His scholarship and constructive dynamism was soon recognised by the authorities and the educationists. He was elected member of the Council of the Bihar Research Society and was associated as a member of various committees of the Patna College including the committee to meet the Radhakrishnanan University Commission. To continue purposeful contact and

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exchange mutual knowledge and expertise, he organised as its General Secretary the Anushilan Parishad consisting of young scholars like him belonging to different faculties and subjects. A multidisciplinary approach to academic problems was conceived by Dr. Sinha and his colleagues, most of whom had come back like him after training and research abroad.

It was really sad and strange that there was no Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in Bihar, which was in the real sense the epicentre of historical and cultural activities in ancient India. Other States or centres like Culcutta, B.H.U., had separate departments. This lacunae was perceived by the academic gaint Dr. Radhkrishnan, and on his recommendation, the Government of Bihar, under the leadership of scholar Chief Minister Dr. S.K. Sinha, announced the establishment of the Post graduate Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Patna University—separate and independent of the Patna College. Dr. A.S. Altekar, the doyen of this dicip'ine was pitchforked from B.H.U. to Patna. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, then President of the Constituent Assembly, himself took interest in the origin and development of the Department. Dr. Sinha joined the Department as the Reader on 9th February, 1950 but continued to take M.A. classes in History in the Patna College for many years. After Dr. Altekar resigned from the University to join as the full-time Directors of the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Dr. Sinha became the head of the Department and was later appointed as the University Professor from May 1, 1959. He remained on the post till his superannuation on 31st January, 1981. His tenure as University Professor and Head of Department was one of the longest and at the time of retirement he was probably the seniormost professor of Ancient History in the country. In 1959, the U.G.C. selected the Department as one of the five Department in the country to start teaching of archaeology in theory and field-work and the department was renamed as the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology. The Department under the leadership of Dr Sinha began excavations at Antichak in Bhagalpur as the probable site of the Vikramashila University. Dr. Sinha after careful study of all relevant literary and archaeological material came to the hypothesis that Antichak and its surroundings comprise the ruins of the ancient university. Exavations by the Department and later by the Archaeological Survey of India confirm the conclusion of Dr. Sinha. He very soon emerged on the scene as a competent and dynamic archaeologist, It is really amazing that trained and having functioned as a successful historian for some years, Dr. Sinha took to archaeology as fish to water. Many eminent professional archaeologists were surprised to find the historian Dr. Sinha flowering so fast into an experienced archaeologist. This was evident in all conferences and meetings of archaeologists of the country and abroad. Dr. Sinha, often in mild protest, out of humility felt some resentment at being called an archaeologist dwarfing his role as a historian. Dr. Sinha very soon showed his unique position in the relevant academic field as combining the qualities and expertise of both archaeologist and historian. Dr. Sinha was naturally the obvious choice to head the State Directorate of Archaeology

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and Museums, Bihar which had been set up by the State Government on the advice of the Government of India. Dr. Sinha joined as the first Director of the State Archaeology and Museums in March, 1962, on part-time basis. He continued as such till June, 1974 when he resigned from the Directorship. He was also appointed Honorary Director of the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, which he headed for nearly two years. He also worked as a member-secretary of the Regional Records Survey Committee for 3 years. After his retirement, Dr. Sinha was selected Research Fellow of the Indian Council of Historical Research, and also worked as Visiting Professor at the Allahabad University. He was the Visiting Asian Professor to U.S.A. in 1966-67, and also was a member of the Government of India Cultural delegation to Yogoslavia and Bulgaria in 1967.

After having briefly outlined the career of Dr. Sinha it would be natural now to assess his achievements and contributions in the field of Indian historical research and in the field of higher education. Dr Sinha's reputation as an outstanding teacher is unquestioned. Many of his distinguished ex-students who held or hold high posts in universities and in the Government, State or Centre, assert that Dr. Sinha, as an erudite and useful teacher should be placed in the line of legendary Prof. Y.J. Taraporewala. He is by far one of the most respected alumnis and teachers of the Patna University.

Dr. Sinha's researches extending for about 45 years now have been duly acknowledged as throwing new light on the different aspects of ancient Indian history and archaeology. His work 'Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha', immediately after its publication, put Dr. Sinha in the company of first-line scholars of Indian history in the country and outside. After Cunningham, Dr. Sinha was the first scholar who successfully demonstrated the significance of the weight and purity of coinage (on the basis of chemical analysis) on the reconstruction of political history. His analysis showed the errors of Cunningham, and his patient and critical reappraisal of the numismatic evidence of the coinage of the later Imperial Guptas successfully revised the order of succession which dominated the field since the time of Panna Lal and Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri. His painstaking researches enabled him to establish that the Later Guptas belonged to Magadha and mutual relations between the Latter Guptas, the Maukharis, the Gaudas and the Vardhanas were seen in new light. Dr. L.D. Barnett speaking highly of his work observed—"This task he has fulfilled with notable skill and energy carefully checking anew all the evidences furnished by monuments, coins and literature; he has thus been able not only to correct many errors of previous writers but also to throw much new light on dark places of Indian history." Mr. J. Allen, the noted numismatist spoke highly of his 'sound scholarship', 'accuracy in method' and hailed him then in 1948 as 'a historian of unusual promise'—a prophecy that Dr. Sinha has justified. The early history of Sasanka was given an original twist. Dr. Sinha's contributions to the history of the career of Sasanka was instantly recognised by historians and in the Calcutta session of the Indian History Congress

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presided by K.M. Pannikar, a special symposium was held on Sasanka. Dr. R.C. Majumdar, Dr. Radhagovind Basak and Dr. D.C. Sircar were the participants. The youngest but quite effective participant was Dr. B.P. Sinha, who like David held his point strongly against traditional views upheld and strongly reasserted by the then 'Goliaths' of Indian history. He argued strongly and convincingly that while the Pālas belonged to Bengal, Bihar was a more important arena of their activities throughout their existence as a political power than Bengal and that Pataliputra and Mudgagiri had as much rights to be considered as their capitals as any other site in Bengal. His other book '*Dynastic History of Magadha*' shows how he as a seeker after truth, is ready to modify his views in the light of new facts. He is always anxious to be up-to-date in his researches. He was already recognised as a leading historian of ancient Bihar, and contributed more than half a dozen chapters (largest individual contribution) in the '*Bihar Through the ges*,' edited by Sri R.R. Diwakar and a government of Bihar publication. He very well justified his recognition as such when he edited two large volumes of the '*Comprehensive History of Bihar* (ancient period)', published by the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute. For long it would remain both a reference and standard work on the history of Bihar. Dr. Sinha here also has the distinction of being the most prolific contributor Dr. Sinha also wrote extensively in Hindi. His two volume book '*Viśva Sabhyatā Kā Sankshipta Itihāsa*' was one of the earliest attempts to write on main currents of world history from ancient to modern times. This was on the syllabi of many universities. His book on '*Prācīna Bhārat Kā Itihāsa*' in colloboration with Dr. Shiva Swaroop Sahay was well received by students in under-graduate classes. His '*Prācīna Bihar Kā Rajnaitika Itihāsa*' gives to Hindi readers a critical account of political history from 455 to 1200 A.D. His '*Bhāratīye Kalā Ko Bihar Kī Dena*' is a pioneer work in Hindi on art and iconography of ancient Bihar. He used to contribute learned articles in Sahitya, a literary research journal published by the Bihar Hindi Sahitya Sammellan He was on History panel of the Bihar Granth Academy. He was coopted a member on the history Panel, a government of India Committee on Scientific terminology in Hindi.

Dr. Sinha's contributions to the military history of ancient India are particularly noteworthy. He contributed a long article on 'War in Ancient India 600 B.C.—200 A.D. to the UNESCO scheme of preparation of *History of Mankind.* His paper on '*Elephants in ancient Indian army*' and '*Chariotry in ancient Indian army*' were very well received in the academic circles. He had shown rare acumen and analytical mind in the interpretion of the data in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* on ancient Indian polity and economy as far back as in 1945 when he published his article '*Control of Market Kauṭilaya's Arthaśāstra.*' He kept up his interest in the subject by contributing two learned and original articles in J.B.R.S. entitled '*Kauṭiliyans State a Welfare State*' and '*The king in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*'. His further investigations into the different aspects of polity society and religion as described in the *Arthaśāstra* were collected in his book '*Readings in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*', which will remain for many years a readable handbook for students and teachers of ancient Indian polity. He contributed an

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interesting paper on State formation in ancient India at a seminar held in the Allahabad Uiversity.

Dr. Sinha has made significant contributions in the fields of art religion. He is the first scholar who was invited by the Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad to deliver a series of lectures on the contributions of Bihar to Indian art and this has been published by the Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad as '*Bhārtīya Kalā ko Bihar Kī Dena*' and has till now remained the authentic and comprehensive book on history of ancient art in Bihar. He introduced to the learned world some rare antiquities from excavations in Bihar which have been published in the Puratatva, later included in his book *Archaeology and Art in Ancient India.* His analytical paper entitled '*Reappraisal of foreign influence on Mauryan art*' at the international Seminar on International Cultural—interaction held in the Luknow University was highly appreciated. He delivered an illustrated lecture on folk culture on the basis of ancient Terracottas of Bihar at a seminar held in the Allahabad University. His perceptive paper on the *Problems of the study of the terracotas*' at a seminar on Terracottas held in the Patna University in January, 1981 was widely acclaimed. He is at present busy completing the I.C.H.R. research project on '*Art and Architecture of Ancient Bihar*'. Dr. Sinha introduced to the learned world a unique art-treasure in the form of 8 stucco panels describing in sequence the Rāmāyaṇic story carved on the plinth quadrant wall of a Vishnu Temple in Aphasad in the Nawada district'. Stylistically these belong to the later half of the 7th Century A.D. contemporary to Nalanda stuccos. He also wrote on the iconography of Sadyojāta image preserved in the Patna University musem. Dr. Sinha contributed an extremely original articles throwing new light on the inter-religion or inter-sect rivalry in the post-Gupta period on the basis of icons depicting trampling or insulting deities of one religion by those of the others. It opens a new field in the history of religion and iconography. In the study of religious data in Kauṭilya's *Arthasastra* brought out the various layers of religious beliefs and practices in the period.

He has also made significant contributions to the study of social history. He presented a thought provoking paper in the Indian History Congress on the social life as depicted from the dohas of the Siddhas. The theme of his presidential address at the all India seminar held under the auspices of the Punjabi University at Chandigarh was the social life in the 11th and 12th centuries A D. His longish article on '*Resilience of Hindu Society*' has been published in the journal of the Bihar Puravid Parisad. He read a paper on impact of early Buddhism on society at an international seminar held at Bodh Gaya under the auspiceus of the department of Ancient India and Asian Studies, Magadh University, in which he showed how Buddhism could change only a little the contemporary society.

In recent times much attention is being paid to Indian historiography. This aspect also has not escaped the critical attention of Dr. Sinha. His paper included in the book 'Bias

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in Indian historiography' on Race, Region, Religion and Ideology and his presidential address published in "Historical and Political Perspectives' show his grasp on the growing historical literature and the lacunae in it.

Dr. Sinha has made deep impressions as a landing archaeologist in India. He actively participated in the excavations at Kumar conducted by the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute and very soon made a thorough study of Indian archaeological problems and field archaeology. It was, therefore, not unexpected that the U.G.C. selected Patna University as one of five universities in India for Post-graduate teaching in archaeology including field archaeology. Dr. Sinha soon justified the selection and the department of the Ancient Indian History and Archaeology of the Patna University under his dynamic and competent leadership took a front line seat among departments and institutes of archaeology in the country. There had been a long controversy on the site of the famous Vikramashila Ūnivesity. Dr. Sinha after exploring all the proposed sites and taking into account the bearing of the Tibetan literature, came to the conclusion that the village Antichak and neighbouring region near Kahalgaon in the Bhagalpur district contained the ruins of the university. The department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology began the excavations of the Dharohar mound and exposed a large brick Caitya of unique architectural features simulating the Paharpur temple-complex. The Archaeological Survey of India later excavated hundreds monastic cells, huge gateway, guard-rooms and a massive boundary wall. Though the excavations have been suspended before the site was thoroughly cleared, the massive remains paralleling Nalanda University excavated campus have completely vindicated Dr. Sinha's conclusion. In 1962 he was appointed (honorary) Director of State Archaeology and Museums and the first site that the Directorate took up under his stewardship was Chirand on the Ganga in the Saran district. This site proved extermely rewarding and the archaeologist's spade here exposed almost a text-book sequence of cultures from the Neolithic to the Pāla period—a unique test site in Indian archaeology. The excavations exposed five bulding phases of Kushana stuctures probably monastic and yielded a hoard of 80 copper Kushana coins. The Kushana structures of finely burnt bricks represent uptodate the most substantial remains of the Kushana age in Bihar. The comparatively poor Gupta remains have led some scholars to buttress their theory of poorer Gupta architecture in relation to the Kushana grandeur. The N.B P. strata (650—200 B.C.) yielded very five quality and varieties of the N.B P. and some very unique and interesting antiquities such as the terracotta mask. But a much more encouraging and then even provocative was the discovery of a rich chalcolithic culture particularly its pottery including some painted ones. The similarity of some of the forms and technique of pottery-assemblage with the Ahar and Gilund chalcolithic pottery was most exciting, taking the Chirand chalcolithic to the middle or even early 2nd millennium B.C. Dr. Sinha immediately perceived the significance of the finds in the then archaeological contex and read a paper in the Delhi session of the International Congress of Orientalists. Indian and foreign scholars were highly

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impressed by the finds and appreciated the new light that Dr. Sinha had thrown on north Indian chalcolithic cultures. Dr. Sinha's desire to have a thorough discussion on the chalcolithic pottery of Chirand led him to organise a seminar on Ancient Indian Potteries. The Seminar held in the Department in 1968 was attended by the leading archaeologists of the country and learned papers and discussions therein have been collected in the volume 'Potteries in Ancient India', This was the first attempt in the country to have a thorough discussion among specialists in the field and the excavators themselves on such a crucial subject of archaeology—potteries. This work till today remains the only comprehensive book on the subject. The excavations in Chirand had continued and a full-fledged neolithic culture was exposed. This had added another brilliant feather to the cap of Dr. Sinha. Except for Burzhom, Chirand at that time was the only neolithic site excavated in North India and the nature and contents of the neolithic culture are now well known. Dr. Sinha contributed a paper on the subject entitled "*The neolithic culture in the Gangetic valley*" illustrated with lantern slides at the Canberra (Australia) session of the International Congress of Orientalists to which he was specially invited by the organisers. Earlier Dr. Sinha, on behalf of the Patna University, invited the second session of the Indian Archaeological Society and also organised a seminar on Chalcotithic Cultures of Northern India. Archaeologists of the country present on the occasion were very highly impressed by the excavated finds displayed in the Departmental Museum. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who visited the Department on the invitation of Dr. Sinha on short notice, expressed that he has spent some of his pleasant hours in the Department and was happy to record his appreciation of the work by Dr. Sinha's team and remarked '*Excellent work. More of this please.*' Dr. Sinha was for many years a member of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology and took active part in its deliberations. He was on the sub committee which recommended about the strength and functions of Registration Officers to be appointed by each State Directorate of Archaeology. He also presided over the Delhi session of the Indian Archaeological Society and exhorted Indian archaeologists not to be shy in dating Indian cultures earlier if warranted by facts when European archaeologists are antidating their cultures. Dr. Sinha showed keen interest in the archaeologists' efforts to find archaeological base for Indian Epic traditions. He took leading part at a seminar on *Rāmāyaṇa in literature and archaeology*' held at Bhopal under the auspices of the State Directorate of Madhya Pradesh Archaeology. He also read a thought provoking paper on '*the historicity of Mahābhārata*' at the Chandigarh session of the Indian Archaeological Society and contributed an article in the volume '*Mahābhārata, Myth or Reality*'. He has contributed a learned paper on '*Archaeology and Tradition*' in the Puratatva, analytically examining the interese position of literary sources and archaeoligical investigations into the historicity and chronology of Rāma's traditions. His paper on *Harappan Fall out in the Central Gangetic Valley*' read at the Seminar on '*Harappan Civilisation*' organised by the American Institute of Indian Culture at Srinagar (Kashmir) was appreciated as throwing an unexpected light on a new dimension of the Harappan problem and has been included in the prestigous

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publication—*The Harappan Civilisation*. Excavations at Champa (Bhagalpur), under his guidance, added significantly to our scanty knowledge about the early cities and their fortification of ancient India and provided a much reliable index of the origins and development of the N.B.P. marking definte stages of evolution. Dr. Sinha celebrated the Silver Jubillee of the Department in 1978. This was presided by late Sri Sarangdhar Sinha, ex-Vice Chancellor, in whose time the Department began to function. At that time also a ring eminent historians and archaeologists responded to the invitation of Dr. Sinha. Some of them remarked that request from Dr. Sinha is almost irresistible assuring of warm welcome and hard and useful work. Prof. G.R. Sharma, Mr. S.R. Rao, Dr. B.N. Puri, Dr. Lallanji Gopal, Dr K.K. Sinha and others gave scintillating talks on less known subjects on recent archaeological excavations and explorations. The celebration by all standard was highly successful and exciting. Dr. Sinha rounded off his official career as an archaeologist-historian by organising a seminar on Terracottas just on the eve of his superannuation. This seminar was attended by eminent historians and archaeologists such as Dr. B.B Lal, Dr. G.C. Pandey, Prof. K.D. Bajpeyi, Dr. B.N. Puri Dr. S.P. Gupta and Dr. K.N. Dikshit and others. Dr. Sinha on invitation delivered a course of three illustrated lectures on '*Archaeology in Bihar*' as K.P. Jayaswal Memorial Lectures at the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute. Dr. Sinha is the unquestioned authority on the subject and the work when published is bound to serve as a guide to the Archaeology of Bihar in retrospect and prospect. Dr Sinha has contributed two chapters for the Directory of Indian Archaeology edited by (Late) Sri A. Ghosh and is to be published by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Deihi.

Dr. Sinha was intensely devoted to teaching and research and was not prepared to give up his this *first love* for any monetary or office allurements. So far as I know Dr. Sinha is one of the very few university teachers in Bihar, who have spurned more than once the offer of Principalship of major colleges in Bihar. He was appoioted Principal of the Langtat Singh college, Muzaffarpur on the retirement of Principal N.K. Gaur. Later he was asked to take over as Principal, Patna College after elevation of Prof. Damodar Thakur as Director, Higher Education Principal's post carried in fact more emoluments, prestige, power of patronage and headship over large staff than any head of Post-graduate department could dream of. But Prof. Sinha in his wisdom declined to avail of both these offers as he must have felt that the office and responsibilities of the principal would encroach on his undivided attention and time to the development of the Department which he had nursed from its childhood and would restrict his research activities. He was not prepared to be Sidelined, as a result of this, from the front rank of active historians and archaeologists in the country Principal's job at the time was almost reduced to that of an administrator with little time to teach and research. He had more than once indicated to the highest in the state that he was not interested in any high university office till he was in active service as a head of the department, carrying and guiding research and archaeology in field. Higher

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studies and research in Indian history and archaeology had become as if his second nature.

Dr. Sinha transformed a small Department of 3-4 teachers and 6-10 students into one of the largest and most prestigous postgraduate departments of the Patna University. By his efforts and U.G.C.'s generous assistance he got a new and independent building for the Department, the only Department in Arts' faculty to have an exclusive home for its growing faculty, technical wing and the museum. The Departmental museum was opened by Sri M.C. Chagla when he was the Education Minister in the Government of India in 1964. The Department became a centre of researches and higher studies in Ancient Indian History and Culture. More than a dozen research students obtained the Ph.D. degree under his direct guidance. One Laotian and one Japaness scholar also worked successfully for research degree under him. Two of his students worked on the Archaeology of the Patna (old) and Muzaffarpur (old) districts which should, when published, serve as a guide for future archaeological investigations. He guided successfully research students working on social, economic, religious, polity art and archaeology and other aspects of ancient history. The seminars and conferences that he organised drew very warm response from all leading historians and archaeologists of the country. Even today scholars recall with relish and great satisfaction their participation in the many such gatherings and some of those who attended the seminar on Potteries held under Dr. B.P. Sinha as Director, rate the conduct of the seminar as high and fruitful as any international seminar. The Department earned high prestige and hardly any scholar worth the name would pass through Patna without calling on Dr. Sinha and giving a talk in the Department. The Department today is largely the creation of his vision and dynamic leadership. He played a very active part in the various bodies of the university. He was nominated by the Syndicate a member of the Board of Studies in History in 1943, probably the youngest scholar to have such an honour. He continued to be on this body for almost two decades. Late Dr. K.K. Datta had unbounded affection and confidence in him, and on his advice, Dr. Sinha framed a new syllabus for I.A. History which gave detailed topics of study and included topics of world history for the ancient to modern times. Vested interests and diehard no-changers vehmently critised the change in the faculties and the senate and predicted severe loss of popularity among students for history. But Dr. Datta strongly stood for change and the time showed that it was a correct decision. Later many universities adopted this model more or less. Research degrees were not given due credit in the late forties in the State. Most of the earlier scholars who had returned from abroad came with B.A., B.A. (Hons.) and Tripos degrees and were appointed on the highest posts in the departments. Probably promotion of research and independent investigations so highly practised in Europe and U.S.A., was not considered desirable by our masters for our brilliant students, even when they were sent abroad. But things changee in the post-war world, and most of the State scholars from Bihar, particularly in Arts and Science faculties who were sent abroad registered themselves for research degrees in the foreign

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universities and came back with Ph.D. But here no such promotional avenue was available to them which their predecessors with B.A. and B.Sc. degrees had availed of in the twenties and thirtees of the century. It was rather a frustrating situation that faced young scholars like Dr. Sinha, who had come back after undergoing a lot a sacrifice-homely and family comforts, and even service. Dr. Sinha was one of the few activists among them who worked hard in making the powers—that-be realise the value of research degree from reputed universities abroad, and the government under the helmsmanship of the generous scholar Chief Minister Dr. S.K. Sinha decided to award advance increments to teachers who had obtained research degrees. This decision taken in 1949-50 was unparalleled one at the time and continued to act as spur to research in the State Universities and institutions. Dr. Sinha still recalls with legitimate pride the story of this successful movement. The Patna University was earlier not only the only single university in the state but was merely an examining body from Matriculation to M.A. and had no teaching functions as such. Dr. Sinha and some of his active colleagues, who had recently returned from various universities of Europe, were naturally very sore at this, and felt that only when universities would control teaching and teachers that proper atmosphere of research could grow without state interference in all and sundry matters. Dr. Sinha actively followed Dr. Bhrigunath Singh, Late Dr. K.P. Ambasta, Late Dr. Parmanand, and Late Dr. H. Lal in promoting the idea of a teaching and residential university. Ultimately despite stiff resistence from many eminent men and vested interests, the Teaching and Residential University of Patna was established with only constituent colleges and institutes and the work of affiliating and holding examinations of other colleges was taken away from the Patna University and allotted to the newly set-up Bihar University. Even today the Patna University is the only non-affiliating teaching university in the State. Dr. Sinha often expresses his happiness that he was an humble worker in the noble cause. Dr. Sinha actively participated in and contributed handsomely in the various university bodies like the Syndicate, Senate, Academic Council, Examination Board and Finance Committee. He was almost an indispensable member of the Statutes and Regulation Committee. A look into the proceedings of these bodies for a number of years would vouschafe for the constructive approach of Dr. Sinha. He also was Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Warden of Post-graduate hostels for a number of years, He was also associated with many other universities, besides the universities in the State, such as Calcutta, Jadavpur, Visvabharati, Utkala, B H.U., Lucknow, Allahabad, Aligarh, Delhi, Pune and other universities in one way or the other.

Dr. Sinha played an active role in various academic societies. He was a number of the Indian History Congress from 1943 for many years, later its Honorary Treasurer for three years and member of the Executive Committee for three years. He wss elected President of the Ancient India Section of the Indian History Congress Session in Delhi in 1963. He participated in the conference on World Archaeology held on the occasion of the Centenary

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Celebrations of the Archaeological Survey of India and contributed two papers at the conference. He was a member of the Preliminary Committee for the first Asian History Congress inaugurated by (Late) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister. Dr. Sinha contributed a paper in the Congress and was actively engaged in organising the conference in 1962. He had been the founder member of the Indian Archaeological Society and presided over its Delhi session. His significant contributions in the field of Indian numismatics was appreciated and he was elected President of the Patna session of the All India Numismatic Society. He is the founder member of the Indian History and Cultre Society and presided over its 3rd session at Ahmedabad. He was for many years on the General Council and Executive Committee of the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, Prakrit Research Institute, Vaishali and Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Nalanda. He had acted as the Chairperson of the Archaeology Section of the International Seminar on Buddhism held in Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Nalanda. He along with Dr. KK. Datta and Padmasri Dr. S.H, Askari had been sent to Kathmandu to find out the condition of the Indian manuscripts and art remains there. He was for some years Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of London. He had been associated with the Bihar Research Society since 1948, and was its Joint Secretary and later General Secretary for many years. He is the patron of the Bihar Puravid Parishad.

Though actively engaged in higher studies and research in Indian history and archaeology, Dr. Sinha has shown keen interest and sense of civic responsibility in promoting the interests of the State in various ways as a member of the alert intelligentia. Even in England he had formed the association of Bihar State scholars, who used to meet and discus plans of development of the state in various fields and even communicated with the State Government at home as to how best to utilise the talents of the scholars on their return. Coming back he had formed the Anushilan Parishad as mentioned earlier as a proof of the sincerity and keen desire of the young experts to place their experience at the service of the State and the country. Later he organised the Indian Council of Social Affairs which met regularly to discuss current socio-economic problems of the State and the country. Eminent personilities like Acharya Narendradeva, Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. Sri K.M. Munshi and Sri Baldeva Sahay, Dr. Harbansa Lal and others addressed the Council. Dr. Sinha also functioned as Patna Branch Secretary of the Indian Council of World Affairs for many years. He was also the President of the Bihar Magahi Mandal for more than two decades.

But above all Dr. Sinha has been an eminent teacher and a reputed researcher. He often recalls with legitimate glee how some of his brilliant students have occupied high positions in administration, in academic world and in public life. Sri Lakshmeshwar Dayal was the Chief Secretary of the Government of Bihar; Sri G. Narayan, Sri Jagadanand, Sri Nityanand Singh, Sri Mihir Kumar Jha adorned the highest posts in the Police hierachy

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in Bihar, Dr. Sachidananda is the Vice Chancellor of the Ranchi University. His students Dr. Bimal Prasad, Professor of International Studies Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, Dr. B.P. Majumdar, Dr. V.A. Narayan, Dr. P.N. Ojha, Dr. Shayambihari Singh, Dr. Sitaram Singh, Dr. J.C. Jha, Dr. B.K. Sinha, Dr. Ramchandra Prasad have enriched knowledge and provided leadership in their respective fields.

Even after retirement Dr. Sinha continues to be quite active in his studies and research. He submitted a paper of 70 foolscape pages at the seminar in Calcutta University in March, 1986, analysing the progress of research and higher studies in different branches of the Ancient Indian History and Culture in the state of Bihar since the days of Sir Alexander Cunningham. Recently he read a very comprehensive and informative paper on the history of Pataliputra at a seminar organised by the Patna Museum. He has many books in hand. May God grant Dr. Sinha many more year of healthy life in the interest of progress of learning and knowledge about Indian history.

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—Bipin Kumar Jamuar

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A. ARCHAEOLOGY

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1

On Some Pot-Forms Worshipped As Deities

—*B.B. Lal and S.K. Srivastava*

This is not a full-fledged research-paper but, for all practical purposes, a sort of preliminary notice of something which was new to us. If any papers have already been published on this topic, we would like to be enlightened. Our investigation on the subject—even local enquiries, drawing-work, photography, and other forms of documentation, are also incomplete. Yet we feel that there is something even in this preliminary note which may be of interest to readers, particularly archaeologists. For here we have a case in which what otherwise appear to be just pots and are likely to be mistaken as such if their broken parts are found in an excavation, are not in reality any kind of vessels used for domestic purposes but represent a deity and are actually under worship. To these pots are affixed long conical pieces of varying shapes, which, if found loosely in an excavation, are likely to be recorded as 'miniature finials', or 'gamesmen (?)', or just 'unidentified objects'. Hence the provocation, to write this paper.

For the past few years we have been excavating the ancient mound at Śṛiṅgaverapura, 35 kilometres north-west of Allahabad, as a part of a national project, 'Archaeology of the Rāmāyaṇa Sites'. It was at Śṛiṅgaverapura that Srī Rāma crossed the Gaṅgā on his southward journey during the course of his 14-year exile. The excavations have revealed that the site goes back to the eleventh century B.C. However, the most outstanding structure discovered at the site is an over 250-metre long water-reservoir which, with its feeding canal, silting chambers, 'horizontal and vertical warpings' of the retaining walls, wells in the bed, provision of staircases at various points, etc., is a marvel of Indian hydraulic engineering two thousand years ago.

However, here we are not concerned with the excavated structures or other remains, but with something which is modern but, for all one knows, may be having a long history behind it.

During the period of excavation at Śṛiṅgaverapura we usually camp on the premises of the Saṁskṛita Pāṭhśālā, founded long back by the ancestors of the Raja Saheb of Anapur. It

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overlooks the Gaṅgā. Between the Pāṭhaśālā and the river, in fact right on the bank of the latter, is a recent temple dedicated to Shāntā Devī. Though the temple-complex is being gradually eroded by the river, quite a few structures are still intact.

As one approaches the temple-complex from the southern side-exit of the Pāṭhaśālā-compound, one ascends a flight of steps to come to the main platform on which the various temples in the complex are located. As one is atop the main platform one sees to the right another, smaller platform juxtaposed to a *pīpal* tree. On this smaller platform have been placed a large number of pottery vessels which are worshipped as Bhairavas (pl. I). These vessels, made of fired clay, are in the form of inverted *hāṇḍīs* to which are affixed 'finials', usually five in number.

The *hāṇḍī*, potted on a wheel, is wide-mouthed (cf. Fig. 1). The 'finials', prepared separately, were affixed to the *hāṇḍī* by piercing in it holes which were large enough to hold the tenons of the finials. After inserting the tenons these were duly luted. In addition, a circular hole was also made in the *hāṇḍī* and the earth above was slightly raised. All this was done before firing. From the iconographic point of view, the inverted *hāṇḍī* is supposed to represent the head of the deity; the central 'finial', the *śikhā*, the other four 'finials', four *śaktis* or powers; the hole, the mouth; and the slightly raised portion above it, the lower part of the nose.

The worship of Bhairava in 'pot-forms' is not confined to Śṛiṅgaverapura alone. The other places in the neighbourhood where this kind of worship is performed are : Rāma-Chaurā, about 1 km. downstream from the Saṁskṛita Pāṭhaśālā at Śṛiṅgaverapura, and Patanā-ghāṭa and Gau-Ghāṭa, respectively 1½ and 4 km. upstream from the Pāṭhaśālā. Further, the shape and other details of the pot-forms also vary from place to place. For example, at Gau ghāṭa, besides the *hāṇḍī*-from, there may also be seen a form in which the *hāṇḍī* is replaced by a wide-mouthed basin (cf. Fig. 2). Besides, small human and animal figurines are also attached to the pot-forms in the applique technique (not illustrated here). While a detailed study of these varying pot-forms and their attachments will be undertaken when we go to Śṛiṅgaverapura next for our field-work (December 1984-March 1985), all that may be stated at the moment, on the authority of Śrī Ayodhyā Prasāda Yādava, a resident of Bhaironbax-kā-purā and a teacher at the primary school at Bhagawatīpura, who is associated with the worship of this cult is that these variations are meant to represent the various sub-types of Bhairavas, e g. Lāla Bhaivrava, Kāla Bhairava, Mukuṭa Bhairava, etc. These names are, of course, local ones and may on may not fully conform to the names given in ancient Tāntrika texts.

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2

Copper Arrow-Heads from Ganeshwar, Rajasthan

—*R.C. Agrawala*

Archaeologocal excavations at Bagor in district Bhilwara of Rajasthan have brought to light three copper arrow-heads with two fragile barbs but having two holes for fixing them to the wooden shaft with some thin wire etc. They are all without a tang and have been dated as early as 2800 B.C., on the basis of C-14 analysis (*Fig . 1*). A detailed report on these Bagor arrow-heads has been published by Dr. V.N. Misra in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago, Vol. 29, No. 4, 1970, pages 221-232. They were recovered as grave furniture but we are not sure whether they are imports or were locally manufactured with the help of copper ore from the mines of Pur-Dariba, not for from Bagor itself. Such objects are conspicuous by their absence in Ahar Culture of Berach Banas basin though one identical copper arrow-head with two holes was obtained at Azadnagar, from the Chalcolithic levels near Indore town in Madhya Pradesh. Infact arrow-heads were not required in the agricultural society associated with the famous copper age culture in Mewar.

During our exploratory tours at Ganeshwar, distant about 15 kms. South-East of Neem Ka Thana in district Sikar of Rajasthan and distant about 200 kms. only from Delhi, we have been able to recover, both from excavations and explorations, with the assistance of Shri Vijay Kumar, more than 400 copper arrow heads of various shapes and varieties (*Fig. 2*). *They present a world records in the realm of proto-historic copper technology as regards their large number and shapes are concerned.* The maximum length of one arrow-head is 7.8 cms (Fig. 2, No. 4); all of them are cut out of thin copper sheets, a fact which pre-supposes the use of some scissior type of sharp instrument for detaching them from the sheet. Most of them are very light and thin. Some of the shapes are quite fantastic (Fig. II, Nos. 1, 3, 7, 8) and we have yet to discover some earlier specimens, in stone or metal, which might have inspired the local craftsmen of Ganeshwar to present so artistic and varied shapes in copper. The red slipped ware, associated with Ganeshwar arrow-heads, was earlier discovered at Jodhpurā (Distt.—Jaipur) where the beginning of the some may be taken as early as 2800-3000 B.C., on the basis of C-14 analysis. It is thus, safer to assign a date as *3000 B.C. for the Ganeshwar arrow-heads under study.*

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The contemporary society at Ganeshwar was still in a hunting stage, a fact which is well corroborated by the discovery of more than 400 arrow-heads at Ganeshwar and its vicinity, besides more than 50 copper fish-hooks which suggest fishing in the river Kantli near by. Fishing and hunting birds and animals seem to have been the main profession of the Ganeshwar people who were probably indigenous. The copper arrow-heads examined by the Geological Survey of India at Jaipur prove that *they were made of about 97% pure copper, there was no mixture of tin at all.* It is equally worth taking note of that the copper mines of Dariba, Baleshwar, Ahrwala and Chiplata, all in the Neem Ka Thana tehsil, are located within 15-20 kms. from Ganeshwar The contemporary copper-smiths had tapped the local copper deposits for preparing various types of objects such as celts, arrow-heads, fish-hooks, spear heads, blades, chisels, rods, bangles, rings, etc., which are more than one thousand at the present moment.

Ganeshwar is situated at the source of Kantli river which joined the river Drishadvati (Chitang) near Nohar-Bhadra and flowed thence towards Suratgarh and that made the transporation of coppor objects and copper ingots possible to Indus Valley Culture sites like Kalibangan, Harappa ..etc. Even the pre-Harappan levels at Kalibangan in Rajasthan have yielded several thin arrow-heads prepared from copper sheets and datable to 2400 B.C.; for them also the *nearest source of copper supply was the region of Ganeshwar* in the famous Khetri Copper Belt. Ganeshwar is situated at a distance of 60 kms. only from Khetri copper mines which are being operated at the National level these days. The discovery of Copper Age Ganeshwar-Culture thus pushes back the antiquity of copper technology in India to 3000 B.C. or so at the present moment.

The Pre-Harrapan levels at Kalibangan have yielded more than 50 copper objects, a fact which has got an important bearing on the contribution of Ganeshwar culture during the pre-Harappan period. *The local people at Ganeshwar were not Harrapan fugitives at all*; infact they seem to have been the indigenous people of the area; had specialised in copper technology and lived mainly on hunting and fishing; the major bulk of copper arrow-heads was for their own day to day use. It was at a subsequent stage that they might have supplied, both copper objects and copper ingots, to Indus Cities when there was a demand for copper. Thin arrow-heads have also been available at most of the Harappan sites as Kalibangan, Banawali, Harappa Mohenjodaro, Lothal, Chanhu aro, Balakot, Allahdino, Kot Diji...etc. Their number of course is too less at Pakistan sites; even Kalibangan distant about 250 kms. from Ganeshwar, has not yielded more than 50 or so. Infact arrow-heads were not very much in demand in the well established agricultural societies and specially at the urban centres.

It is also worth mentioning that the *Ganeshwar arrow-heads still present a white paste sticking on both sides; on some remnants of decomposed wood are still visible*, a fact which

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testifies to the use of a white glue with the help of which they were fastened to the wooden shaft for use. *They are all devoid of any hole* and that all the more proves that Ganeshwar copper arrow-heads were fastened to the shaft with the help of white glue which has not decayed even after a lapse of 5000 years. Infact this is an additional proof of the excellent technical know-how of Ganeshwar people at such on early stage. J.H. Mackay also witnessed such a white cement on some copper heads from his excavations at Chanhudaro, situated on the left bank of river Indus (J.H. Mackay, *Chanhudaro Excavations, 1935-36*, Reprint edition, 1976, pages 183-84, plates 68, nos. 6; 73, nos. 1-4, 13-16); there they are cut from sheet of copper .02 to .05 inches in thickness as also at Ganeshwar. The maximum length of a copper arrow-heads from Harappa is 1.25 inches only, (M.S. Vatsa, *Excavations at Harappa*, Delhi ed. I. p. 391, plate 125, nos. 13-14) whereas the Ganeshwar thin arrow-heads with pointed barbs is 3.2 inches in length more than double the size of Harappa one.

All these copper arrow-heads from Ganeshwar are without any tang whereas a few with a long tang have recently been discovered at Harappa and at Burzhom in Kashmir (*Puratattva*, 9, plate 12) and datable to 1500 B.C. or so. Comparison with Burzhom specimens is still awaited, and source area for their origin has still to be worked out. The Ganeshwar arrow-heads under study are really a land mark in the proto-historic archaeology and copper technology of India. A detailed survey of the area is being undertaken with the financial assistance from the I.C.H.R., New Delhi. We are also searching for another important centre of Ganeshwar culture in the Khetri Copper Belt, which was decidedly one of the crucial regions for the supply of copper and copper artefacts to the Indus people as pointed out by me in my papers published in *Man and Environment*, Poona, Ahmedabad, II, 1978, pages 123-24; V, 1980, pp. 59-63; *Archaeological Studies*, Mysore, II, 1978, pp. 72-75; *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 28 (3-4), 1979, pp. 159-60; *Cultural Contours of India*, New Delhi, 1981, pp. 25-31 and plate V.

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3

Old Stone Age Tools and Rock Painting at Kisan Bilas and Kapil-Dhara, District : Kota, Rajasthan

—S. C. Saran

Our knowledge of man's origin is based mainly on the material evidence of his skeltons supplemented by leftovers of his activities either in the form of wood, stone and metal tools or his own strokes on the walls and ceilings of the rock-shelters. According to geologists, the Kisan Bilas rock-shelters are part of Vindhya range. The stone tools show their skill and rock-paingings throw an interesting picture about their environment, sociol, religious and economic condition of their own time.

During the course of exploration in 1981-82, under Western Circle, Vadodara, the Archaeological Survey of India, discovered a large number of Pre-historic tools and rock-paintings on the banks of the rivulet Bilas and Barai (Pl. I), a tributary of Pārvatī. The river Bilas flows about 15 kms. in the east-west direction having meander course. Topographically the entire valley is trough-shaped (pl. II) a·d the nearby village Kisan-Bilas (25° 5′ N and 76° E), is situated 19 kms. south-east of the "Baran Railway" Station on the Bina-Kota line. The site is mainly connected by the road transport service up to Rampuriya Bus Stand and the village can be reached on foot or by bullock-cart.

Earlier the site was mentioned as possessed of some exquisite sculptures by Garrick (Garrick and Cunningham : 1883-84). Jha mentions that Garrick never went to Kishan Vilas (Jha : 1959). In 1981 Kumar visited the site and reported about the rock-paintings at Kanyadeh and Kapildhara (Kumar : 1981). But none of them thoroughly studied.

The exploration at the Bilas rivulet by the Survey had brought to light eleven Paleolothic tools comprising handaxes with broken tip, round scraper, side-scraper (Pl. III) and Upper Paleolothic tools, blades with two ridges and burins in both ends. The assemblage of the mesolithic tools includes arrowhead with broken tang (Chalcedony in light yellow), triangle (Chert), used blade flakes (Chert) burin (Chalcedony), flakes, side-scraper (Chalcedony with reddish cortex), trapez and lunetes (Chert) (Pl. IV).

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Besides the tools, one hundred and twenty-eight rock-shelters (Pl. V) of which thirty six contain paintings, some of which could perhaps be the pre-historic while the others are of historical times, on the analogy of the rock-shelters elsewhere in India. Most of these paintings are drawn on the natural cave walls or a projected ceilinghood of the cave shelters. The paintings are in Monochrome executed in red, ochre, dark-red, black and white. The colours were applied with several types of Brushes. Most of these paintings consist of linear depictions of motifs using lines of varying thickness. White colour is generally used for filling the gap and writing the Sankh lipi character of the Gupta period. Paintings are animals like : boar, monkey, deer, rhinoceros, dog, oxe, buffalo, fox, scarpian, camel, antelope, horse, elephant, humped bull (Pl. VI), fish, bioson, bullock cart driven by four animals, birds like peacock besides the Sun, Moon, Circle decentic Circle, dancing human in group, Man with arrow, Man with bow and arrow, hunting scene, running animals' (Pl. VII) geomatrical and floral designs etc.

The most interesting paintings are similar to copper celt type, discs (Pl. VIII) and axe-tool type. Discs of quartzite or other fine-grained rock boared in this way have been found on many pre-historic sites. In Europe the earliest example of these bored stones are mesolithic (O. Kenneth P. 1959). But Bilas discs are plain and not have boare. The discs and celt is similar to Indian Copper hoard Tools Type. The measurement of the celt is 28 cm long and its width at the butt end 18 cms, middle 8 cms and at the edge .30 cms.

Noteworthy is a single line painted Brahmi character inscription. At places, the rock floors of shelters have scooped out rectangular, depression measuring .43×.30×.10 cms. Scholers suggested that such type of depression of rock-floors were used for preparing the colour. The evidence of Super-imposition of the paintings can also be marked in several rock-shelters. On the basis of Superimposition a tentative chronology of these paintings can be arrived at only by the adoptation of indirect method of Typological similarities.

At Kisan Bilas the earliest group of roack-paintings consist of vertical line drawing of deers, hunters, rhinoceros and bisons are similar to Tarsang (Sonavane : 1980) Bhaldaria (Wakankar : 1975) Bhimbetka, Kharwai and Raisen belonging to mesolithic Age (Wakankar and Brooks : 1976) Painting of fish at Bilas is similar to Siganpur fish paintings (Chosh : 1932). Scholers suggested that even in the mesolithic forest he some time could not obtained enough game, but the waters never failed him (Nedesland : 1962).

The next group of paintings is belonging to chalcolithic age. The paintings of humped bull is similar to Bhimbetka (Wakankar and Brooks : 1976). Painting of group dancing is similar to the painted pottery of Navdatali Period III (A Sankali Subbarao and Deo : 1952-53). Paintings of bullock-cart or chariot driven by four unidentified animals is unique one. In the drawing of Bhimbetka area there are no picture of chariot or bullock-cart any other artificial means of transport (Mishra and Mathpal : 1979).

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A single line painted Brahmi charactors, which on the basis of Paleographic may be of around *circa* Second Century B. C. and Sankh lipi of Gupta charactors, gometrical and floral motifs and symbole may be tentatively dated round about *circa* fifth or six century A. D.

On the right bank of the Bilas, over the upgraded slope of hillock measuring about 2000×750 metres a medieval settlement including temples of Brahmanical and Jain faith, fort, roads and streets were also noticed.

Kapildhara

It is situated 17 kms., South-east of the village Kisan Bilas on the bank of the river Barni, a Tributary of the river Parvati, fifty-eight (58) rock-shelters were documented; (Pl. IX) of these seventeen contain paintings. The paintings are generally similar to those in the Kisan Bilas rock-shelters.

Man first appeared in this region in the fourth-inter-glacial age along the banks of the River Chambal and its tributaries. Some 30,000 years age, there was a drier phase throught Rajasthan, Malwa, Maharashtra and Gujarat. The extreme wet phase of the previous age (middle Paleolithic age) had then passed and because of drier climatic conditions grasslands developed in the fields. Man could, then easily move from region to region (Kumar : 1981).

The topography and land forms of a site also have their direct influence on the environment. The river system, the mountain range, the forest region and through-shaped valley have their own impact on the human culture. The river besides offering drinking water in the man and animal, have served the human society in one way or the other. The early man hunted the wild games mostly near the river sides where the animals assembled for drinking water.

At Kisan Bilas and Kapildhara in addition to above amenities of life nature also provided rock-shelters. The shelters were relatively defensible and provided protection from sun-light and rain. All shelters are oriented North-south direction, which would allow the low winter, sun to make them more comfortable.

Because, nature provided him all shorts of facilities regarding their livilihood, he got ample time to creat artistic activities for their enjoyment.

The caves of Bilas and Barni had been occupied by man for varying period from about 25,000 year B. C. to fifth or six century A. D. and later on settle on the upgraded slop of the Kisan Bilas village Above said facts revealed a continueous (habitational) sequence since the middle paleolithic time down to medieval civilization.

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This seems to be the only site in India having such unique sequences of culture. In fact not only the Kisan Bilas or Kapildhara region but also the entire range of the Vindhyan of the Kota district should be throughly explored which will throw more light in the pre-historic man's history.

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मध्य गंगा घाटी की पाषाण युगीन संस्कृतियाँ : एक सर्वेक्षण

—जगन्नाथ पाल

उत्तर से दक्षिण लगभग 330 किलोमीटर (अक्षांश 24° 30″ उ० – 27° 50′ उ०) और पूर्व से पश्चिम लगभग 600 किलोमीटर (देशान्तर 81° 47′ 29″— 87° 50′ पू०) के क्षेत्र में फैली मध्य गंगाघाटी के अन्तर्गत पूर्वी उत्तरप्रदेश और लगभग सम्पूर्ण बिहार प्रान्त सम्मिलित है। उत्तर में हिमालय तथा दक्षिण में विन्ध्य पठार से घिरी मध्य गंगाघाटी के पूर्व और पश्चिम कोई प्राकृतिक सीमा रेखा नहीं है, फिर भी बिहार और बंगाल प्रान्तों की सीमा रेखा इसके पश्चिमी छोर का निर्धारण करती है और इलाहाबाद से फैजाबाद जानेवाली रेलवे लाइन को इसकी पश्चिमी सीमा रेखा माना गया है।[1] इस प्रकार मध्य गंगाघाटी के अन्तर्गत उत्तर प्रदेश में इलाहाबाद की हंडिया और फूलपुर तहसीलें, मिर्जापुर जिले का कुछ उत्तरी भाग, वाराणसी की भदोही, वाराणसी और चन्दौली तहसीलें, प्रतापगढ़ की पट्टी तहसील, जौनपुर, सुल्तानपुर की सुल्तानपुर और कादीपुर तहसीलें फैजाबाद, टाण्डा और अकबरपुर तहसीलें, गोण्डा की बलरामपुर और उत्तरौला तहसीलें, बस्ती, गोरखपुर, देवरिया, बलिया, गाजीपुर तथा आजमगढ़ जिले एवं बिहार में तिरहुत, भागलपुर (किशनगंज तहसील को छोड़कर) और पटना संभाग सम्मिलित है।[2]

ग्रीष्म ऋतु में इस क्षेत्र में प्रचण्ड गर्मी तथा शीत ऋतु में अत्यधिक ठण्डक पड़ती है। वार्षिक वर्षा 40″ से भी अधिक होती है। गंगा की सहायक नदियों में घाघरा तथा उसकी सहायक कुआनी, राप्ती, छोटी गण्डक, गण्डक, बुढी गण्डक, कोशी, वरुणा, गोमती तथा उसकी सहायक सई, एवं सोन नदियाँ उल्लेखनीय है। इस क्षेत्र में बहुत सी धनुवाकार झीलें भी हैं। जिनसे छोटी छोटी नदियाँ निकलती है। गंगा तथा उसकी सहायक नदियों द्वारा गंगा के मैदान का निर्माण हुआ है।

कुछ दशक पूर्व मध्य गंगाघाटी में मानव इतिहास के ज्ञान का सूत्र ऐतिहासिक काल के पहले नहीं पहुंच पाता था। गौतम बुद्ध का कार्य-क्षेत्र मुख्य रूप से मध्य गंगाघाटी थी और उनके पहले का इस क्षेत्र का इतिहास अन्धकार के आवरण से आवृत था। भारतीय जन-मानस के अत्यन्त आदरणीय राम ऐतिहासिक थे अथवा पौराणिक, इस बारे में अभी भी पुरातत्वविद् खोज कर रहे हैं और उनका प्रयास प्रायः निष्फल रहा है। अगर राम के जीवन काल की घटनायें ऐतिहासिक वास्तविकता थीं तो यह मानना पड़ेगा कि उनका केन्द्र बिन्दु मध्य गंगाघाटी थी। काल और स्थान की सीमा से परे, रामायण और परम्पराओं के असीम व्यक्तित्व वाले राम को

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1. आर. यल. सिंह (सं०) **इण्डिया : ए रीजिनल जागर्फी**, वाराणसी, 1971 पृ० 124.
2. **वही**, पृष्ठ 184.

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सम्भवतः इतिहास की सीमा में नहीं बाँधा जा सकता। अयोध्या, श्रृंगवेरपुर तथा भारद्वाज आश्रम जैसे स्थलों के उत्खनन[1] के आधार पर भी राम की ऐतिहासिकता प्रमाणित नहीं हो सकी। जिस तरह के "आवासीयजमाव" से पुरातत्व परिचित है उसी तरह का रामकालीन आवासीय जमाव मिल सकेगा, इसमें बहुत सन्देह है। धनुष-वाण से बाल-क्रीड़ा करते, वन वन विचरण करते, ऋषियों की रक्षा करते, धनुष वाण से आखेट करते और सीता के स्वयम्बर में सम्मिलित होते राम की जो छवि हमारे मानस-पटल पर बनती है, विन्ध्य क्षेत्र के शिला-चित्रों में धनुष वाण धारण किये मनुष्यों के बहुत से चित्र उसी छवि का स्मरण दिलाते हैं। कुछ लघुपाषाण उपकरण वाणाग्रों के रूप में ही प्रयुक्त किये जाते थे। रामकालीन धनुषों में भी वाणों की नोक इन्ही उपकरणों से बनती रही होगी। पुरातात्विक उत्खननों और अन्वेषणों से ये उपकरण और शिलाश्रयों के चित्र मध्य पाषाण काल के अन्तर्गत आते हैं।[2] मध्यपाषाण संस्कृति के प्रचुर अवशेष मध्य गंगाघाटी के उसी क्षेत्र से उपलब्ध हुये हैं जो राम का लीला क्षेत्र रहा होगा। कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं कि हम राम की कथा को मध्य पाषाण काल तक ले जा सकते हैं।

प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के प्रो० जी० आर० शर्मा के निर्देशन में मध्य गंगाघाटी के इस क्षेत्र में किये गये पुरातात्विक अन्वेषणों से सारे परिपेक्ष्य को एक नया आयाम मिला है और गंगाघाटी का इतिहास प्रागैतिहासिक काल से ही विश्व इतिहास का एक अंग बन गया है। मध्य गंगा घाटी के प्रागैतिहासिक संस्कृतियों के स्वरूप का विवेचन करना इस लेख का उद्देश्य है।

मध्य गंगाघाटी के दक्षिण विन्ध्य क्षेत्र में आदि मानव के प्राचीनतम प्रमाण 4-5 लाख वर्ष पहले से मिलने लगते हैं। उस क्षेत्र की नदी उपत्यकाओं के अनुभागों से पाषाण कालीन संस्कृतियों के क्रमिक विकास के

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1. इन स्थलों का उत्खनन भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण और इन्स्टीट्यूट आफ एडवान्स्ड स्टडी, शिमला द्वारा प्रो. बी. बी. लाल के निर्देशन में "रामायण संस्कृति की खोज" के सन्दर्भ में किया जा रहा है। अयोध्या में पहले काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय ने भी उत्खनन किया था। इन स्थलों पर मिलने वाली सबसे पहली संस्कृति "उत्तरी कृष्णा ओपदार पात्र परम्परा" के ठीक पहले की संस्कृति है जिसे 800 ई. पू. से 600 ई. पू. का समय प्रदान किया जा सकता है। श्रृंगवेरपुर की प्रथम संस्कृति—गैरिक मृदमाण्ड संस्कृति (1050 से 1000 ई. पू.), द्वितीय संस्कृति—ताम्रपाषाणिक संस्कृति (950-700 ई. पू.) और तृतीय संस्कृति—उत्तरी कृष्ण ओपदार पात्र परम्परा की संस्कृति 700-250 ई. पू. है। लाल, वी. वी. और दीक्षित, के. एन., श्रृंगवेरपुर : ए की साइट फार दि प्रोटो हिस्ट्री एण्ड अर्ली हिस्ट्री आफ दि सेन्ट्रल गंगा वैली, इण्डियन आक्यालोपिकल सोसाइटी के इलाहाबाद सम्मेलन में पढ़ा गया शोधपत्र।

2. यूरोप में शिलाश्रयों को चित्रित करने की परम्परा उच्चपूर्व पाषाण काल में ही प्रारम्भ हो गयी थी। भारत में मध्य प्रदेश के विन्ध्य क्षेत्र में कतिपय हरे रंग से चित्रित शिलाचित्रों को वी. एस. वाकंकर उच्चपूर्व पाषाण काल का मानते हैं। लेकिन अधिकतर शिलाचित्र मध्यपाषाण काल के ही माने जाते है।

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उल्लेखनीय प्रमाण मिले हैं।[1] तत्कालीन पशुओं के अश्मीभूत अवशेष और मानव निर्मित पाषाण-उपकरण नदी अनुभागों और वेदिकाओं से प्राप्त होते हैं। विन्ध्य पर स्थित उद्योग स्थलों से मिलने वाले उपकरणों तथा उपकरण निर्माण प्रक्रिया में निकले फलकों आदि से भी तत्कालीन मानव की कहानी के पुनर्निर्माण में सहायता मिली है। उच्च पूर्व पाषाण काल में विन्ध्य क्षेत्र की जलवायु में परिवर्तन होने लगा था, इसके प्रमाण यहाँ के नदी अनुभागों से प्राप्त हुये हैं। बदले हुये परिवेश के कारण ही संभवतः उपकरण निर्माण तकनीक में परिवर्तन करके नवीन प्रकार के उपकरणों का निर्माण किया गया।

जलवायु में इस क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन का प्रभाव गंगा घाटी पर भी पड़ा और गंगा उत्तर से खिसक कर दक्षिण में अपनी वर्तमान स्थिति में चली आयी। अपने मार्ग परिवर्तन के कारण उत्तर में गंगा नदी ने बहुत सी धनुषाकार झीलों का निर्माण कर दिया। गंगा के प्राचीन प्रवाह मार्ग में निर्मित अधिकांश धनुषाकार झीलें अभी भी अपना अस्तित्व बनाये हुये हैं। कुछ झीलें प्राकृतिक कारणों से भर गयी है और कुछ को यहाँ के निवासियों ने खेतों में परिवर्तित कर लिया है। प्रतापगढ के रसूलपुर, इलाहाबाद के रामगढ, जौनपुर के गुजर ताल वाराणसी के रायल ताल आजमगढ के असकर ताल तथा गाजीपुर की सिहोरी झील उन धनुषाकार झीलों में हैं जिनका अस्तित्व अभी बना हुआ है। ये झीलें 20.48 से 1.92 वर्ग किलोमीटर के क्षेत्र में विस्तृत हैं।[2] मध्य गंगा घाटी के वर्तमान धरातल के निर्माण में इन झीलों का अत्यधिक योगदान है क्योंकि इस क्षेत्र की अधिकांश नदियां इन्हीं झीलों से निकलती है। इन झीलों के किनारे का पुराना धरातल उसरीला होने के कारण खेती के लिए अधिक उपयुक्त नहीं है, यही कारण है कि झीलों के तट पर स्थित पुरातात्विक स्थल सुरक्षित रह सके।

उच्च पूर्व पाषाण काल के बाद में जलवायु गत परिवर्तन के कारण तत्कालीन पशुजगत और वनस्पति जगत में भी परिवर्तन हुये। इस बदलते परिवेश में मानव को भी नये प्रकार के उपकरणों की आवश्यकता हुई अतः उसने नन्हें नन्हें उपकरणों का निर्माण प्रारम्भ किया। इन उपकरणों को हम लघुपाषाण उपकरणों के नाम से जानते हैं। इनमें से कुछ उपकरण तो बाणाग्रों के रूप में प्रयुक्त किये जाते थे और कुछ को संयोजित उपकरण के रूप में प्रयुक्त करते थे। उच्च पूर्व पाषाण काल के अन्त होते होते जबकि विन्ध्य क्षेत्र में सूखी जलवायु के प्रमाण मिलते हैं और गंगा के दक्षिण की तरफ खिसकने के प्रमाण मिलते हैं, तभी सर्वप्रथम गंगा के मैदान में पाषाण कालीन मानव के आगमन के प्रमाण भी मिलने लगते हैं।

गंगा घाटी में कई स्थलों पर गंगा के पुराने कछार के अनुभागों में चार जमाव मिलते हैं।[3] सबसे नीचे का जमाव कंकरीली पीली मिट्टी का है। इसके ऊपर काली मिट्टी का जमाव है। तीसरा जमाव पोतनी मिट्टी

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3. जी. आर. शर्मा, सीजनल माइग्रशन्स एण्ड मैसोलिथिक लेक कलचर्स आफ द गंगा वैली, के. सी. चट्टोपाध्याय मैमोरियल वाल्यूम, 1975, पृष्ठ 5-6.

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का है और सबसे ऊपर बलुई मिट्टी का लगभग 2 मीटर मोटा जमाव है। गंगा घाटी के इस ऊपरी जमाव में ऊपर से नीचे तक लघु पाषाण उपकरण प्राप्त होते हैं। इस आधार पर हम कह सकते हैं कि इन उपकरणों का निर्माता मध्य-पाषाण कालीन मानव इस क्षेत्रों में उस समय आया जब इस ऊपरी बलुई मिट्टी का जमाव प्रारम्भ हुआ था और उसका कार्यकाल इस जमाव के अन्त तक चलता रहा। नवीन शोधों के आलोक में मध्य पाषाण काल के भी पहले के सांस्कृतिक अवशेष गंगा के मैदान में प्राप्त हुए हैं। इन उपकरणों को उच्च पूर्व पाषाण काल तथा मध्य पाषाण काल के संक्रमण काल का माना गया है। ये उपकरण जिस धरातल पर प्राप्त होते हैं उसके अवलोकन से यह कहा जा सकता है कि इनका भूतात्विक धरातल, गंगा के कछार का तीसरा जमाव-पोतनी मिट्टी का ऊपरी धरातल है। इसी धरातल पर सर्व प्रथम पाषाण कालीन मानव मध्य गंगा घाटी में आया।

मध्य गंगाघाटी में हाल में हुये पुरातात्विक अन्वेषणों के आलोक में सम्पूर्ण प्रागैतिहासिक संस्कृति की जो रूप रेखा निर्मित हुई है उसका संक्षिप्त विवरण इस प्रकार है—

1. उच्च पूर्व पाषाण काल और मध्य पाषण काल के संक्रमण काल की संस्कृति—

गंगा घाटी की इस प्राचीनतम संस्कृति[1] के प्रमाण अभी तक पांच स्थलों से प्राप्त हुये हैं—वाराणसी में गढवा (अक्षांश 25° 23′ 45″ उ० देशान्तर 82° 53′ 45″ पूर्व), इलाहाबाद में अहिरी (अक्षांश 25° 21′ 0″ उ० देशान्तर 82° 16′ 0″ पूर्व) और प्रतापगढ में सुलेमान पर्वतपुर (अक्षांश 25° 59′ 23″ उ०, देशान्तर 82° 16′ 12″ पूर्व) मन्दाह (अक्षांश 25° 59′ 0″ उ०, देशांतर 82° 2′ 35″ पूर्व) तथा सालहीपुर (अक्षांश 26० 0′10″ उ०, देशान्तर 82° 4′ 30″ पूर्व)। ये स्थल[2] धनुषाकार झीलों अथवा इन झीलों से निकलने वाली सरिताओं के तट पर स्थित हैं।

उच्च पूर्व पाषाण तथा मध्य पाषाण काल के संक्रमण कालीन सांस्कृतिक स्थलों से अत्यधिक मात्रा में पाषाण उपकरण प्राप्त हुये हैं। इन स्थलों पर पूर्णनिर्मित उपकरणों के साथ ही निर्माण की विभिन्न अवस्थाओं में उपकरण, क्रोड़, फलक आदि प्राप्त होते हैं जिससे प्रतीत होता है कि इन उपकरणों का निर्माण इन्हीं स्थलों पर किया गया है। गंगाघाटी में पाषाणों का श्रोत नहीं है। बिन्ध्य क्षेत्र से पाषाण कालीन मानव पत्थर के पिण्ड लेकर गंगा घाटी में आता था, यहीं पर उपकरणों का निर्माण करता और शिकार करता था जलवायु और परिवेश में परिवर्तन तथा तत्कालीन आबादी में वृद्धि इस आगमन का कारण रहा होगा। अभी तक इस संस्कृति के किसी स्थल का उत्खनन नहीं हुआ है। लेकिन इन स्थलों की सतह से जो उपकरण एकत्र किये गये हैं वे सभी चर्ट पत्थर पर निर्मित हैं और उन पर अत्यधिक रासायनिक काई लगी हुई है। उपकरण प्रकारों में समानान्तर बाहुवाले स्लेड, भूथड़े ब्लेड, लक्षणी, नोक, खुरचनी, अद्धचन्द्र आदि उल्लेखनीय है।

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1. जी. आर. शर्मा, सीजनल माइग्रेशन्स एण्ड मेसोलिथिक लेक कलचर्स आफ द गंगा वैली, **के. सी चट्टोपाध्याय मेमोरियल वाल्यूम**, पृष्ठ 9.

2. जी. आर. शर्मा, प्रागैतिहासिक मानव की कहानी : गंगा घाटी की प्राचीन संस्कृति पर नया प्रकाश, दिनमान भाग 14, अंक 34, 20-26 अगस्त 1978, पृष्ठ 24.

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विन्ध्य क्षेत्र में बेलन नदी के तट पर स्थित एक स्थल चोपनी माण्डो[1] का उत्खनन किया गया है। इस स्थल की प्रथम संस्कृति उच्चपूर्व पाषाण और मध्य पाषाण काल के संक्रमण काल की संस्कृति है। पाषाण कालीन मानव ने सर्वप्रथम इसी काल में गोलाकार झोपड़ियाँ बनाकर आवास प्रारम्भ किया। गंगा घाटी की इस प्राचीनतम संस्कृति ने पाषाण कालीन मानव के ऋतुनिष्ठ प्रव्रजन का भारत में प्राचीनतम प्रमाण प्रस्तुत किया है जबकि विन्ध्य क्षेत्र की सूखे की विभीषिका से बचने के लिए मनुष्य जीविका की तलाश में नदी घाटियों को पार करता हुआ उत्तर की तरफ आया। सम्भवतः उसका इस क्षेत्र में आएमन नितान्त अल्पकाली होता था। अनुकुल मौसम में वह पुनः अपने मूल क्षेत्र में लौट जाता था। इस काल के उपकरणों का जो अध्ययन किया गया है उससे इस बात के प्रमाण मिले हैं कि इस संस्कृति के गंगा घाटी के उपकरण विन्ध्य क्षेत्र के उपकरणों की अपेक्षा छोटे हैं। उपकरणों की यह आकार गत न्यूनता गंगा घाटी में पत्थर पिण्डों की अनुपलब्धता के कारण था, मानव ने इनकी महत्ता को ध्यान में रखकर तब तक उपकरण निर्माण किया जब तक ये अत्यन्त छोटे नहीं हो गये।

विन्ध्य क्षेत्र में उच्चपूर्व पाषाण काल के उपकरण सीमेण्टेड ग्रैवेल तृतीय से मिलते हैं। इस जमाव से दो कार्बन तिथियाँ 23840 ± 830 ई० 20^2 और 17765 ± 340 ई० 50^3 प्राप्त हुई है। इस आधर पर -760

विन्ध्य क्षेत्र की उच्च पूर्वपाषाण तथा मध्य पाषाण काल के संक्रमण कालीन संस्कृति को 17000 ई० पू० के बाद का माना गया है। गंगा घाटी की इस संस्कृति को भी यही समय प्रदान किया जा सकता है।

2. **मध्यपाषणिक संस्कृति —**

सांस्कृतिक अनुक्रम में उपरोच्त संस्कृति के काद जिस पाषाण कालीन संस्कृति के प्रमाण मिले हैं उसे मध्य पाषाणिक संस्कृति के नाम से जाना जाता है। इस काल के जीव और वनस्पति जगत के अध्ययन से यह तथ्य उद्घाटित हुआ है कि अब घास के मैदानों की अधिकता हो गयी थी। मनुष्य की शिकार करने के लिये और खाने योग्य जंगली घासों को काटने के लिये नये प्रकार के उपकरणों की आवश्यकता हुई। ये उपकरण आकार में अत्यन्य छोटे हैं अतः इन्हें लघुपाषाण उपकरण कहा जाता है। इसके पूर्व की संस्कृति के उपकरण प्रायः चर्ट पत्थर पर ही बनाये जाते थे लेकिन अब चर्ट के अतिरिक्त चैलिसडनी, अगेट, कार्नेलियन, क्वार्ट्ज आदि पत्थरों का प्रयोग उपकरण निर्माण में होने लगा। यद्यपि इन उपकरणों के निर्माण की तकनीक वही है जो उच्च-पूर्व पाषांण तथा मध्यपाषाण काल के संक्रमण काल की लेकिन उपकरण प्रकारों में अब अधिक विविधता दृष्टी-गोचर होती है।

इस संस्कृति के उपकरण सबसे अधिक क्षेत्र में सबसे अधिक स्थलों से प्राप्त हुए हैं। गंगा के उत्तर वाराणसी इलाहाबाद, सुल्तानपुर, जौनपुर और प्रतापगढ से इस संस्कृति के लगभग 193 स्थल प्रकाश में आये

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1. जी. आर. शर्मा और अन्य, **फ्राम हंटिंग, गेदरिंग टू प्रोडक्सन एण्ड डोमेस्टीकेशन आफ एनीमल्स : इक्श कैवेशन्स एट चोपनी माण्डो, महदहा एण्ड महगड़ा**, 1980, पृष्ठ 33-76, इलाहाबाद।
2. सी-14 डेट लिस्ट, I/1976, फिजिकल रिसर्च लेबोरेटरी, अहमदाबाद।
3. सी-14 डेटलिस्ट जुलाई 1973, फिजिकल रिसर्च लेबोरेटरी, अहमदाबाद।

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हैं।[1] इस संस्कृति के विकास की एक अवस्था में कुछ नये उपकरणों का अविष्कार हो जाता है। ये उपकरण त्रिभुज और समलम्ब चतुर्भुज के आकार के हैं। अपने ज्यामितीय आकार के ही कारण मध्यपाषाणिक संस्कृति के इस चरण के उपकरणों को ज्यामितीय लघुपाषाण उपकरण कहते हैं। इस प्रकार मध्यपाषाणिक संस्कृति दो चरणों में विभक्त हो गयी है –

1. अज्यामितिक लघुपाषाण उपकरण और 2. ज्यामितिक

गंगा घाटी में सबसे अधिक लगभग 172 स्थल अज्यामितिक लघुपाषण उपकरणों वाले हैं। इस चरण के प्रमुख स्थलों में इलाहाबाद के कुढ़ा (अक्षांश 25° 31' 15" उ०, देशान्तर 81° 43' 17" पूर्व), भीखमपुर (अक्षांश 25° 31' 15" उ०, देशान्तर 81° 44' 41" पूर्व) और महरूडीय (अक्षांश 25° 31' 58" उ०, देशान्तर 81° 49' 3" पूर्व), प्रतापगढ के हड़ही भिदुली (अक्षांश 25° 50' 38" उत्तर, देशान्तर 81° 48' 25" पूर्व), कन्धई मधुपुर (अक्षांश 25° 59' 50" उत्तर, देशान्तर 82° 4' 0" पूर्व आदि स्थलों का उल्लेख किया जा सकता है।

द्वितीय चरण के अभी तक लगभग 21 स्थल प्रकाश में आये हैं। उल्लेखनीय स्थल हैं इलाहाबाद के बिछिया (अक्षांश 25° 34' 13" उत्तर, देशान्तर 81° 43' 25" पूर्व) प्रतापगढ के भेवनी (अक्षांश 25° 59' 50" उत्तर, देशान्तर 82° 9' 20" पूर्व) धर्मनपुर (अक्षांश 26° 1' 0" उत्तर, देशान्तर 82° 5' 10" पूर्व) उतरास (अक्षांश 25° 58' 30" उत्तर, देशान्तर 82° 8' 30" पूर्व)। ज्यामितिक लघुपाषाण उपकरणों वाले दो स्थलों का उत्खनन भी किया गया है जिससे संस्कृति के विविध पक्षों पर प्रकाश पड़ा है। ये उत्खनित स्थल हैं प्रतापगढ में स्थित सराय नहर राय और महदहा।

सरायनाहरराय (अक्षांश 25° 48 उत्तर, देशान्तर 81° 50 पूर्व) प्रतापगढ से 15 किलोमीटर दक्षिण पश्चिम, एक धनुषाकार झील के किनारे स्थित है। यह झील अब सूख चुकी है। सरायनाहरराय में किये गये उत्खनन[2] से कब्रों में दफनाये हुए नर कंकाल, गर्त चूल्हे, लघुपाषाण उपकरण आदि प्राप्त हुये हैं। लोग समूह में रहते थे इसके परिणामस्वरूप सामूहिक रूप में प्रयुक्त होने वाले गर्त चूल्हे और फर्श प्रकाश में आये हैं। इस फर्श के चारों ओर चार गोलाकार गड्ढे मिले हैं जिनमें लट्ठा गाड़कर छत बनाई गई थी। फर्श पर जली मिट्टी के टूकड़े, जानवरों की जली अधजली हड्डियाँ, घोंघे और लघुपाषाण उपकरण प्राप्त हुये हैं। गर्त चूल्हे गोले अथवा अण्डाकार हैं। इसमें जानवरों का मांस भूना जाता था। चूल्हे से उपलब्ध जानवरों की हड्डियाँ जली अथवा अधजली हैं। चूल्हों की राख में कोयले नहीं प्राप्त होते इससे लगता है कि मांस को घास फूस से ही भूना जाता था। एक चूल्हे को दो बार खोदकर प्रयोग करने के प्रमाण मिले हैं। इस स्थल पर मध्यपाषाणिक

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1. ये सब पुरातात्विक स्थल प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के प्रो. जी. आर. शर्मा के निर्देशन में किये गये गहन सर्वेक्षण के परिणाम स्वरूप प्रकाश में आये हैं।
2. जी. आर. शर्मा, मेसोलिथिक लेक कलचर्स इन द गंगा वैली, प्रोसीडिंग्स आफ द प्रीहिस्टारिक सोसायटी, वाल्यूम 31, 1973, पृष्ठ 134-146.

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मानव कम से कम दो बार रहने के लिये आया था। यहाँ से उपलब्ध हड्डियों के अध्ययन से जिन जानवरों का प्रमाण मिला है उनमें गाय, बैल, भैंसा, हाथी, हिरण, बारहसिंघा तथा भेड़ बकरियों का उल्लेख किया जा सकता है। उल्लेखनीय है कि ये सभी पशु जंगली थे। कछुआ, घोंघे, मछली तथा चिड़ियों के अस्थि अवशेष भी मिले हैं जिन्हें मध्यपाषाणिक मानव खाया करता था। मध्यपाषाण काल के जानवर आज के पशुओं की तुलना में काफी बड़े थे।

सरायनाहरराय के उत्खनन से मध्यपाषाणिक लोगों की शवाधान प्रणाली पर विस्तृत प्रकाश पड़ा है। शवों को अण्डाकार छिछली कब्रों में दफनाया जाता था। कब्र में मृतक को रखने के पहले मुलायम भुरभुरी मिट्टी बिछायी जाती थी और उन्हें सांगोपांग लिटाकर रखा जाता था। इनका सिर पूर्व की तरफ तथा पैर पश्चिम की तरफ रखा जाता था। एक हाथ शरीर के समानान्तर और दूसरा पेट पर रख कर दफनाने की परम्परा थी। मृत्योपरान्त किसी दूसरे जीवन के बारे में भी लोग आस्था रखते थे। इसीलिये कब्रों में लघुपाषाण उपकरण, जानवरों की हड्डियाँ तथा घोंघे आदि मृतकों को भेंट के रूप में रखे हुए प्राप्त होते हैं। कब्रों को ढकते समय चूल्हों की राख भी प्रयुक्त होती थी। एक कब्र में चार मुर्दे एक ही साथ दफनाये हुये मिले हैं जिसमें पहले एक पुरुष तथा नारी और उसके ऊपर पुनः एक पुरुष और नारी के कंकाल रखे हुये मिले हैं। उल्लेखनीय है कि मध्यपाषाण काल की इस कब्र में नारियाँ पुरुषों के बायें रखी गयी है।

इस स्थल से बहुत से लघुपाषाण उपकरण निर्माण की विभिन्न अवस्थाओं में प्राप्त हुये हैं। उपकरण निर्माण के लिये चैलिसडनी, अगेट, चैस्पर और कार्नेलियन पत्थरों का प्रयोग किया गया है। यहाँ से जो उपकरण प्राप्त हुये हैं उनमें कई तरह के नोक, समानान्तर बाहु वालें और भूथड़े ब्लेड, फलक, अर्धचन्द्र, विषम बाहु और समद्विबाहु त्रिभुज, खुर्चनी तथा तक्षणी का उल्लेख किया जा सकता है।

जानवरों की हड्डियों पर बने हुए उपकरण यहाँ अधिक नहीं प्राप्त हुये हैं। लेकिन कुछ पशुओं के सींगों से जमीन को खोदने का काम लिया जाता था। इसीलिये उनकी नोक अत्यन्त चिकनी हो गयी है। 13.2 सें०मी० लम्बे तथा 3 सें०मी० चौड़े हड्डी के बने हुए एक ब्लेड का उल्लेख किया जा सकता है जिस पर फलक निकाल कर तेज धार बनायी गयी है।

महदहा (अक्षांश 25° 59′ 2″ उत्तर, देशान्तर 82° 11′ 30″ पूर्व) गंगा घाटी का दूसरा मध्य-पाषाणिक स्थल जिसका उत्खनन किया गया है महदहा है।[1] यह स्थल प्रतापगढ जिले की पट्टी तहसील में प्रतापगढ से पूर्वोत्तर 31 किलोमीटर और पट्टी से उत्तर 5 किलोमीटर की दूरी पर वर्तमान महदहा गांव के पूर्व दिशा में स्थित है।

1953 में शारदा सहायक नहर परियोजना की जौनपुर शाखा से इस स्थल का काफी भाग नष्ट हो गया था। 1978 में इस नहर को चौड़ा करने की प्रक्रिया में महदहा पुरातत्व जगत में प्रकाश में आया। उसी

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1. इण्डियन आर्क्यालजी : ए रिव्यू 1977-78 और 78-79, अप्रकाशित तथा जी. आर. शर्मा, बी. डी. मिश्रा और जे. एन. पाल, इक्सकैवेशन्स एट महदहा, इलाहाबाद, 1980.

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वर्ष यहाँ पर प्राचीन इतिहास संस्कृति और पुरातत्व विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के प्रो. जी. आर. शर्मा के निर्देशन में उत्खनन प्रारम्भ किया गया।

महदहा का मध्यपाषाणिक स्थल लगभग 8000 वर्गमीटर के क्षेत्र में एक धनुषाकार झील के पश्चिमी तट पर स्थित है। इस स्थल से होकर गुजरने वाली नहर के पश्चिम आवास तथा कब्रगाह के प्रमाण मिले हैं और पूर्व मध्यपाषाण कालीन जानवरों की बहुत सी कटी हुई हड्डियाँ प्राप्त हुई हैं। संभवतः यही वह क्षेत्र था जहाँ पर मध्यपाषाणिक मानव जानवरों को काटता था और हड्डियों के आभूषण तथा उपकरण बनाता था।

महदहा के आवास तथा शवाधान क्षेत्र में मध्यपाषाणिक मानव के सांस्कृतिक अवशेष 60 से० मी० मोटे जमाव में दबे पड़े हैं। इस जमाव को स्तरीकरण के सिद्धान्त पर चार स्तरों में विभाजित किया गया है। खुले हुये क्षेत्र में पाषाणिक संस्कृति का इतना मोटा जमाव अत्यन्त उल्लेखनीय है। इससे इस स्थल पर मध्यपाषाणिक मानव के एक लम्बे समय तक रहने का बोध होता है।

यहाँ के कब्रगाहों से कुल 30 शवाधानों का उत्खनन किया गया है। जो स्तरीकरण तथा एक कब्र का दूसरी कब्र के ऊपर होने के आधार पर चार विभिन्न चरणों से सम्बन्धित हैं। सरायनाहर राय की तरह महदहा की समाधियाँ भी छिदली और अण्डाकार हैं जिसमें मृतकों को सांगोपांग लिटाकर रखा गया है। यद्यपि महदहा में भी अधिकतर मृतकों का सिर पश्चिम की तरफ तथा पैर पूर्व की तरफ रखा गया है लेकिन इस स्थल पर मध्यपाषाणिक मानव अपने मृतकों को कभी कभी सिर पश्चिम और पैर पूर्व की तरफ रखकर भी दफनाता था। संभव है यहाँ दो प्रजातियों के लोग एक ही साथ रहते रहे हों। समाधियों में मृतकों के दोनों हाथ प्रायः शरीर के समानान्तर फैलाकर रखे गये हैं। लेकिन कुछ मृतकों का एक हाथ कटि के नीचे अथवा जांघों के बीच में रखा हुआ भी मिला है। अधिकतर मृतकों के कपाल बायीं ओर झुके हुये हैं। एक नर कंकाल विशेष उल्लेखनीय है जिसके दोनों पैर मोड़कर रखे गये हैं, बायां हाथ कटि के नीचे और दाहिना जांघों के बीच में है। महदहा में दो बच्चों के शवाधान भी प्राप्त हुये हैं जिनमें से एक 6 वर्ष का बालक और दूसरा 4 वर्ष की बालिका है।

दो समाधियों में युग्म शवाधान के प्रमाण भी प्राप्त हुये हैं। एक समाधि में नारी बायें ओर और पुरुष दायें रखकर दफनाये गये हैं तथा दूसरी में पुरुष नीचे और नारी उसके ठीक ऊपर है। पुरुष अपने कान में कुण्डल धारण किये हैं और गले में हार। एक दूसरी कब्र में भी पुरुष के गले में हार उपलब्ध हुये हैं। उल्लेखनीय है कि एक भी नारी आभूषण नहीं पहने है। लगता है आभूषण से अपने को सुसज्जित करने की परम्परा पुरुष तक ही सीमित थी। प्रागैतिहासिक भारत में आभूषण के प्रयोग का यह प्राचीनतम प्रमाण है ये आभूषण छिद्रयुक्त गोलाकार हड्डियों को प्राय. बारह सिंघे की सींग के निचले भाग को काट कर बनाये गये हैं। उत्खनन में कई आभरण निर्माण की विभिन्न अवस्थाओं में प्राप्त हुये हैं जिनसे इनकी निर्माण प्रक्रिया पर प्रकाश पड़ता है।

महदहा और सरायनाहरराय के मध्य पाषाणिक मानव सामान्यतः 1.80 मीटर लम्बे थे जिन्हें डोलिको सफालिक प्रजाति का माना गया है। हाथ-पैर की हड्डियों के दोनों सिरों के अस्थिकरण, कपाल की संधि रेखाओं के विलयन, ठुड्ढी तथा दांतों की अवस्था के आधार पर विभिन्न नर कंकालों को 17 से 35 वर्ष की

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आयु निर्धारित की गयी है। महदहा में बच्चों के अतिरिक्त लगभग 50 वर्ष की एक वृद्धा का नरकंकाल प्राप्त हुआ है। तत्कालीन जीवन की दुरूहता संभवतः मनुष्यों को अधिक दिनों तक जीवित नहीं रहने देती थी।

सराय नाहर राय और महदहा दोनों ही स्थलों पर आवास और समाधियां पास ही पास मिले हैं। जहाँ पर लोग निवास करते थे वहीं पर अपने मृतकों के लिये समाधियाँ भी बनाते थे। महदहा में गर्त चूल्हे सरायनाहर राय की तरह गोल अथवा अण्डाकार हैं लेकिन कभी कभी इन्हें गीली मिट्टी से लीपा जाता था। मिट्टी का यह लेप पक गया है। सम्भवतः लेपयुक्त गर्त चूल्हों में मांस पिण्ड रखकर उस पर घास फूस रख दिया जाता था और मिट्टी के टुकड़ों से ढककर आग लगायी जाती थी। यही कारण है कि इन चूल्हों में जली हड्डियाँ और राख के अतिरिक्त जली मिट्टी के टुकड़े भी प्राप्त होते हैं।

सराय नाहर राय की ही तरह महदहा का मध्यपाषाणिक स्थल भी धनुषाकार झील के किनारे स्थित है। आवास स्थल और वध क्षेत्र से लगे हुए झील में जानवरों की हड्डियाँ लघुपाषाण उपकरण आदि प्राप्त हुये हैं। झील के दक्षिणी पश्चिमी किनारे किये गये उत्खनन के परिणाम स्वरूप जमाव के 10 स्तर प्रकाश में आये। तट पर भी इसकी गहराई 90 मीटर है। मध्यपाषाण काल के अवशेष झील में नीचे के दो स्तरों 9 और 8 से मिले हैं जिसके अन्तर्गत लघुपाषाण उपकरण, जली मिट्टी के टुकड़े, हड्डियों के उपकरण, जानवरों की हड्डियों, सिल लोढों के खण्डित भाग आदि सम्मिलित है। मध्यपाषाणिक संस्कृति के अवसान के बाद भी प्राकृतिक कारणों से झील में अवसादन होता रहा जिसमें आवास स्थल से जानवरों की हड्डियाँ लघुपाषाण उपकरण आदि बह-कर जमा होते रहे। झील के विविध स्तरों की मिट्टी में मिले पुष्प परागों के विश्लेषण का कार्य इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय का वनस्पति विभाग कर रहा है। अभी तक जो परिणाम मिले हैं उनसे यह कहा जा सकता है कि मध्य पाषाण काल में यह क्षेत्र घास के मैदान और झाड़ियों से आच्छादित था।

महदहा के बध क्षेत्र और झील से जिन जानवरों की हड्डियाँ मिली हैं उनमें बैल, जंगली भैंसा, हिरण, बारह सिंघा, सुअर, दरियाई घोड़ा, हाथी, गैंडा, भेड़ बकरी और घोड़ा का उल्लेख किया जा सकता है। ये सब जानवर जंगली हैं। पशुपालन का कोई प्रमाण नहीं मिलता। लेकिन प्रो० के० आर० आलूर ने महदहा की भेड़ बकरियों के हड्डियों के अध्ययन से यह निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि यहाँ पर चार प्रकार की भेंड़ बकरियाँ थीं। संभवतः अब मानव इन पशुओं के अत्यधिक निकट आ रहा था। असंभव नहीं यदि पशुपालन प्रारंभ होने की प्रक्रिया के प्राथमिक प्रमाण यहाँ से मिलें।

उल्लेखनीय है कि महदहा से लघुपाषाण उपकरण सरायनाहर राय की अपेक्षा संख्या में कम हैं। इसी कमी को पूरा करने के लिये सम्भवतः हड्डियों पर उपकरण बनाये गये। हड्डी के बने उपकरणों में वाणाग्र, नोक, खुर्चनी, आरी, रूखानी आदि उल्लेखनीय है। हड्डी के बने वाणाग्रों का भारत में प्राचीनतम प्रमाण महदहा के उत्खनन ने ही प्रस्तुत किया है।

बलुआ पत्थर पर बने सिल लोढे, हथगोले आदि भी महदहा से अत्यधिक मात्रा में उपलब्ध हुये हैं। सिल लोढों की उपलब्धि से प्रतीत होता है कि मनुष्य अब जंगली घासों के बीज पीसकर खाने लगा था। महदहा के

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आवास समाधि क्षेत्र में कुछ ऐसे गर्त प्राप्त हुये हैं जिनमें गीली मिट्टी का मोटा लेप लगाया गया है। इनमें कभी-कभी लेप की कई पर्तें भी प्राप्त होती हैं। चूंकि इन गर्तों में न तो राख मिलती है और न तो जली हड्डियाँ तथा जली मिट्टी के टुकड़े, इससे संभावना यही है कि इन गर्तों में खाने योग्य जंगली घासों के बीज संग्रहीत किये जाते थे। जब इनका लेप खराब होने लगता था तो इन्हें पुनः लीप दिया जाता था।

महदहा के लघुपाषाण उपकरण भी सरायनाहर राय की ही तरह चर्ट, चैल्सिडनी, कार्नेलियन, अगेट और जैस्पर पत्थरों पर बने हैं। उपकरण प्रकारों में समानान्तर बाहुवाले ब्लेड, भूथड़े ब्लेड, नोक, खुर्चनी, तक्षणी, त्रिभुज और समलम्ब चतुर्भुज सम्मिलित हैं। सरायनाहार राय से समलम्ब चतुर्भुज नहीं मिले। विन्ध्य क्षेत्र में लेखहिया[1] और चोपनी माण्डों के उत्खनन से इस बात के प्रमाण मिले हैं कि समलम्ब चतुर्भुज का ज्ञान मनुष्य को त्रिभुज के बाद हुआ। इस आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि महदहा की मध्यपाषाणिक संस्कृति कालक्रम में सरायनाहर राय के बाद की है। सरायनाहर राय में सिल लोढे, हड्डियों के बाणाग्र तथा आभूषण आदि का न मिलना भी महदहा को उसके बाद का प्रणाणित करता है।

विन्ध्य क्षेत्र में, जहाँ से इस सस्कृति के लोग पत्थर पिण्ड लेकर जीविका की तलाश में आये, लोग पहाड़ की गुफाओं अथवा खुले स्थानों पर रहते थे। वहाँ ये लोग शिलाश्रयों की दीवालों और छतों पर तत्कालीन पशुओं के चित्र, आखेट दृश्य, धनुषवाण धारण किये मनुष्यों तथा नृत्य करते पुरुष महिलाओं के चित्र बनाते थे। जिन रंगों से ये चित्र बनाये गये हैं उनके प्रमाण गेरू पिण्डों के रूप में शिलाश्रयों के उत्खनन से प्राप्त हुये हैं। इस संस्कृति के गंगा घाटी के स्थलों पर शिलाश्रयों के अभाव में इनकी कलात्मक अभिरूचि के कोई प्रमाण नहीं मिलते। लेकिन घिसे हुये गेरूवे, टुकड़े प्राप्त हुये हैं। इन गेरू पिण्डों से निकले रंग का प्रयोग कहाँ किया जाता था इसका कोई पुरातात्विक प्रमाण हमारे पास नहीं है। संभव है चेहरे को अलंकृत किया जाता हो या पशुओं की खालों पर चित्र बनाये जाते हों। कुछ हड्डियों के उपकरणों रेखायें उत्कीर्ण करके अलंकृत करने का प्रमाण अवश्य मिला है।

प्रतापगढ़ जिले में महदहा से उत्तर लगभग 5 कि० मी० की दूरी पर एक अन्य महत्वपूर्ण स्थल दमदमा सई नदी की सहायक पीली नदी के दो नालों के संगम पर स्थित है। यहाँ पर इलाहाबाद यूनिवर्सिटी ने 1983 में उत्खनन कार्य किया जिसके परिणामस्वरूप महदहा की ही तरह लघुपाषाण उपकरण, जानवरों की बहुत सी हड्डियाँ सिल लोढ़े, पत्थर के हथौड़े, लघुपाषाण उपकरण, चूल्हे और शवधान प्राप्त हुये हैं।

गंगा घाटी की मध्यपाषाणिक संस्कृति को क्या समय प्रदान किया जाय सरायनाहरराय से एक कार्बन तिथि 8395 ± 110 ई० पू०[2] प्राप्त हुई है। अज्यामितीय मध्यपाषाणिक संस्कृति को इसके पहले का और महदहा की मध्यपाषाणिक संस्कृति को इसके बाद का समय दिया जा सकता है। विन्ध्य क्षेत्र के लेखहिया से दो कार्बन

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1. वी०डी० मिश्र, **सम ऐस्पेक्ट आफ इण्डियन आर्क्यालाजी**, 1977, पृ० 53.
2. टी० आई० एफ० आर०, 1971, डेटलिस्ट (टी० एफ० 1104).

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तिथियाँ 171±110 ई० पू० 2410±115 ई० पू०[1] प्राप्त हुई हैं। इस आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि गंगा घाटी में भी यह संस्कृति संभवतः 2000 ई० पू० तक चलती रही।

3. नव पाषाणिक संस्कृति—

मध्य गंगा घाटी के पश्चिमी भाग में जहाँ से मध्यपाषाण संस्कृति के बहुत से स्थल प्रकाश में आये हैं अभी तक कोई नवपाषाणिक स्थल नहीं मिला है। लेकिन इसके पूर्वी भाग में एक स्थल चिरांद प्रकाश में आया है जिसके उत्खनन से इस संस्कृति के विविध अवयवों पर प्रकाश पड़ा है।

मध्य गंगा घाटी के पूर्वी भाग में स्थित चिरांद लगभग दो दशक तक यहाँ की नवपाषाणिक संस्कृति का प्रतिनिधित्व करता रहा। गोरखपुर जिले में स्थित सोहगौरा नामक स्थल के निचले धरातल से विशुद्ध नव-पाषाणिक सामग्री उपलब्ध हुई थी जो विन्ध्य क्षेत्र के कोल डिहवा तथा महगड़ा एवं बिहार के चिरांद से उपलब्ध सामग्री के समान है। हाल में किये गये सर्वेक्षण से मध्य गंगा घाटी की इस संस्कृति पर प्रचुर प्रकाश पड़ा है। सोहगौरा के अतिरिक्त इस संस्कृति के प्रमुख स्थलों में लहुरादेवा का विशेष उल्लेख किया जा सकता है, जहाँ से हस्त निर्मित नवपाषाणिक मिट्टी के बर्तन तथा लघुपाषाण उपकरण प्राप्त हुये हैं।

सोहगौरा का नवपाषाणिक सांस्कृतिक जमाव लगभग 90 सें० मी० मोटा है, जिसमें हस्त निर्मित रस्सी अथवा कछुये की हड्डी की छाप वाले, खुरदुरी सतह वाले और घोंट कर चिकने किये गये मृद्भाण्ड – विन्ध्य क्षेत्र के नवपाषाणिक बर्तनों की तरह—उपलब्ध हुये हैं। अत्यन्त सीमित उत्खनन क्षेत्र होने के कारण इस संस्कृति के अधिक भौतिक अवशेष नहीं मिले हैं लेकिन प्रमुख पुरातात्विक सामग्रियों में बाँस-बल्ली के निशान से युक्त जली मिट्टी के टुकड़े, पत्थर की सिल, गर्त चूल्हा, हड्डी तथा स्टिम टाइट के मनक आदि का उल्लेख किया जा सकता है।[2]

चिरांद (अक्षांश 25° 45′ उत्तर, देशान्तर 84° 45′ पूर्व) बिहार के सारन जिले में गंगा के बायें तट पर स्थित है। इस स्थल पर क्रम से नवपाषाणिक ताम्र पाषाणिक और लोह काल के सांस्कृतिक जमाव प्राप्त हुये हैं।[3] डा० वी० पी० सिन्हा के नेतृत्व में किये गये उत्खनन से यहाँ पर नवपाषाण काल का 3.5 मीटर मोटा जमाव प्राप्त हुआ है।

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1. डी० पी० अग्रवाल और शीला कुसुमगर, **प्रीहिस्टारिक क्रोनोलाजी एण्ड रेडियो कार्बन डेटिंग इन इण्डिया**, 1974, पृ० 60.
2. शैलनाथ चतुर्वेदी, अर्ली पाटरी फ्राम सोहगौरा, इलाहाबाद, 1980, में हुए इण्डियन आर्क्यालाजिकल सोसायटी के सम्मेलन में पढ़ा गया शोध पत्र.
3. चिरांद का उत्खनन बिहार प्रान्त के पुरातत्व विभाग द्वारा डॉ० वी० पी० सिन्हा के निर्देशन में किया गया। देखिए इण्डियन आर्क्यालाजी : ए रिव्यू 62-63 पृ० 6, 63-64 पृ० 6-8, 68-69 पृ० 5-6, 69-70 पृ० 3-4, 70-71 पृ० 6-7, 71-72 पृ० 6-7.

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चिरांद के नवपाषाणिक धरातल[1] का क्षैतिज उत्खनन नहीं किया गया है। इसलिये उनके गृह निर्माण और आवासीय अवशेषों पर अधिक प्रकाश नहीं पड़ा है। लेकिन गोलाकार या अर्धगोलाकार झोपड़ियों के प्रमाण उत्खनन से उपलब्ध हुये हैं। जली मिट्टी के ऐसे टुकड़े जिन पर बांस और लकड़ी के निशान हैं, यह बताते हैं कि इस संस्कृति के लोग झोपड़ियों की दीवाल लकड़ी और बांस से बनाकर उन पर मिट्टी का मोटा लेप लगाते थे।

चिरांद से क्वार्टजाइट, बेसाल्ट या ग्रेनाइट पत्थरों पर बने हुये सिल लोढे हथ गोले, हथोड़े और कुल्हाड़ियां प्राप्त हुई हैं। यहां की कुल्हाड़ियां गोलाकार हैं। इनके निर्माण के लिए सबसे पहले फलक निकाले गये हैं फिर इन्हें गढकर और रगड़कर अत्यन्त चिकना और पालिशदार बनाया गया है। कुछ कुल्हाड़ियों का अनुमान आयताकार है।

चैल्सिडनी, चर्ट, अगेट आदि महान कणवाले पत्थरों पर बने समानान्तर बाहुवाले ब्लेड, खुर्चनी, वाणाग्र, खचित ब्लेड, नोक, दन्तुरित नोक अर्द्धचन्द्र छिद्रक आदि लघुपाषाण उपकरण भी यहाँ से प्राप्त हुये हैं। कुछ ज्यामितिक उपकरण भी लघुपाषाण उपकरणों में सम्मिलित हैं। घिस कर पालिश किये गये गोलाकार नव-पाषाणिक कुल्हाड़ियों की संख्या चिरांद में कम हैं लेकिन हड्डियों और मृगश्रृगों के बने हुए विभिन्न प्रकार के उपकरण यहाँ से प्राप्त हुये हैं। इन उपकरणों में सुई नोक, छिद्रक, पिन, पुच्छल एवं छिद्रयुक्त वाणाग्र, खुर्चनी, छैनी, हथौड़े, कुल्हाड़ियाँ आदि सम्मिलित हैं।

नवपाषाणिक चिरांद का पात्र परम्पराओं के अध्ययन से भी इस संस्कृति के स्वरूप पर प्रकाश पड़ा है। लाल, भूरे, काले एवं काले तथा लाल पात्र परम्परा के मिट्टी के बर्तन यहाँ से प्राप्त हुये हैं। कुछ बर्तनों की ऊपरी सतह को चिकने पत्थरों से घोंट कर चिकना और चमकीला बनाया गया है। ये पात्र मुख्यतः हस्त निर्मित है लेकिन कुछ ऐसे पात्र भी है जिन्हें साधारण चाक पर धीरे धीरे घुमाकर बनाया गया है। यहाँ से विन्ध्य क्षेत्र की तरह रस्सी या कछुये की हड्डी की छाप वाले मिट्टी के बर्तन भी उपलब्ध हुये हैं। कुछ बर्तनों को गीली मिट्टी लगाकर ऊपरी सतह पर खुरदुरा भी किया गया है। बर्तनों को आसंजन विधि से अलंकृत करने अथवा पका लेने के बाद उन्हें खरोंचकर अलंकृत करने का प्रमाण भी प्राप्त होता है। एक पात्र पर सोलह तीलियों वाले धुरी युक्त चक्र का आरेखण उल्लेखनीय है। भूरे रंग के बर्तनों पर पका लेने के बाद लाल गेरू से चित्र बनाये गये हैं। चित्रित अभिप्रायों में एक दूसरे को आर पार काटती रेखाएं, संकेन्द्रिक वृत्त और लहरदार रेखायें सम्मिलित है। एक पात्र खण्ड पर बिन्दुओं से त्रिशुल का चित्र बनाया गया है। लाल गेरू से चित्रित ये अभिप्राय कभी कभी लाल तथा काले और लाल पात्र परम्परा के बर्तनों पर भी प्राप्त होते हैं। चिरांद से एक पात्र खण्ड ऐसा भी प्राप्त हुआ है जिस पर चटाई की छाप है। बर्तन आकारों में चौड़े अथवा संकरे मुंहवाले गोलाकार

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1. एल० ए० नारायण, नियोलिथिक सेटिलमेंट एट चिरांद, जर्नल आफ बिहार रिसर्च सोसायटी, वाल्यूम 56, 1970, पृ० 1-35.
   वी० एस० वर्मा, इक्शकवेसन्स एट चिरांद : न्यूलाइट आन इण्डियन नियोलिथिक कल्चर काम्पलेक्स पुरातत्व नं० 4, 1971, पृ० 18-22.

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घड़े, टोंटीदार घड़े, आधार वाले कटोरे, छिद्रयुक्त, होठदार अथवा टोंटीदार कटोरे और लम्बे तथा छोटे नलीदार टोंटी के बर्तन सम्मिलित हैं।

चिरांद के नवपाषाण कालीन लोगों के कलात्मक अभिरूचि को अभिव्यक्त करने वाले उपादानों में उप-रत्नों पर बने हुये सुन्दर मनके हड्डी के कुण्डल और झुमके, मिट्टी तथा हड्डियों की चूड़ियाँ, कूबड़ वाले बैल, चिड़िया तथा नाग का मृण्मूर्तियों का उल्लेख किया जा सकता है।

अन्य नवपाषाणिक संस्कृतियों की ही तरह चिरांद का नवपाषाणिक संस्कृति की अर्थव्यवस्था खेती और पशुपालन पर आधारित थी। जली मिट्टी के टुकड़ों में धान की भूसी के प्रमाण प्राप्त हुये हैं। धान के अतिरिक्त गेहुं, मूंग और मसूर से भी यहाँ के लोगों का परिचय था। गाय बैल और भैंस की हड्डियाँ प्राप्त हुई हैं जो इनके पालतु पशु रहे होंगे। इसके अतिरिक्त हाथी, गैंडा, हिरन तथा बारहसिंघा आदि जंगली जानवरों की हड्डियाँ भी उत्खनन में प्राप्त हुई हैं।

पूर्वी मध्य गंगा घाटी का इस नवपाषाण संस्कृति का विन्ध्य क्षेत्र की नवपाषाणिक संस्कृति से तुलना करने पर हमें कुछ मनोरंजक तथ्य प्राप्त होते हैं। विन्ध्य क्षेत्र में नवपाषाण संस्कृति के कई स्थलों का उत्खनन किया है। बेलन घाटी में कोल डिहवा, पंचोह और महगड़ा के उत्खनन से इस संस्कृति में गोलाकार नव-पाषाणिक कुल्हाड़ियाँ, सिलोढे, लघुपाषाण उपकरण, मिट्टी के मनके, हड्डी के बने वाणाग्र और गोलाकार अथवा अण्डाकार झोपड़ियों के प्रमाण प्राप्त हुये हैं। यहाँ के लोग धान की खेती और गाय बैल, भेड़ बकरी, घोड़े आदि पशुओं को पालते थे। पाषाण उपकरणों के अध्ययन और पालतू तथा जंगली गाय बैल, भेंड़ बकरी के साथ साथ मिलने के आधार पर यह माना गया है कि विन्ध्य क्षेत्र की नवपाषाण संस्कृति ने स्थानीय जंगली पशुओं को ही पालतू बनाया। यहाँ से उपलब्ध कार्बन तिथियों के आलोक में धान की खेती सर्वप्रथम प्रारम्भ करने का भी श्रेय विन्ध्य क्षेत्र की इस संस्कृति को है। इस संस्कृति को पाँचवीं छठी सहस्त्राब्दी का समय प्रदान किया गया है।

विन्ध्य क्षेत्र के नवपाषाण संस्कृति की पात्र परम्परायें पूर्णतः हस्त निर्मित है। यहां की कुछ पात्र परम्परायें पूर्णतः हस्त निर्मित है। यहाँ की कुछ पात्र परम्परा के बर्तनों की ऊपरी सतह पर रस्सी की छाप अथवा कछुये की हड्डी से पीट कर अलंकृत किया गया है और कुछ की ऊपरी सतह को खुरदुरा बनाया गया है।[1] कुछ पात्रों की ऊपरी सतह को घोंटकर चिकना और चमकीला किया गया है। पात्रों को घोंटकर चिकना बनाने की प्रथा से दोनों संस्कृतियों का परिचय था। एक ही तरह के घड़े और कटोर तथा ओंटीदार बर्तन भी दोनों संस्कृतियों से प्राप्त हुये हैं।

दोनों संस्कृतियों के नवपाषाणिक कुल्हाड़ियों में साम्य है और एक ही तरह के लघुपाषाण उपकरण भी प्राप्त होते हैं। चिरोंद में पात्रों को पकाने के बाद चित्रित भी किया गया है। लेकिन विन्ध्य क्षेत्र में पात्रों को चित्रित करने की परम्परा नहीं थी और न तो उन्हें पकाने के बाद खरोच कर अलंकृत ही किया गया है। चिरोंद

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1. जगन्नाथ पाल, नवपाषाणिक संस्कृतियाँ डॉ० राधाकान्त वर्मा द्वारा लिखित **भारतीय प्रागैतिहासिक संस्कृतियां** 1977 में पृ० 278-79.

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में मिलने वाली मृण्मूर्तियाँ भी महगड़ा कोलडिहवा और पंचोह से नहीं मिला है। हड्डियों के बने उपकरणों की संख्या भी विन्ध्य क्षेत्र में अधिक नहीं है। उपरोक्त विश्लेषण से यही प्रतीत होता है कि चिरोंद का नवपाषाणिक संस्कृति अधिक विकसित है जबकि विन्ध्य क्षेत्र की यह संस्कृति अभी भी शैशवावस्था में है।[1] उपलब्ध कार्बन तिथियों के आलोक में भी चिरांद की नवपाषाण संस्कृति विन्ध्य क्षेत्र की संस्कृति के काफी बाद की प्रमाणित होती है।

चिरांद के नवपाषाणिक धरातल से कुल 9 कार्बन तिथियाँ प्राप्त हुई हैं जिनमें से तीन तिथियें 1580±110, 1675±140 और 1775±155 ई० पू० को उपयुक्त माना गया है।[2] नवपाषाणिक और ताम्र पाषाणिक धरातलों के संधिस्थल से 1050±190 ई० पू० की एक तिथि प्राप्त हुई है। इस आधार पर चिरांद की नवपाषाणिक संस्कृति को 1800 ई० पू० से 1200 ई० पू० के मध्य रखा गया है।[3] चूंकि निचले धरातल से कोई तिथि नहीं मिली है। इसलिये इस संस्कृति का प्रारम्भ 2000 ई० पू० या इससे भी पूर्व का समय देने की संस्तुति की गई है।[4] यहाँ के अवसादन दर की गणना के आधार पर इस संस्कृति का प्रारम्भ और भी पहले 4000 से 3000 ई० पू० तक प्रस्तावित किया गया है।[5]

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1. वी० डी० मिश्र, **सम ऐस्पेक्ट्स आफ इण्डियन आर्क्यालाजी**, 1977, पृ० 116.
2. डी० मण्डल, **रेडियो कार्बन डेट्स एण्ड इण्डियन आर्क्यालाजी**, 1972, पृ० 116.
3. डी० पी० अग्रवाली और शीला कुसुमगर, **प्रीहिस्टारिक क्रोनोलाजी एण्ड रेडियो कार्बन डेटिंग इन इण्डिया**, 1973, पृ० 71.
4. वी० एस० वर्मा, वही, 1971, पृ० 22.
5. विष्णुमित्रे, **पैलियोबाटनिष्ट**, 1975.

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5

Neolithic Ceramic Industries

—S. N. Sahay

The Neolithic people made a remarkable progress in almost all spheres of life. Probably the ceramic industry was introduced in India by these people as there is practically no evidence of the use or manufacture of potteries in the early and middle Stone Ages. However, a few potsherds of the Mesolithic people have been found from Bagor in Rajasthan.[1] Since the Mesolithic period is placed in between the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic period,[2] it may be suggested on the basis of Bagor evidence that the ceramic industry was introduced by the Mesolithic people. But according to Gordon Childe, the manufacture of pots was a universal feature of the Neolithic communities However, these evidences show that the pots were probably introduced before the rise of the food producing community, or the Neolithic people.

Bruce-Foote[3] says that the potteries of the Neolithic people were dull-coloured and rough surfaced with little decoration. Such potteries have been found from Anantpur, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Tinnevelly, Baroda, Kathiawad, Baluchistan and many other regions. It has been suggested by most of the archaeologists that the potteries of the early Neolithic people were generally simple and hand-made but in course of time, particularly with the growth of their culture they started making potteries with the help of a wheel. Such potteries are refined, thin in section and fairly developed. This variety of pottery has been ascribed to the later Neolithic people who probably settled in the eastern parts of the country. Thus on the basis of pottery the Neolithic people may be divided into two groups, the early Neolithic people and the later Neolithic people. Although the potteries of the early Neolithic people were simple with little decoration yet, Potteries having impression with finger tips have been found from Bellary in Karnataka. A noteworthy form is vessels pierced with a certain number

1. H.D. Sankalia, *Pre And Proto-history of India and Pakistan*, p. 264.
2. *Ibid.*, P. 231.
3. Bruce-Foote, *Notes on the Ages and Distribution of the Foote collection of Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities*, p. 34.

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of holes in two pieces of grey pottery from the same place closely associated with these are forms analogus to the fabric marked pottery of which one has been reported in Travancore and to which class may be assigned a large number of those described as impressed with fillets of the simplest type which appear to have been so common in the Neolithic phase of India. An equally common form is the grooved pattern, two, three or sometimes even fourteen lines incised which is often varied by impressed or raised ring designs. The potteries of the later Neolithic people are better in execution and reveal more types and improvement in fabrics.

Potteries of Early Neolithic people or Neolithic Pottery of Phase I

The potteries of the early Neolithic people belonging to Phase I have been discovered from Tekkalkota and Sangankallu (both in Bellary district of Karnataka), Piklihal and Utnoor in Raichur, Brahmagiri, Paiyampali, Hallur (Dharwar) and T. Narasipur and Burzahom in Kashmir. Excepting Burzahom most of these sites are situated in South India.

The excavations at Tekkalkota reveal two main periods of occupation namely Neolithic-Chalcolithic and Megalithic. The potteries of these two phases show some differences which may be characterized as gradual development from purely hand-made stage to a hand-made-cum-wheel-made stage.[1]

The potteries of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic phase from almost all the excavated sites—Brahmagiri, Sangankallu, Piklihal, Tekkalakota, Hallur and Paiyampalli show four main fabrics, namely Grey ware, Brown ware, Buff ware and Decorated ware. The Grey ware could be sub-divided into three groups namely Pale Grey ware, Grey ware and Grey ware with ochre painting after firing. Similarly, the Decorated ware could also be divided into three classes namely painted, incised and rusticated bearing applique work and perforated.[2] Most of the potteries are hand-made, but in some cases, the use of a turn-table is postulated. Usually, fine, well levigated clay was used. Sometimes quartz-powder and mica was added to it or the micaceous clay was selected for the manufacture of such potteries. Probably these potteries were not baked at a high temperature. Consequently the ware show a remarkable range of colours resulting from unequal firing.

There is a very small percentage of the painted ware from the earliest layers at Brahmagiri and Piklihal. At Brahmagiri,[3] two kinds of painted pottery have been found.

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1. H.D. Sankalia, *The Stone Age Hill Dwellers of South India*, pp. 129-40; *Pre and Proto History of India and Pakistan*, p. 520.
2. H.D. Sankalia, *Pre and Proto-history of India and Pakistan*, p. 520.
3. *Ancient India*, No. 4, 1948, pp. 180-310.

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The first is a red burnished ware and slipped ware over which purple paint was applied while the second is an unburnished buff slipped ware. Now, coming to Piklihal, we find brown ochre (buff) burnished ware, with very occasional red burnished sherds.[1] On these, the only clear decorative motif visible is a series of radiating triangles, running like the points of a star from a band around the neck of a vessel. This is very much similar to the Jorwe ware and pottery from distant Iran. It is possible that these people later developed the highly carinated Jorwe bowls and *loṭās*, by adopting the spouted carinated pots of the early Neolithic people.[2] Generally, these vessels are hand-made but some highly sophisticated—such as carinated pots with recurved spouts as in a tea-kettle, show perfect regularity and symmetry, achieved with the help of simple stone dabbers and tappers. However, in spite of three or four kinds of surface treatment, namely burnishing the grey ware; applying some sort of slip in the case of pale grey and brown ware; rusticating or roughening the surface; applying red ochre to some grey ware, or otherwise decorating with applique and fingertip ornaments, and lasly perforating, the pottery appears very drab and unattractive. Such a feature of the early Neolithic pottery might be regarded as environmental. A great change is, however, noticed in the succeeding phases. In the upper Neolithic, the clay does not contain mica but is gritty. The unburnished grey ware seems to disappear while the burnished varieties continue, but perhaps in a very small quantity. Further, instead of the brown ware, which was often rusticated, a new variety called dull red ware appears. This is found sometime painted in black or violet.[3]

The potteries of Phase I of the early Neolithic people of Burzahom Gurfkral and Martand in Kashmir are not only hand-made but the fabric and the surface finish appear to be coarse. Only three shapes namely bowl, vase and stem are noticed, but later in Phase-II many new shapes were introduced.

The varied types of pottery from different Neolithic sites in north and south India are quite amazing. The pottery types of Phase I from Piklihal, Brahmagiri and other sites of the South include shallow dishes, bowls of various shapes and sizes, bowls with incurved sides and with outgoing sides and flat bottom, tipped bowls or bowls with pinched lips, lugged bowls, spouted bowls, handled bowls, hollow footed bowls, handled pots, jars (narrow, wide, broad, bell-shaped and jars with open mouths), legged stands, dish-on stand and perforated pots.[4] Some of these shapes occur in the Neolithic Potteries of Phase-II. A few important additions were made by the Neolithic people of Tekkalakota[5] in the shapes of the pottery.

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1. Allchin, *Piklihal Excavations*, Hyderbad, pp. 27, 30, 57.
2. H.D. Sankalia, *Pre and Proto-history of India and Pakistan*, pp. 520-21.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 521-25.

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They are a large bowl in grey ware with a short spout, luted over the rim which covered the mouth of the burial; a bowl with multiple pinched lips; goblets with a hollow pedestal, carinated body, and a short straight rim with paintings on the edge spouted pot with highly carinated belly flaring sides, and recurved in burnished grey ware; small globular pot with a ridged constricated neck and flaring everted rim, with a highly burnished grey surface; spouted globular vessel with sloping shoulders, blunt carination and saggering base in dull plain red ware.

Potteries of the Later Neolithic people or Neolithic Pottery of Phase-II.

The later Neolithic people belonging to Phase-II gradually developed their ceramic industries. They continued the old technique of manufacturing potteries but at the same time they introduced some new technique as well. Under the old technique, the hand-made potteries were prepared and in the new technique table-turn potteries or wheel-made potteries were manufactured.

At Burzahom, Gurfkral and Martand in Kashmir and Tekkalkota in Karnataka, potteries of both the early Neolithic and later Neolithic people are found. This may indicate that the Neolithic civilization developed in these two regions, one in the North and the other in the South. The Later Neolithic people introduced a new variety of pottery which became popular by the name of Black-and-Red or Red-and-Black Ware. These potteries are occasionally painted in white. According to Sankalia : 'this is a distinctive addition to the environmental character of the early Neolithic people.' These potteries are made by turn-table technique. Only bowls and small dishes are noticed and these two occur exclusively as grave goods at Tekkalakota. It was regarded as pottery for special purpose and, according to Nagaraja Rao,[1] it was not made at Tekkalakota rather it was imported from some other place. The Black-and-Red Ware has also been found at Piklihal but its stratigraphical position is not clear. It is likely that here also the Black-and-Red Ware might have been brought from some other place. No Black-and-Red Ware was found in the previously excavated Neolithic deposits at Brahmagiri,[2] but the Megalithic Ware showed an overlap with the Neolithic potteries. These Megalithic Ware appear to have been manufactured on a slow wheel. They are similar to the potteries of the Neolithic Phase-II. Here, shallow bowls or dishes, deep bowls and large jars with a medium mouth, low neck and lids with a conical mouth have been found. On a comparison with the definitely known group from Tekkalakota, the Piklihal bowls appear to be different typologically. At Sangankalu, however, a Brown-and-Black Ware was present in

1. M.S. Nagaraja Rao, *Prehistoric Cultures of the Tungabhadra Valley*, p. 55.
2. R.E.M. Wheeler, *Brahmagiri and Chandravalli, Megalithic and Other Cultures in Mysore State, Ancient India*, No. 4. 1948, pp. 105-10.

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the regular house debris of Phase-II and includes such shapes as shallow and deep bowls, globular pots and even a dough plate.[1]

The Potteries of Phase-II at Burzahom[2] in Kashmir include hemispherical bowls with a ring base; bowls with outgoing sides with probably a stand, deep bowls or cups with straight sides or outgoing sides ; funnel-mouthed vessels (lower part unknown) ; small elongated vessel with a bulging belly, cylindrical neck and ring base; large high-necked jar in steel grey ware; small wide mouthed vessel with a beaded rim; a small thick-based dish or plate; stand with triangular perforation and parallel grooves on the body. A few vessels have mat impressions, which suggest that pit-huts or the place where the potter kept their pots had woven floor mats.

Three or four classes of Neolithic pottery have been found at Deojali Hading in the North Cachar Hills in Assam. Out of over 600 sherds, 595 were of cord-impressed variety, 19 of stamped dull red variety and 11 of brick red variety. The majority of sherds are heavily weathered, and those few wich are well baked are in relatively good condition but shapes and forms of vessels are difficult to make out.

The cord impressed coarse grey ware is made of coarse and unevenly mixed clay, heavily tempered with large quartz particles. Therefore, the fabric is rough and porus. These vessels were prepared by the coil-building method in which a mould of some sort was used in support of the wet clay. Probably the coil or ring-building was done upon a turn-table and for heightening the wall some kind of support like a curved stip of wood, bamboo or pottery was used. The instrument was generally bound with a string or cord. It was used in a horizontal position and consequently the impressions of the string that were imprinted on the outer surface of the vessel ran in vertical direction. The first strip of clay was laid on the mould and smoothed down with the hand. The belt was then pulled away and used again to continue the wall, until the required height was reached. But the part near the rim of the vessel was usually made by ordinary coil-building method.[3]

In the string mould method, the wall of the pot was built by coiling and a string was wound round it in order to support the wet clay and to obtain the required shape and height of the vessel. The string was pulled away when the clay became leather hard. Pots made by

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1. Z.D. Ansari and M.S. Nagaraja Rao, *Excavations at Sangankulla*, pp. 26-27.
2. H.D. Sankalia, *Pre and Protohistory of India and Pakistan*, p. 301; *IAR*, 1961, 1965-67.
3. T.C. Sharma, *Pre-historic Archaeology of Assam* (A Study of Neolithic Cultures), p. III; H.D. Sankalia, *The Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan*, pp. 295-96.

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this technique show horizontal string-impressions instead of vertical string-impressions as in the case of belt mould.[1]

The third method was shaping the pot by hand, and giving the final shape by beating the wall of the pot with a beater or paddle of wood, stone or terracotta. Sometimes these beaters, particularly the wooden ones were wrapped with a cord. This wrapping may be a single threaded thick cord or a twisted fine string.[2]

The fourth variety of pottery is in fine brick red colour but its number is very small. It was made on wheel or a turn-table. The potteries made with this method are thin, well-baked and smooth in fabric. It is very difficult to throw light on the shapes of such potteries as the sherds are too small in size.[3]

Another important Neolithic site in the North-Eastern India is Chirand in the district of Chapra in Bihar. It is situated on the bank of the Ganges. In fact the site represents the Neolithic-Chalcolithic Culture of Eastern India. The Potteries from Chirand associated with Neolithic-Chalcolithic Culture have been divided into two Phases. Some of the potteries of Phase I appear to be wheel thrown while a few other might have been made by turn-table method and by dabbing. Besides these there are many pots which appear to be hand-made. Such potteries show a grity core. Generally the Mica powder or quartz particles were mixed in the paste but sometimes it was dusted on the outer surface of the pots. A few pieces were burnished and a few bear a thin slip. Among the main shapes of pottery, large jars with flaring rims are conspicuous. Probably, they were used as storage jars. Spouted vessels, shallow bowls and basins also have been found. A large pot-sherd deserves special notice as it resembles with the modern tile but it might have been a part of long stem of a stand which held a large basin or bowl.[4] Childe[5] refers to goblets on tall half hallow pedestals and fruit stands with hollow feet in in Upper Neolithic villages in Crete. The specimens from Chirand cannot be identified with certainty. However, it may be suggested that it is a part of a large sarcophagus foot stand. Although the presence of such a pottery in this period appears to be strange enough yet, the discovery of a miniature sarcophagus at Chirand from the Chalcolithic level may indicate that such type of pots were introduced by the Neolithic people of Eastern India.

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1. H.D. Sankalia, *The Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan*, p. 296.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. B.P. Sinha and B.S. Verma, *Preliminary Report on Chirand Excavation for the year 1969.*
5. Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization*, p. 17.

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The Potteries of Phase II are different from those of Phase I. In Phase II not only the Red Ware continues but side by side the Grey Ware both plain and painted make their appearance. Some specimens of the Black Ware also have been found. The Potteries of Phase II are refined and superior in comparison to Phase I. The clay employed in such potteries is fine. While no definite wheel-made pottery has been identified, there is some evidence of the use of turn-table in this phase as at Utnoor and other Peninsular Indian Neolithic sites. Probably beating and dubbing was done in shaping the pots. Many vessels seem to have been scooped or engraved horizontally, and vertically on the inner surface by scraping or paring (trimming technique like the potteries of Utnnor and Piklihal. In the surface treatment, the Potteries of Phase II are superior to Phase I and many of them are highly burnished on exterior or interior or both, and some are really lusturous red. On some of the Potteries there is a trace of thin slip applied before burnishing. One of the characteristic features of the ceramic wealth of this phase is the post firing Painting in Ochre on Grey and Black Wares. Although there are Ochre bands on the rims of the pots as at Utnoor, Piklihal and probably at Brahmagiri yet, their frequency is very small. However, the examples of painted ware at Chirand are numerous. We have Ochre Paintings in bands on rims and lips of the vessels. There are paintings on mouth of the spouts and at the junction between the spout and the surface. Further linear designs, criss-cross designs in groups of five or seven, concentric semicircular or circles painted in Ochre colour on pot-sherds have been noticed. Pedestalled bowls were also painted on the rims and the junction of the bowl and the foot. This shows that the potters of Chirand of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic period had a very good knowledge of paintings on pottery. Among the types of vessels produced by them mention may be made of bowls; basins; high and narrow necked jars with flaring rims; ring based or pedestalled bowls and dishes; vases with wide mouth and flaring rim; globular vases with concave base shallow bowls and dishes and long spouted vessels. There are also suspension pots with a hole near the shoulder of the vessel. A few pieces of coarse dull ill-fired Grey Ware with punctured decoration also have come to light. Probably this was done with the help of bone pin or stone point. Generally the decoration on them is in the shape of a triangle but sometimes applique decoration is also noticed. These evidences of Chirand suggest that the potters of the Neolithic period of the North-Eastern region of India were skilled and utilitarian in outlook than their counterparts living in other regions of India.

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6

OCP Culture and its Association with the Pre-Harappans

—*R.C. Gaur*

Ochre Coloured Pottery (OCP) was first discovered stratigraphically in 1951 by BB Lal at Hastinapura in Period I (1954-55). Since than a large number of OCP sites have been located in a wide area including the Upper Doab (U.P.), Rajasthan, Haryana and Punjab. Some of them have also been excavated. These sites have greatly advanced our knowledge about the Culture associated with OCP. Among these, Saipai (Lal, 1971-72) in district Etawah, U.P. provided evidence to confirm Lal's supposition that OCP was linked with the Copper Hoards. Here a hooked spear-head and a harpoon, typical of the group were found during the excavation with *OCP*. Earlier the same site had yielded a large Copper Hoard.

Inspite of this significant discovery the OCP deposit at almost all the sites explored or excavated, particularly in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab, until the excavations (1969-72) at Lal Qila in District Bulandshahar (U.P.) was found in disturbed condition. It was, therefore, inferred that the region had been sheet flooded by the rivers and remained water logged for a considerable period (Lal, 1968) leaving the pottery ochrous, porous, and with wornout edges. These Characteristics gave its present nominclature 'OCP'. However, soon after Lal Qila was located and excavated which changed our views (Gaur, 1971-72; 73) about this culture considerably. Since then two more sites, Ambkheri (Deshpande, 1971-72; 1977) in District Saharanpur (U.P.) and Jodhpura (Agrawal and Vijai Kumar, 1976; Kumar 1977) in Tehsil Kotputli, District Jaipur (Rajasthan) were also excavated yielding remains of regular habitation. While the former revealed an occupational thickness of about 1.25 m. consisting of five layers the latter had a deposit ranging from 1 to 2.10 m. (Dikshit, 1979). However, the two sites differ much in content as Ambkheri has shown contact with the Harappans, Jodhpura is devoid of such elements and thus the latter is akin to Lal Qila (Gaur, 1973). Apparently it appears that Siswal (Suraj Bhan, 1971-72) situated at the left bank of Chautang (ancient *Drisadvati*) and 26 Km. west to Hissar in Haryana, Sothi (Dikshit, 1984) near the

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sub-division town of Nohar and probably Sarangour (Suraj Bhan, 1967) in District Chandigarh, Bhudan (Suraj Bhan, Shaffer, 1967) and Balu in District Jind and Raja Sirkap near Faridabad (Sharma, 1982) also have affinity with Lal Qila. All these sites appear to belong to the Pre-Harappans and seem to have link with Saraikhola (Halim, 1972 a—1972 b) a site situated at a distance of about 2.5 Kms. south-west of Bhir mound (Taxila) in Pakistan. Probably pre-Harappan reached in the eastern region via Harappa and Ropar (Sharma, 1982) and they went as far as the Upper Doab. Recently the antiquity of Taxila has been pushed back to the pre-Harappan times. Here at Hathial a small mound "in the heart of Taxila, situated midway between the Bhir mound to the south, and Sirkap to the north, contained evidence of a settlement dating back to the middle of the third millennium, and hither to unnoticed". (Allchin, 1982).

Chronologically pre-Harappan settlements at Saraikhola and other sites in the adjoining area in Pakistani Punjab are earlier than those found in the lower Indus plain and may be dated around 3200-30 .0 B.C. This culture continued to flourish independently until the Harappans appeared on the scene sometime in the middle of the third millennium B.C. It appears that their penetration in the Indus Valley forced a sizable population of the pre-Harappans to move towards the east as far as the central Doab in Uttar Pradesh. Though there is no proof of any conflict between the pre-Harappan and the Harappans, possibly the Harappans applied force to occupy the area. There are clear traces of burning both at Kot Diji and Amri between the Harappan and the pre-Harappan habitational deposits. This evidence supports our contention. Obviously the cultural traits of the new comers started affecting the earlier culture. Therefore, we find an overlapping phase at both sites before their actual occupation by the Harappans. An almost similar picture is available at Harappa too where a pre-Harappan phase precedes the Harappan occupation. In India its remains have been noticed at Kalibangan in Rajasthan, Banawali in Haryana and at many other sites including Ropar. At all these places the pre-Harappan occupation has the Harappan traits and is much later in date then the early phase of Sarai Khola.

Even at Banawali in District Hissar, Haryana (Bisht, 1982), the paintings and the incised desig's appear nearer to Lal Qila than Kalibangan I, though in other matters it more or less resembles with Kalibangan. Eastward advancement of the Harappans in the Sarasvati and Drsadvati Valleys and beyond would have been resisted by the pre-Harappans. Actually, this was an era of war and alliance. By this time the Harappans had come in contact not only with the pre Harappans but with many other tribes and peoples It is for this reason that we find their traits mixed with other elements at many sites including Dadheri in district Ludhiyana (Joshi, 1977), Mitathal (Suraj Bhan, 1975) in Haryana and with Ochre Colour Pottery Culture further east in the Upper Doab at Bahadarabad (Sharma, 1975 & 1982) and Ambkheri (Deshpande, 1979).

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An extensive survey has revealed that the OCP settlements in the upper Doab are small in size, and situated at short distances, a few being only 4 or 5 Kilometers away from each other. Most of these sites are along the tributaries of the main rivers like Kalinadi and Hindon. Among the important sites on Kalinadi are Atranjikhera, Lal Qila, Devalakhera, Chaundhera and Kiratpur. The last one has yielded a copper Hoard including a celt having an engraved star and one anthropomorphic figure (Gaur, 1981) being smallest so far known.

Even Outside Doab the sites have more or less similar distribution both in Haryana and Rajasthan. Atleast in south-eastern part of the latter state, particularly along the river Sabi, a tributary of Yamuna about four dozen sites have been explored (Agrawala & Vijay Kumar, 1982).

These sites may be divided into three groups *viz.* (i) genuine OCP sites (ii) OCP sites with Harappan influence and (iii) Harappan sites with OCP influence. Alamgirpur on river Hindan in District Meerut is alleged to be a Harappan site, where several distinguishing Characteristics of the Harappan Civilization while are missing, some traits of the OCP deposit including several pottery types incised decoration and painting tradition mostly confined to upper girth are present. (IAR 1958-59). Almost similar picture is also present at Bargaon (Deshpande, 1965), a site on the right bank of Maskara, a tributary of Yamuna. However, here the OCP traits dominate the complex. The situation at Ambkheri (Deshpande & Dikshit, 1983) is different. Here while the Harappan traits are very limited, decorative devices of painting and incising the pottery, a common feature at Atranjikhera and Lal Qila are missing. Bahadarabad (Sharma, 1965) also exhibited almost similar evidence. However, Ahichchhatra, Hastinapura (Lal, Q 1954-55), Atranjikhera (Gaur, 1983), Saipai and Lal Qila (Gaur, 1974) in the upper Ganga-Yamuna Doab remained unaffected from the Harappan influence. Thus while sites like Alamgirpur, Ambkheri, and Bahadarabad are later those unaffected by the Harappans are earlier.

A careful study has revealed that the so called OCP deposit, particularly that found in the Upper Doab, is nothing but an extension of the pre-Harappan Culture (Gaur, 1985) found in Pakistan, particularly in the northern part. The pottery of Sothi (Rajasthan) also indicates common affinity. Their distinctive features are a fine body and short headed or everted rim. Most of the pots are squat and globular and of medium size. Many of them are neckless and rimless and have a wide open mouth. The painting is confined almost exclusively to the upper girth of the pot and is characterised by the presence of the neck and rim bands. Common painted motifs include loops joining a horizontal line round the neck, triangles both solid as well as hatched, checked pattern, floral designs and stylized animals. It may be recalled that the cattle-motifs on pottery were very common in Iran, Afghanistan and Baluchistan from fourth millenium B.C. to second millennium B.C. However, at Amri

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animal representations do not appear before the last phase (I-D) of the pre-Harappan period.

As at Amri, a complete bull figurine has also been found at Lal Qila painted on a globular pot. Though in detail they differ, stylistically both appear to belong to the same tradition. Possibly Lal Qila specimen is closer to Mehi and Kulli tradition which has a big face and big disc like eyes. The pre-Harappan tradition includes the depiction of snakes and a goat like motif as found painted on the pottery of Lal Qila. Like wise the two terracotta female figurines found at Lal Qila have no parallel anywhere in the Ganga Valley or in the Harappan complex and possibly have their link in the North-West region referred to above. In addition to these the settlement pattern of the OCP people and those of the Harappans were almost similar.

The above analysis suggest that Harappan penetration in the Indus region forced a sizeable population of the pre-Harappans to leave their home and move eastward as far as the Central Doab. This would indicate that the Harappans might have applied force to occupy the area, but no proof of any conflict is available. However, there are clear traces of burning both Kot Digi and Amri between the Harappan and pre-Harappan Culture periods. It has been observed that before the actual occupation of these sites by the new comers their cultural trait had started affecting the earlier culture at these sites as well as at Kalibangan.

All these material evidences as well as the literary accounts, epigraphic records, linguistic study and flora and fauna data lead us to inter that the pre-Harappans and the OCP people were one and the same who were none else than the Indo-Aryans (Gaur, 1980-81)

In this context following facts are worth considering :

1. The pre-Harappan and the OCP people seem to be the early Aryans whose eastern settlements (OCP deposits) were extensively washed away some time in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. by a great deluge (Lal, 1968). *Satapatha Brahmana* (1.8.1 : 1-6) perhaps makes a reference to this flood in which Manu is said to have been the lone survivor. There is no reference to this deluge in the *Rigveda*, though referred to in the later Vedic texts including the Atharvaveda, *Mahabharata* (critical ed. III, 185), *Matsya Purana* (I. 11-32; II. 1-19) and *Bhagavata purana* (VIII. 24; IX. I). It indicates the sudden end or a great setback to that culture. It may be recalled that the great city of Mohenjodaro came to an end due to sudden swelling (Raikes, 1964, Dales, 1965) of the Indus (Sindhu) as its estuary was blocked due to excessive silting. Probably the deluge referred to above occured simultaneously. Perhaps violent seismic action, causing heavy flood and incessant rain, was responsible for it. At Lal Qila evidence of seismic disturbance is visible. While generally the habitational deposit is roughly 1 to 1.50 m. thick, at one place it has sunk as deep as about 3 m. with its floor, etc.

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in an unusual way. This catastrophe, as seems natural, would have forced the survivors to move to different areas in all directions to explore suitable places to resettle. Those who went towards west carried the memory of this horrible flood with them. This is how probably the story reached Babylonia and Greece and is preserved in the Biblical account.

2. *Sarasvati* was the most popular river during the *Rigvedic* times on the bank of which several hymus, particularly of X *mandala* were composed. We also know that decline of mature Harappan Culture, as is indicated by the site of Kalibangan was mainly due to drying of *Sarasvati*. The Sarasvati Valley has mainly yielded remains of three protohistoric cultures—pre-Harappan, Harappan and PGW. The sites of the last culture are of much later date and sometimes are found in the drybed of *Sarasvati* itself. It appears that by that time this river had disappeared and the PGW culture had no link whatsoever with it. So far the Harappan Culture is concerned, its cultural milieu is urban while that of the Aryans rural as described in the *Rigveda*. Thus so called pre-Harappans of the Sapta-Sindhava region appear to be the early Aryans.

3. On the basis of linguistic affinity (Burrow, 1973) between the language of the Rigveda on one hand and Persian. Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Celtic and Slavonic on the other, it has been presumed that the ancestors of their present speakers had once a common home from where they migrated to different regions. While this argument seems convincing, the theory propounded by some scholars, including (Giles, 1914), that such a home was somewhere in the west, most probably in Europe in Hungary, Austria and adjoining regions, is not so logical. This suggestion is based mainly on the clay tablets of about 1400 B.C. discovered at Boghaz Keui which record a treaty between the kings of the Hittites and Mitanis in the name of "*ilani Mi-it-ra as-si-il (ilani) Uru w-na-as-si-il (ilu) in dar (ilani) Na-sa-a (t-ti-ia-a) n. na.....*" corresponding to the Rigvedic gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the two Nāsatyas. The occurrence of the names of these deities in the inscriptions of Asia Minor, the Sanskritic names of some Mitani princes mentioned in the famous letter from Tel-el-Amarna and a preconceived notion, based on (Max Muller's, 1860), suggestion, that the earliest date of the Rigvedic Aryans in India was around 1200 B.C. about two hundred years later than the Boghaz Keui records, led some scholars to trace the Aryan movement from west to east. It is a strange conclusion. Evidently the names as given in the clay tablets are corrupt forms *(tadbhava)* of the original *(tatsama)* names as found in the Rigveda. It is well known that a word assumes a corrupt form gradually at a much later date and the process is never in the reverse direction. Thus, the names, as they appear in the Asia Minor records, are later than the Rigvedic reference. As has already been referred to, the Aryans of the Sapta Sindhava had migrated gradually towards wegt as in other areas too.

4. The *Rigveda* attests that the horse and the bull were favourite animals of the Aryans, Terracotta bull figurines as well as its painted representation on earthern pots have been found both at Lal Qila and pre-Harappan sites.

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5. Most significant is the presence of a Horse (Equus, Cabalus; Linn) bone at Lal Qila, along with the bones of other animals. A definite evident of a domestic horse also came from Surkotda (Sharma, 1974), Harappan site in district Kachchha. Similar evidence were earlier reported from Mohan Jodaro, Harappan, Ropar and Lothal (Swell and Guha, 1931; Nath, 1963; Prasad, 1936). Earlier equine teech were reported from Ranagundai. Therefore, it is hoped that more evidence of horse would come in due course from the pre-Harrappan Harappan levels. We may, therefore, infere that domisticated horse became known to pre-Harappans (Aryans) and then to Harappans, or to both almost simultaneously.

6. Another intersting evidence is related with agriculture and foresty (Chowdhury, 1977). Among the crops recovered form Atranjikhera, an OCP site in district Etah (U.P.) referred to above are barley (*Hordeum Vulgare*) and gram (*Cicer arietinum*) and among the wood remains are Chir (Pinus roxburghii). All these three had their link in north-western region including parts of Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Since there is nothing common between the OCP deposit of the Ganga Valley and Harappa of the Indus Valley, exceptbarley it will be rash to presume that the barley in the Ganga Vailey came from Harappa. During the last three decades evidence of early wheat and barley cultivation has come to light from Central Asia (Belenitsky, 1968), Iran, (Chowdhury, 1977) and Afghanistan. (Chowdhury, 1963). It is possible that the carriers of the barley seeds passed through the Khyber Pass and collected the chir wood on their way to India. The tall coniferous trees of chir grows mainly on the hills and mountains of the Indo-Pakistan region and spreads north-west into Afghanistan. As far as gram is concerned, its cultivation might have spread to southern Turkmenia along with that of wheat and barley and from there it reached India upto Doab region via Iran and Afghanistan. The Chir most probably was used for certain rituals which included the practice to burn incense, because burnt chir wood gives fragrance, specially the pieces with high resin content.

7. As far as the dates of this early Aryan culture is concerned we have the Thermoluminescent dates (Huxtable, Zimmerman, Hasan and Gaur, 1977) of twelve sherds from Atranjikhera, Lal Qila, Jhinjhana, and Nasirpur which reveal that OCP was not only contemporary with the pre-Harappan and Harappan Cultures but continued to survive for a few centuries even after their end. The earliest date at these sites is 2280 B.C, 2030 B.C., 2650 B.C. and 1500 B C. respectively. Outside the Doab the OCP level of Jodhpura may be pushed back to about 2700-2800 B.C. as its upper level has been placed between 2500 and 2200 B.C. by 14C determinations (Agrawal and Kusumgar, 1974). It has already been referred to above that at Saraikhola the Pre-Harappan Culture began around C. 3200-3000 B.C. On the basis of these evidences the Early Aryans may be placed between C. 3200-1500 B.C.

8. It is noteworthy that these sites are located within the Sapta-Sindhava (R.V. 1.35.8) region described as the home-land of the Rigvedic Aryans. Since the Rigvedic Aryans

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were familar with Ganga in the east, it may be presumed that in the eastern region their settlement had grown mainly on the banks of *Sarasvati* (R.V. VII. 36.6; VI. 61-10) and *Drisadvati* (R V. J. 35.8) and in the Upper Doab region.

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7

The Concept, Provenance and Chronology of the Painted Grey Ware

—*T. N. Roy*

For the study of the excavated sites of the Northern India a very significant event indicating the cultural development has been the arrival of the Painted Grey Ware in a particular occupational deposit of a site. This stage of cultural development marked by the introduction of this ware has been termed the Painted Grey Ware culture, on the basis of the distinctive ceramic of the same name. The problem of its chronology, stratigraphy and diffusion has attracted the attention of the archaeologists, historians and scientific workers for several years. The cause for an increasing interest in the subject is not only due to its distinctive fabric and crucial stratigraphical position but also its association with an Indian epic. Above all, the Aryan attribution added extra glamour to it. All these aspects about this ware kept us preoccupied for the last three decades. Now, with the discovery of the interlocking of the late phase of the Harappan culture with the PGW culture, our attention is focussed in assessing possibility of regional variations and various stages[1] in this culture.

The Concept and Provenance of PGW :—

No body can disagree with the importance of the above aspects of the PGW. But the difficulty arises when we take PGW as a single homogenous ware, made of fine-grained and well levigated clay, fired under reducing conditions which gave the grey colour and painted with black pigment in a variety of linear, curvilinear and geometric designs before firing. This definition of PGW as given by B.B. Lal and B.K. Thapar as early as 1954-55 hold good for only one variety of the PGW (Our Fabric 'A'—*Infra*). This fabric of PGW is explicitly mirrored in the whole assemblage due to its distinctive nature and kept us divorced not only from the other varieties of the PGW but from the entire range of the associated wares of the PGW itself which comprises mainly of four main ceramic industries : (1) the plain grey ware (2) the black slipped ware (3) the black-and-red ware and (4) the red ware. These associated wares and other cultural elements also from the part of our system of demarcating

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cultural periods and may thus also tell us some thing about the dynamics of a culture. This diversion in our study has resulted in a muddle that arises by mentioning 'PGW Period' or 'PGW deposit' or several phases or stages of chronological groups of the PGW. Can we change the period with the introduction of one element i.e. PGW, when the remaining elements of a culture continue in a deposit ? Can the absence of only PGW prevent a deposit from being called as belonging to PGW when on the basis of other cultural equipments we can defintely associate the same with the PGW culture ? Similarly can the presence of only a few sherds of PGW be sufficient enough to claim a deposit being called as belonging to the PGW culture when on the basis of other cultural equipments we cannot associate the same with the PGW culture ? To cite one such example : Even the sites having an overlap of PGW and NBP have been included by some scholars as representing the last stage in the chronological grouping of the PGW culture. Merely on the basis of some PGW sherds which are contained in a deposit of the Early Phase of NBP, how can one say that the deposit belongs to the last phase of the PGW culture ? In such a case one would always think that the PGW sherds come from the early sub-period of the NBP deposit. It would be no exaggeration to state that this difficulty, to a large extent, is due to the fact that in the division of the cultural periods or stages we are laying too much emphasis on the occurrence or the non occurrence of this particular fabric of PGW. We feel that some other fabric of the PGW, the cultural equipments including even the associated wares of the PGW which are also uniformly distributed in a particular period on a number of sites may also have something to tell about the dating, currents and cross-currents in a culture. The PGW has out-grown its definition and is now a big institution under which several other varieties also find their affiliation. This is clear from the re-examination of the evidence from Hastinapura excavations which were carried out as early as 1950-52. The most notewrorthy feature of the recording of the Hastinapura excavations was that each ware found associated with the PGW has been meticulously recorded. From this, we have identified the following fabrics which may justifiable be construed as sub-variations within a single homogenous pattern of the so-called PGW :

Painted Grey Ware :

Fabric A :

Under this fabric we have placed those PGW sherds which which come under the standard definition of PGW as given by Lal and Thapar. This distinctive pottery is made of fine levigated clay, well fired, wheel turned, thin and grey in section and grey to greyish brown in surface colour. On the grey surface are painted geometric, floral and individualistic designs in matt black colour. The greater part of this decoration is external but in the case of dishes and wide-mouthed bowls. the inner surface was also decorated with elaborate patterns. Noteworthy painted designs include the simple horizontal band around the rim (commonest patterns), criss-cross lines, chain of spirals concentric circles, or semi-circles, *sigmas*, *svastika*;

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scalloped pattern, rows of circular wavy lines, rows of chains bordering a circle, leaf filled with parallel hatching *(Khalaua)*, hooks and intersecting semi-circles or a group of intersecting 'U's etc. It is noteworthy that designs are not standardized and in most cases they are so carelessly and haphazardly executed that it is difficult to make any set pattern out of it. At Hastinapura, however, the simplest and the commonest design is the group of roughly vertical strokes very often found both inside and outside below a horizontal rim-band. Bowls and dishes are the common shapes Heavier shapes are completely absent.

In India this fabric is reported from northern and eastern Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh (e.g. Besnagar, Barata and Kutwar etc.), western U.P. sastern (e.g Kausambi and Sringverapura) and north Bihar (e.g. Vaisali). Recent discovery of this ware at Tapli in the Himalayan region of Garhwal has proved that it did penetrate to the mountain region.[2] In Pakistan it has been found at Harappa in Punjab, Lakhiyo Pir in Sind and in the erstwhile Bahawalpur State. In Nepal, it is reported at Banjarahi and Tilaurakot. *But it must be noted that except a few sites almost all these regions have produced this standard variety of PGW wholly insignificant in number and quantity. It was a prized commodity and hence its provenance in a particular strata may not always denote its true cultural context.* The cultural context of this ware established at Hastinapura (where it is found to occur throughout the occupational deposit of Period II dated from *circa* 1100 to *circa* 800 B.C.) for the Upper Ganga Plain may not be representative for all other regions which have also yielded this standard PGW. Even at Hastinapura which has a sizable deposit of PGW culture and was excavated extensively for two seasons, all the available sherds of this fabric included in the drawn specimens are only 58 in number.[3] At Atranjikhera its incidence ranges between 3% to 10% of the total pottery. Though no statistical account is available from other sites, from all other indications, the percentage of the ware at Mathura[4], Ahichchhatra, Khalaua, Jakhera, Allahapur, Kesari, Alamgirpur, Batesvera, Hulas and Pariar seems to be far below than that of even Hastinapura and Atranjikhera. Single sherd of PGW has been reported at Kanauj while Sravasti yielded only five or six specimens. The situation at Kausambi, Sringverapura and Vaisali is similar. If our observation at Kampil is any guide, the PGW was almost absent at this single culture PGW site.[5] In extremely limited quantity and in a somewhat latish from the ware has been found to occur at Ayodhya[6], Piprahwa and Ganwaria[7] (in U.P.) and Mahisdal[8] (in District Birbhum of West Bengal). Afragment of a PGW bowl bearing a thin band in black along the ruin was found on the surface of the mound at Gilund in District Udaipur.

Outside the Upper Ganga Plain, this PGW is also found in restrictad number. According to A. Ghosh who explored large number of PGW sites in the dried up river beds of Sarasvati and Drisadvati, 'the vessels in grey ware are restricted in shape, being confined to dishes and bowls. The painted designs also present a limited variety'. The sites of Ropar where it is found stratified above a post-Harappan occupation has produced

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about half a dozen pieces.[9] Ujjain, Besnagar and Barata in Madhya Pradesh also yielded this ware in restricted number. At Tapli the frequency of the PGW with 120 sherds is 10% of the total output of pottery. On the other hand there are several sites where PGW is completely absent, yet on the basis of other materials one is tempted to associate the deposit with PGW culture. The logical proposition of this phenomenon is that this sophisticated ware is found to occur in differing context and hence it is not safe to use it as a cultural label at every site wherever it is found. *The cultural context of the PGW at Hastinapura may not be representative for all other regions which have also yielded PGW.*

Fabric B :

We have another group of painted grey ware in which the core is grey and the section is as thin as that of the above standard PGW (Fabric A). Ten such sherds are illustrated at Hastinapura in which the painted designs has been picked out in ash-grey by 'stopping' the rest of the body of the pot with a thin dark slip Although the method of painting differs from that of the above Fabric A, but there is complete harmony in the details of the painted designs. Out of the ten specimens illustrated at Hastinapura the majority are from an early level[10] of the PGW deposit. A similar sherd of a grey ware, in which a design of oblique strokes has been picked out in ash-grey by 'stopping' the remaining body with a dark black slip, has been found in the level assignable to *circa* 800 B.C. (i.e. from an early level of Sub-period IA or pre-NBP phase) at Prahladpur.[11] In the corresponding strata of comparable age (i.e. in pre-NBP deposit) at Gularihavaghat in Basti, exactly similar specimens are found in large numbers.[12] Recently in 1982, in the pre-NBP levels of Khairadih in District Ballia of U.P., large number of sherds of this fabric has been discovered.[13]

Fabric C :

Another group of sherds consist of red or brownish red wares in which the designs are also painted in black on a red or pale-red surface. Its core is grey or buff and the section is thin. Painted designs which normally consists of oblique strokes coming out from a horizontal rim-band, resemble fully with the designs on the standard or top-graded PGW (Fabric A). This group is also associated and coeval with the PGW at Hastinapura. The colour of the pottery only differs. However in this group several other colour variations, whether intentional or accidental, are also met with. Only seven sherds of this group are illustrated at Hastinapura and it is noteworthy that out of these, 5 come from an early level of the PGW deposit.[14] But at Ahichchhatra and Jakhera, in the corresponding level, these are reported in large quantity. But at Jakhera it precedes the standard PGW strati-graphically and also overlaps with it.[15] Similar painted pottery has also been noticed in the strata of comparable age of Koldihwa.

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Fabric D :

Yet another class of the painted grey ware consists of grey ware of similar fabric as that of the standard or top-graded PGW (Fabric A) on wnich the designs are not painted but stamped. These are very rare. A single specimen with a stamped design of rows of punched circles is to be found at Hastinapura.[16] Similar specimen has been also reported from Atranjikhera.[17]

Obviously we cannot remove these varieties i.e. fabrics B, C and C from the fold of the PGW. The concept of standard PGW should, therefore, be now revised. It is not a single homogenous type of ware produced out of a single technique.

Dating of PGW on Comparative Stratigraphy :

Its dating as we shall see below is also open to wide differing explanation. We shall begin our survey with the northern most excavated site of Manda in Jammu and Kashmir and will then proceed to the PGW sites of Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Garhwal, Ganga Plains, Madhya Pradesh and finally come to the sites excavated outside India.

At Manda,[18] plain grey ware of the PGW complex of northern India belongs to late Harappan horizon. We have eight sites in Punjab. At Nagar and Katpalon in District Jullundur of Punjab, the earliest period was represented by PGW culture but there was a sprinkling of the late Harappan ware, thus, indicating the interlocking of the two cultures. Dadheri and Sanghol[19] in District Ludhiana give a similar stratigraphical context of the PGW but with a difference. *At these sites baked bricks are associated with PGW culture.* Ropar in District Ambala revealed a hiatus between Harappan and PGW deposits. The PGW which essentially precedes the Late Phase of NBP at this site cannot be placed as early as other sites of Punjab. At Sugh[20], another site in the same District of Ambala, PGW has been reported along with NBP in Sub-period IA dated from *circa* 600-500 B.C. Hence here the PGW has not been placed earlier than *circa* 600 B.C. At Ghuram in District Patiala, Period IA dated from *circa* 6th to 4th centuries B.C. is represented by plain grey ware of medium to fine fabric, types, being bowls and dishes. Period IB dated from *circa* 4th century B.C. onward is characterized by NBP. Some PGW and Late Harappan sherds are however reported from the surface of the mound.[21] Archaeological excavations at Mahorava District Sangrur, Punjab in March, 1982 yielded PGW along with such and black slipped ware in Period III dated from 800 to 400 B.C. The site revealed a long gap between the Harappans and the PGW deposits.[22]

In Haryana we have four excavated sites which have yielded PGW. Bhagwanpura, Raja Karan Ka Qila and Kasital in District Kurukshetra and Autha in District Gurgaon. At Bhagwanpura, the phenomenon of the overlap of the late Harappan and PGW cultures has

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been placed by the excavator, J.P. Joshi, between *circa* 1600 B.C. to 1000 B.C. *But here also like Dahcri and Sanghol (both in Punjab) PGW co-occurs with bak d brick structures.* Raja Karan Ka Qila, another site in the same District of Kurukshetra in which Bhagwanpura also lies, has a different story to offer. Here there was no overlap of the late Harappan and the subsequent culture. On the other hand it yielded the grey ware in lowest level which was occasionally painted on the rim.[23] This phase has been assigned a date of *circa* 400 B.C. or even later. At Kasital[24], PGW has been reported from Period I along with a sherd of black-and-red ware and Ahichchhatra 10 A type and rimless *hāṇḍīs* in red ware. The other noteworthy find of this period was a circular barn of 2.05 m in diameter. The occupational deposit of Period II was disturbed by pits and belongs to the early historical times. *Shapes like Ahichchhatra 10 A, carinated hāṇḍīs and barns are associated with the Late Phase of NBP which cannot be dated earlier than 400 B.C. Hence PGW at this site cannot be dated earlier than 400 B.C.* The earliest occupation (Period I) at Autha[25] was represented by PGW which overlapped with the succeeding Period II, characterized by the deposit of the Late Phase of NBP.

Now we pass on to the site in Rajasthan. Here only four PGW sites viz, Noh, Jodhpura, Bairat and Sardargarh have been excavated. At Noh and Jodhpura, PGW deposit is comparable with Hastinapura and other sites of the Ganga Plain but added a new factor in so far as it overlaps with NBP and demonstrated the occurance of a black-and-red ware phase between the OCP and PGW deposit. *Hence here the PGW can be dated earlier than Hastinapura (Infra).* The PGW at Bairat has been reported from Period I; but it continues with NBP in Period II.[26] Since here there is no pre-PGW phase it may be more or less contemporary with Hastinapura. At Sardargarh in District Bikaner, the earlisrt habitation was that of the PGW. After this the site was deserted until it was reoccupied Rang Mahal culture. *Stratigraphically no date could be assigned to a PGW deposit found in such a sequence.*

We have two sites in Uttar Pradesh Himalayan region of Garhwal, Ranihat near Srinagar and Mordhwaj, 13 km. south-west of Kotdwara. Ranihat, Period I, constituting the earliest level, yielded fine unpainted grey ware along with glossy red ware. This plain grey ware in from and fabric, according to the excavator K.P. Nautiyal, is same as that of the PGW of Hastinapura, Period II.[27] This period has been dated from *circa* 600 500 B.C. to 400 B.C. Sub period IIA with NBP dated from *circa* 400 to 200 B.C. corresponds with the Late Phase of NBP at Hastinapura Period III. *Hence the antiquity of the PGW at this site cannot be pushed beyond* 600 B.C. In Moradhwaj, Period I, *dated from circa 5th century* B.C. to 2nd century B.C., sherds of fine thin grey ware are reported along with NBP and structures of baked bricks.[28] *These thin grey ware are not pained but they belong to the same fabric as*

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that of PGW. Here they co-occur with NBP and baked brick structures and hence their context is quite late.

Now, we come to the PGW sites of the Ganga Plains. We will start our survey with Hastinapura because the PGW dates of other sites were fixed mainly on the basis of the archaeological date of *circa* 1100 B.C. to 800 B.C. proposed for Hastinapura PGW deposit. But, since the publication of Hastinapura report in 1954-55, five factors, relevant in present context, have come to light. Firstly, a distinct deposit of black-and-red and black slipped ware phase below the PGW deposit on sites like Atranjikhera, Jakhera, Noh and Jodhpura. Secondly, a distinct deposit of black-and-red and black slipped wares immediately preceding the Early Phase of NBP on sites like Chirand, Sonpur, Prahladpur, Rajghat, Kausambi and Sringverapura. Thirdly, overlap of PGW and NBP on several sites. Fourthly, contemporaniety of the PGW and Early NBP on the basis of late radiocarbon date for PGW and early C^{14} dates for NBP. Fifthly, culturally speaking we find that PGW phase and early NBP phase of the Ganga Plains remain indistinguishable from each other.[29]

So, we have now to date the Hastinapura in the light of these added evidences. The cultural material associated with PGW deposit of Hastinapura (Period II) like pottery, terracotta discs, bona-points, nail-papers, vase-shaped beads of terracotta, copper borers and iron objects etc. show a remarkably similarity with the Early Phase of NBP of the Middle Ganga Plain. They also belong to the same time plane as both these deposits stratigraphically precede the Late Phase of NBP and succeed the black-and-red and black slipped wares deposit Since the Early Phase of NBP cannot be dated earlier than 7th-6th centuries B.C., hence the PGW at Hastinapura also cannot be placed earlier than 7th-6th centuries B C. *This underlying homogeneity in the cultural constituents of the PGW phase of the Upper Ganga Plain with the Early NBP phase of the Middle Ganga Plain puts the PGW phase of the Ganga Plains on a different footing than its counterpart in the Ghaggar (Sarasvati), Drisadavati (Chautang) and Sutlej basins.*[30] If we look round the whole of the Upper Ganga Plain, we will find that there are two types of PGW sites. Sites like Hastinapura, Allahapur, Alamgirpur, Hulas, Sravasti, Ahichchhatra, Mathura, Sonkh, Batesvara, Khalaua, Kampil and Kanauj do not give the evidence of any pre-PGW deposit. So the PGW deposits on these sites on the basis of the archaeological date proposed for Hastinapura also cannot be dated earlier than 6th-6th centuries B.C. In the second category are sites like Atranjikhera and Jakhera (also Noh and Jodhpura the sites of Rajasthan) which revealed a distinct pre-PGW horizon of black-and-red ware, and can be dated earlier than *circa* 700 B.C. How much early is a matter of computation ? We are not able to elaborate it further in view of the paucity of data.

We may now see what is the stratigraphical position of the PGW in Madhya Pradesh. At Ujjain, the PGW was known before or at the time of the erection of the rampart round about 700 B.C.[31] At Jaderua, plain grey ware recalling the fabric of the PGW is reported in

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the context of sixth-fifth centuries B.C. At Kayatha, again the plain grey ware similar in fabric with the PGW[32] has been reported along with NBP in the level assignable to *circa* 600 B.C. The most significant evidence comes from Besnagar.[33] At this site PGW has been reported from the upper levels of the chalcolithic deposit but it also continues in the succeeding pre-NBP phase. So here its beginning can be placed in the later phase of the chalcolithic culture dated on the basis of radiocarbon dates to round about 1400 B.C. In fact, on this evidence and several other grounds, M.D.N. Sahi is inclined to see the genesis of the PGW in the Central Indian Chalcolithic Cultures.[34]

We may now look as to what happened outside India. There are two PGW sites in Nepal viz. Banjarahi and Tilaurakot which were excavated. At Banjarahi[35] the PGW was found in Sub-period IA, the earliest period of occupation, along with NBP. Sub-period IB was marked by the presence of NBP in abundance. *Hence the context of PGW is late at this site as it is indistinguishable from the Early Phase of NBP.* Tilaurakot also has a similar story to offer. Here also the PGW occurs along with NBP in the earliest period of occupation dated on stratigraphical grounds to *circa* 600 B.C.[36]

Conclusions :

In the foregoing pages we have given an assessment of the date in respect of the concept, provenance and stratigraphical position of all the excavated sites which yielded PGW. The evidence obtained from each of the sites discussed above has led us to draw the following provisional conclusions :

1. The PGW is now not a single homogenous type of ware produced out of a single technique. It has outgrown its old concept and is now a big institution under which several other wares find their affiliation. The concept of PGW should be now revised.

2. PGW by itself cannot be regarded as a safe criterion for dating, because it is found to occur in different contexts. The excavations at some sites in Punjab and Haryana revealed a non-iron PGW complex which interlocks with a late material derived from Harappan and pre-Harappan strains. At Besnagar in Madhya Pradesh part contemporaneity of the PGW with the later phase of the chalcolithic culture is suggested. On other sites, all the PGW deposits are associated with iron. On the basis of comparative stratigraphy and radiocarbon dates, the lower limit of the PGW at sites like Noh, Jodhpura, Atranjikhera and Jakhera (where the PGW deposit is preceded by a distinct phase of black-and-red ware) can be assigned to round about *circa* 800 B.C. But sites like Hastinapura, Allahapur, Alamgirpur, Hulas, Sravasti, Ahichchhatra, Mathura, Batesvera, Khalaua, Kampil and Kanauj etc., which do not give the evidence of any pre-PGW black-and-red ware phase, cannot be dated earlier than the seventh-sixth centuries B.C. We have yet another context of PGW which is very late.

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This is noticed at Dadhari, Kasital, Sanghol, Bhagwanpura, Moradhwaj, Allahapur and Jakhera where the PGW co-occurs with structures of baked bricks. *So one is not justified in assigning a uniform date to all the PGW.*

3. There is no convincing ground to believe that the PGW moved in time and space. There is thus PGW at Bhagwanpura belonging to *circa* 1600-1000 B.C. but at the neighbouring sites of Raja Karan Ka Qila and Kasital (these two sites are also found in the same District of Kurukshetra in which Bhagwanpura lies), the ware has a much later datable horizon. Similarly we have PGW at Besnagar belonging to the late phase of the chalcolithic culture datable to round about 1400-1300 B.C.; but at Kayatha, Ujjain and Jaderua it has a much later datable context. *So it appears that we cannot group the PGW sites in a time-bracket based on space movement.*

4. Before coming to any conclusion regarding the different chronological horizons or the cultural stages of the PGW, one should look to all the associated material. The underlying homogeneity in the cultural constituents of the PGW phase of western U.P. with the Early Phase of NBP of Eastern U.P. and Bihar puts the PGW phase of the Ganga Plain on a footing different from its counterpart in other regions. Now we have an antecedent chalcolithic culture characterized by black-and-red and black slipped wares on almost the whole of Ganga Plains which continues to exist significantly which the PGW and Early NBP deposits. *Perhaps the evidence now shows that we cannot easily undermine the importance of the black-and-red and black slipped wares as the basic representative pottery of a community occupying the whole of Ganga Plains on which the PGW impinges from the west and NBP from the last.* It has been rightly pointed out by Soundara Rajan[37] that 'it is too late in the clay to disown the domicility of the black-and-red ware as the representative of viable, though not necessarily a cohesive community in early India'.

REFERENCES AND FOOTNOTES

1. Recently this awareness is seen the writings of M.D.M. Sahi, 'Origin and Direction of Dispersal of PGW – An Hypothesis', a paper read at the U.G.C. Seminar on India Pre-history at the University of Allahabad in December, 1980; Vibha Tripathi, 'Stage of PGW Culture, a paper read at same above seminar and A.K. Sinha, 'The Chronological groups of the PGW sites', *Man and Environment*, Vol. VI, Pune, 1981, pp. 102-106.

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2. K.P. Nautiyal, et al., 'Thapli : A PGW Site in Garhwal', *Puratattva* No. 10, 1978-79, New Delhi, 1981, p. 94.

3. *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11, pp. 33-44. Out of 58 specimens of PGW, 17 are from an early level of the PGW deposit (Period II), 11 from mid-level, 13 from late level, 13 are unstratified, 3 from an accumulation following the erosion and 1 is unlabelled.

4. PGW at Mathura could be found only at one site at Ambarish Tila (MTR-B).

5. Our own observation at the site which was extensively excavated for one season.

6. *Indian Archaeology*, 1976-77, *A Review*, 1980, p. 52. At the lowest levels, ascribable to *circa* seventh century B.C., along with NBP, a few sherds of grey ware painted with fugitive bands in black pigment along the rim or obliquely on the exterior are reported.

7. *Indian Archaeology*, 1974-75, *A Review*, 1979, p 40. In the earliest occupation at the site dated to eight century B.C. a few sherds of grey ware with painting in simple black bands are reported.

8. *Indian Archaeology*, 1963-64, *A Review*, 1967, p. 60. In the Early Phase of Iron Age (Period II) a single sherds of coarse grey fabric with bold emudgy strokes was found along with black-and-red ware.

9. D.H. Gordon, '*The Pre-historic Background of Indian Culture*, Bombay, 1960, p. 141.

10. *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11, pp. 34-44, Types 9, 18, 21, 31, 33, 40, (?) 63, 66, 67, and 73. Out of these, 7 are from an early level (Types 18, 21, 21, 31, 33, 63 and 66), 1 from mid-level (Type 9) and 3 from an accumulation following the erosion (Types 70 (?), 63 and 73).

11. A.K. Narain and T.N. Roy, *The Excavations at Prahladpur*, Varanasi, 1968, pp. 18 and 69, Figure 15, Types 3 A.

12. Our own observation at the site and the excavated material brought by Ram Swaroop Mishra formerly of the Banaras Hindu University and now of Jaipur University, Rajasthan.

13. Our own observation at the site of excavation. This site is being excavated since 1981 by the Banaras Hindu University.

14. *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 38, Types 20, 25, 26, 28 and 29 are from an early phase, Type 23 from the mid-level and Type 22 is from the unstratified deposit of Period II.

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15. Information given by M.D.N. Sahi, the excavator of this site.

16. *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 40, Fig. 9, Type 45.

17. R.C. Gaur in *Potteries in Ancient India*, Patna, 1969, p. 186.

18. For the details of the excavations at Manda, Nagar, Katpalon, Dadheri and Bhagwanpura see Joshi, J.P., 1978, 'Interlocking of Late Harappa Culture and PGW Culture in the light of recent excavations', *Man and Environment*, Volume, II, p. 98-101.

19. *I.A.*, 1977-78, p. 43.

20. *I.A.*, 1963-64, pp. 27-28 and *I.A.*, 1965-66, pp. 35-36.

21. *I.A.*, 1976-77, pp. 44-45.

22. Information kindly supplied by Dr. S.N. Chopra, Excavations at the site were conducted by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Punjab University Chandigarh.

23. *I.A.*, 1975-76, p. 18.

24. *I.A.*, 1975-76, p. 17.

25. *I.A.*, 1964-65, pp. 33-34.

26. *I.A.*, 1962-63, p. 31.

27. K.P. Nautiyal, and B.M. Khanduri, 'Ranihat and its Environs—Excavation of an early Historical Site in Garhwal. *The Himalaya*, A Journal of the Institute of Himalayan Studies and Regional Development, Garhwal University, Srinagar (Garhwal), p. 27.

28. K.P. Nautiyal, and B.M. Khanduri, 'Culture-Evolution in Himalayan Tarai of Garhwal', Assessment of Excavation at Moradhwaj', *Johsard*, A Journal of Himalayan Studies and Regional Development, Volume, 3, 1979, p. 78.

29. The Cultural Equipments of the PGW phase and Early NBP Phase of the Ganga Plains has been discussed in detail in the author's unpublished Ph.D. Thesis on NBP Culture (An Iron Age Culture of India), B.H.U., 1977.

30. T. N. Roy, 'The pre-NBP Deposit', a paper read at PGW Seminar held at Aligarh Muslim University on 18th-19th August, 1968 and see also T.N. Roy, 'Continuity and Change in Terracotta Discs', unpublished paper of 1982.

31. One sherd of PGW was found in the core of the rampart which was built in about twenty-five to thirty-years of after the first settlement of the site in 750 B.C. (See *I.A.*, 1956-57, p. 20). *This find is not of much dating value except that it shows that the PGW was known before or at the time of the erection of the rampart round about 700 B.C.*

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32. *I.A.*, 1967-68, p. 25.

33. *I.A.*, 1964-65, p. 19 and *I.A.*, 1976-77, pp. 33-34.

34. M.D.N. Sahi, 'Origin and Direction of Dispersal of PGW—An Hypothesis', a paper read at the U.G.C. Seminar on Indian Prehistory at the University of Allahabad in December, 1980.

35. S.B. Deo, *Archaeological Investigations in the Nepal Tarai*, 1964. Also referred in N. R. Banerjee, The Evidence of PGW and the NBP from Nepal', a paper read at Seminar on Archaeology, Aligarh Muslim University, 1968.

36. *I.A.*, 1961-62, pp. 73-74. The first systematic excavation of the site was taken up by Srimati D. Mitra in 1961-62 and again resumed by the Department of Archaeology, Nepal in sessions 1966 and 1967. See N.R. Banerjee, 1968, *Op. Cit.*

37. K.V. Soundara Rajan in *Seminar Papers on the Problem of Magaliths in India*, Varanasi, 1969, p. 72.

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8

Black Slipped Ware—A Study

—H.P. Sinha

In many excavations—in different parts of our country in general and in the Gangetic plain in particular—a black coloured pottery was found in different culture contexts. This black coloured pottery—which will be called Black Slipped Ware (BSW) hereafter, is turned on fast wheel, with core usually black, but also sometimes greyish black, and is treated with smooth black slip. Many sherds are burnished and at some sites their painted varieties also have been found.

This BSW was reported from Hastinapur along with Painted Grey Ware (PGW) in Period II (c. 1100—800 BC) by Prof. B. B. Lal[1] for the first time. At that time it was called Black polished ware also. Subsequently, it was reported from numerous sites in the Gangetic Plain, and also from some sites lying outside the Ganga basin in different culture complexes.

Now, when numerous sites have been excavated in the Ganga basin, it has been found that BSW is more extensive than PGW. The main regions of its occurrence are Upper Ganga Plain, at the sites in and around the districts of Allahabad, Lucknow, Faizabad, Agra, and Meerut etc., the Middle Ganga Plain, at the sites situated in Eastern U.P. and Bihar, and the Lower Ganga Plain at the sites situated in West Bengal. It has also been reported from Noh and Jodhpura in Rajasthan and many other sites in different parts of India.

As far as its association with any particular period or culture is concerned, it does not represent any particular period as such. It has been reported in Chalcolithic from sites like Koldihwa, Noh, Jodhpura, Kaushambi, Atranjikhera, Pariar, Jakhera, Prahladpur and Sringverpur etc. In the later case it has been dated to 10th-9th century B.C. or a little earlier. At many sites it continued in subsequent periods also.

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1. B.B. Lal, ; Excavations at Hastinapur and other explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej Basin; 1950-52, *Ancient India* No. 10-11, p. 14.

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At some sites it has been reported preceding the Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW) deposits. These sites are Prahladpur, Gularihavaghat, Masaon, Sarai-Mohana etc. in U.P. and Chirand, Sonpur and Vaishali etc. in Bihar. But a unique feature noticed at some sites, like Prahladpur, is that, although, PGW is completely absent at such sites, but many other traits are identical to the PGW deposit (Period II) of Hastinapur. For example, the paintings on BSW of Prahladpur are identical to the paintings on PGW of Hastinapur. (Period II). The plain Grey ware found at Prahladpur, though very few in number, are identical to the plain Grey ware of Hastinapur. Same is the case with Red Ware shapes, which are again similar to the associated red ware shapes of PGW levels at Hastinapur. Thus, it seems that, although the PGW itself is not found on these sites, from pre-NBPW levels, but other traits prove it to be belonging to the PGW culture.

Still, later, BSW is found from NBPW levels at sites like Rajghat, Prahladpur, Sringverpur, Bhardwaj Ashram and Sravasti etc.

In South India, it is throughout associated with Mogalithic Burials, although the variety, shapes etc. are different.

As it has been claimed above, this pottery—BSW—is not a representative pottery of any particular Culture. So, let us examine this claim in the light of excavation results of many sites in and outside the Ganga Basin.

First of all we will see the position of BSW in pre-PGW levels. The excavation at Noh[1] brought to light the BSW in Period II along with Black and Red Ware below the PGW deposits which occur in Period III. At Jodhpura—also in Rajasthan—BSW is reported from pre-PGW levels. In the Upper Ganga Plain, the earliest occurrence of the BSW has been recorded in the pre-PGW context from sites like Atranjikhera[2], Jakhera[3], Prahladpur[4] and Sringverpur[5] etc.

As far as the occurrence of the BSW from the PGW levels is concerned, the Ware continues to exist in the PGW phase also at the sites mentioned below. It is interesting to

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1. *IAR*—1964-65, p. 35.
2. *IAR*—1965-66, p. 45.
3. *IAR*—1975-76, p. 51.
4. *IAR*—1962-63, p. 41.
5. *IAR*—1977-78, p. 54.

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note that BSW is invaiably reported from the sites like Hastinapur[1], Khalaua[2], Bateshwar[3], Mathura[4], Kanauj[5], Kampil[6], Hulas[7], Allhapur[8], and Alamgirpur[9] etc. in the Upper Ganga Plain where the occupation starts with the PGW.

In the next phase we see the BSW appearing from the levels underlying the NBPW. Some of such sites are Prahladpur, Sarai Mohana, Rajghat, Gularihaveghat, and Vaishali etc. in the Middle Ganga Plain.

But a remarkable addition to the feature of the BSW in Middle Ganga Plain is the introduction of paintings on the pottery. This painting is a kin to the painting found on typical PGW.

When we come to the early NBP Period, we come across the sites like Sringverpur, Bhardwaja Ashram, Mathura, Sravasti and Hulaskhera etc. At these sites BSW appears with NBP.

In negligible number it has been found from late or post-NBP phase at sites like Prahladpur and Rajghat etc.

In South India also it continues upto early historic period, either in association with the Megalithic burials or from other sites.

So, in short this is the archaeological position of BSW in Ganga Plain and elsewhere.

Now, in the light of above mentioned excavations, it is not worthwhile to look for a separate horizon for BSW. Instead it seems that the technique of preparing this pottery was known at Noh and Jodhpura etc. prior to 8th century B.C. And this technique was also

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1. Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
2. *IAR*—1965-66, p. 42.
3. *IAR*—1975-76, p. 43.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 53 and IAR 1954-55, p. 15.
5. *IAR*—1955-56, p. 19.
6. *IAR*—1975-76, p. 52.
7. K.N. Dikshit, The Excavations at Hulas and further explorations of the Upper Ganga Yamuna Doab, *Man And Environment*, Vol. V, 1981. p. 71.
8. *IAR*—1970-71, p. 40-41.
9. *IAR*—1958-59, p. 54.

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common amorg the PGW culture people and it continued till the early centuries as we see that the technique was also known to the Megalith builders of early centuries.

An interesting point regarding the BSW in the Middle Ganga Plain is that at sites like Prahladpur and Rajghat an independent level of BSW has been noticed underlying the NBPW deposit. But this level should be treated at far with PGW level as shapes of pottery and other traits are identical to PGW levels of Hastinapur. For example., in BSW some shapes like carinated dishes and bowls, and hemespherical straight sided, carinated dishes are similar to the PGW shapes of Hastinapur. Thus there is a striking similarity between the Hastinapur PGW as in Prahladpur BSW shapes. But this point needs further probing.

The excavation at Prahladpur has given one more remarkable indication that NBPW could have developed from BSW. At Prahladpur in Period IA, BSW is found abundantly but NBPW is completely absent. But in Period IB start getting a good number of NBPW and BSW strat decreasing in number. On study it has been found that this NBPW may be proved to be an improved variety of BSW., as NBPW is comparatively more lighter, hard, stain proof, highly lustrous and good looking. Introduction of new colours in addition to the black, also strengthens the same theory. A similar hint was given by Prof. B.B. Lal in his Hastinapur excavation report. But let us leave this point the topic for another paper.

At the present state of our knowledge, what we can say is that the BSW can not be called a trait or representative of any particular culture. Instead its technique was know to all these above mentioned different cultures and it remained only an associated ware at all these sites through the ages as is the case with the Black and Red Ware.

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9

Prehistoric Research in Afghanistan : Problems and Perspectives

*—V.C. Srivastava**

The discovery of the prehistoric Afghanistan is a recent phenomenon. Till 1950 it was considered as 'an archaeological blank'[1] from the point of view of prehistory but by 1973 such prehistoric material has come to light in Afghanistan that archaeologists started realising that at least 'a preliminary inventory'[2] of prehistoric finds of this '*terra incognita* deserves to be made. Later on in 1976 it was asserted that' the prehistoric record in Afghanistan holds many surprises, new problems as well as answers to old questions.'[3] The archaeologists became so much impressed by the recent prehistoric discoveries in Afghanistan that by 1978 it was exclaimed that 'there is more cheese than holes'[4] in archaeological reconstruction. Thus it is clear that 'within a short span of about twenty five years the prehistoric Afghanistan emerged from the oblivion and came to occupy a place of pride on the prehistoric map of the world '[5] In spite of such exuberant and optimistic statements about the status of prehistoric research in Afghanistan it can not be denied that it is still in its infancy[6]. It has posed more problems than it could solve. For a fruitful future of Afghan prehistory it is more than desirable to pin-point the problems and questions that beset this new discipline in Afghanistan and orient future studies in the direction of the solution of these problems. It is only this type of approach which is going to yield dividends rather than the at-random policy of pick and dig. Unless and until the prehistoric research in Afghanistan is problem-oriented the future perspective may not be be healthy and wholesome.[7] During the last four years or so there has been practically a holiday for prehistoric field work in Afghanistan due to a variety of factors. Therefore it is the most suitable time for taking stock of previous works and assess what future direction the prehistoric research is going to take. Politically a new Afghanistan is emerging on the horizon which also demands that correct perspectives may be placed before the researchers which can be possible only on a reealuation of the existing materials and an objective exposure of the problems that they pose.[8]

At the outset the researcher is baffled with the meagreness of prehistoric materials[9] that are available to us so far in Afghanistan. Even a bare outline of different stages of prehistoric

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culture may not be possible on firm ground as for certain stages there may be only one or two sites and that too may be only exploratory. Even the character of that find may not be above question. As it has been too often pointed out it may not be safe to generalise on the basis of one or two sites. To illustrate the point we may give a brief review of sites of each phase of prehistoric culture in Afghanistan. For the Lower Palaeolithic only some surface collections of tools have been done from Dasht i-Nawur (Ghazni) and these tools have been claimed to belong to the Lower Palaeolithic phase.[10] Some scholars[11] have doubted the Lower Palaeolithic nature of these tools. It is also significant to point out that subsequent explorations in the area have not yielded any fresh evidence of Lower Palaeolithic tools. Since the so-called Lower Palaeolithic tools have been found in clusters and no stratigraphic position can be established the presence of the Lower Palaeolithic culture may be doubted here It was claimed by some scholars[12] in the past that some Clactonia tools have been found from Hazar Sum (Samangan). But it has been shown[13] that there is hardly any evidence of the use of the Clactonian technique in the tools illustrated by the explorer. In short, we may say that there is no definite internal evidence for the presence of the Lower Palaeolithic in Afghanistan so far. In comparison to the Lower Palaeolithic the Middle Palaeolithic is better documented yet the evidences available for this phase also can not be considered as abunduntly sufficient for generalising about the life-style of the man during this period in Afghanistan particularly so when we compare this material with those found in the neighbouring regions[14]—Soviet Central Asia, Inian and Iran. There are five sites which are associated with the Middle Palaeolithic in Afghanistan—Darra-i-Kur (Baba Darwesh), Ghar-i-Mordeh Gusfand (Gurziwan), Hazar Sum (Samangan), Kara Kamar (Samangan and Dasht-i-Nawur Ghazni). Besides these sites Middle Palaeolithic tools have been reported to have been found from Balkh (Allchin 1951), Aq Kupiuk (Mcburney, 1971) and Kishm (Mcburney, 1971). At the face of it the number of the Middle Palaeolithic sites in Afghanistan appears to be impressive but a careful examination of the artifacts coupiled with other factors cast doubt on the Middle Palaeolithic nature of most of these sites with the exception of Darra-i-Kur. Kabul Museum exhibits of the so called Middle Palaeolithic tools from Kara Kamar II and IV do not bear out the contention. Similarly many[15] have doubted the use of the so called Levalloisian or Mousterian technique in the alleged Middle Palaeolithic tools of Hazar Sum. In view of the fact that the stratigraphical position of these tools from Hazar Sum is not known the nature of the stage of these tools from Hazar Sum can not be definitely established. Ghar-i-Mordeh Gusfand was excavated in 1970 again which has cast a reasonable doubt on its being a Middle Palaeolithic site. No doubt, some tools—Levallois flakes, side and round scrapers, points and possible burins were found from the Lower terraces from Dasht-i-Nawur but the absence of stratigraphic position in respect of this stage leaves the whole matter a problematic one. The surface collection of one or two tools of Middle Palaeolithic tradition such as from Oxus, Aq Kupruk and Kishm may not be very useful for establishing a cultural phase. Thus only Darra-i-Kur remains as the true Middle Palaeolithic

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site.[16] Is it fair to generalise on the basis of one site? For the Upper Palaeolithic in Afghanistan we are supposed to believe that there are many sites[17]—Kara Kamar I and III, Darra-i-Kalon, Aq Kupruk, II, IIIA and IIIB, Kok Jar, and Siakl Rigan. Of these only Kara Kamar III is representative of an early Upper Palaeolithic culture. Other sites—Aq Kupruk II, III A and III B, Darra-i-Kalon, Kara Kamar I Kok Jar belong to the later phase of the Upper Palaeolithic which has been recently termed as the Epi-Palaeolithic. Other sites like Siakl Rigan represent even still later phase known as the Mesolithic. Thus for the early phase of the Upper Palaeolithic we have one and only one site-Kara Kamar III and it is to be noted that no such site has been reported from any where in the region. No doubt, Aq Kupruk is a scientifically excavated site for the Epi-Palaeolithic phase[18] along with Darra-i-Kalon, Kok Jar and Kara Kamar I and as such this phase is the best documented phase so far in Afghanistan. For the Mesolithic phase[19] we have only surface collections from Tash Qurghan, 40, G.P. 2 and G.P. 4, Siakl Rigan and neighbouring sites in northern Afghanistan. For the Neolithic culture[20] we are fortunate to have two scientifically excavated sites—Aq Kupruk I *(Ghar-i-Mar)*, and Aq Kupruk II *(Ghar-i-asp)*. Other sites like Hazar Sum, Gurziwan and Kelift have been subject to surface collection only. For the late Goat-cult Mountain Neolithic[21] we have so far two sites Darra-i-Kur and Gharluli but there is no published report of the latter so far. The above review clearly shows that there is no definite site of the Lower Palaeolithic while for the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic we have one definite site for each. For the Epi-Palaeolithic we have 4 sites and for the Mesolithic we have only surface collections. For the Neolithic we have Aq Kupruk I and II and for the Goat cult Mountain Neolithic we have one site of Darra-i-Kur. Thus in spite of the optimism of many and exuberance of others the sites are minimal, the materials are scanty and hardly four or five prehistoric sites may be classed as scientifically excavated sites. Even a 'thumbnail sketch[22]' of the outline of the prehistoric culture of Afghanistan can not be presented on the basis of available meagre material. If it has to be presented it will have to be totally tentative with full of imagination and at times rash anticipations[23] and risky generalisations.

Besides the problems of the meagreness of materials, the absence of stratigraphy, the presence of minimal sites for a cultural phase and at-random digging, a prehistoric researcher is faced with another tickless but highly relevant problem—the problem of taxonomics or systematics. There are various systems of classification and nomenclature in prehistoric archaeology[24] all over the world and hardly there is any unanimity about any one classification. In the case of Afghanistan no serious thought has been given to this highly pertinent issue so far. Dupree[25] would prefer to use the system of Lower, Middle, Upper Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and lastly Neolithic for the prehistoric cultural evolution of Afghanistan. Soviet archaeologists[26] have also followed this system of nomenclature. But Davis[27] has classified the prehistoric culture of Afghanistan into following heads : Lower and Middle Palaeolithic, Late Palaeolithic which includes Upper Palaeolithic and Epi-Palaeolithic and then Neolithic.

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He eliminates the Mesolithic. Some archaeologists[28] have included the Neolithic into a phase termed as the Later Prehistoric period which includes the protohistoric phase too. Terms like Mousterian or Barodostian have also been used.[29] Naturally the question arises as to whether it would be rewarding to follow a system derived from Bordes or from some one else or a major tool category approach further subdivided by attribute clusters would prove useful.[30] Similarly the question remains whether the Lower, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic may be used or the Early and Late Palaeolithic would be more meaningful. It is also to be examined whether we may use some local Afghan names for the various cultural stages of prehistoric period as it has been done in the case of other countries. This question is linked with the problem of antochthonous origin versus diffusionary evolution.[31] Recently both the terms—Epi-Palaeolithic and Mesolithic have been used for the post Upper—Palaeolithic phase.[32] How far this is justified in the context of Afghan prehistory ?

It has been amply demonstrated that ecological system approach is a very fruitful approach in the prehistoric archaeology but it is unfortunate that very little work has been done on the ecology of Afghanistan and naturally the relationship between ecology and cultural processes in the prehistoric Afghanistan remains practically an unexplored field. No doubt, some preliminary works on the environment, climatic change in the Pleistocene and Holocene and their bearing on the man and his cultural evolution in Afghanistan have been done[33] but there are some basic limitations in the study of the environment of Afghanistan. Broadly speaking, there are three main limitations :[34] inadequacy and uncertainty of data on modern geography of Afghanistan, absence of data on geographical setting of Afghanistan in the Pliestocene and Holocene times, and the lack of information on the geology of Afghanistan. The status of the study of climatic change in the Quaternary Afghanistan is a big question mark as it involves theorising on assumptions which have been challenged by many authorities on quaternary research.[35] To illustrate the point there are widespread controversies over correlation of glacial and pluvial periods[36] and theory of changes in mosisture independent of shifts in atmospheric circulation[37] but these assumptions have been made the basis of theorising on the climatic change in Afghanistan. For reconstructing the climatic history of the prehistoric Afghanistan the analogy from other regions has been made the basis[38] but it is questionable as to how far analogy from other regions may be utilized for Afghanistan. Afghanistan has its own geographical, geological and ecological peculiarities which can not be overlooked in the generalities of other regions.[39] Moreover, there is no unanimity on many vital basic questions of climate and climatic change in the neighbouring regions. In short, the question of the reconstruction of the prehistoric environment of Afghanistan is almost an unexplored field—a field which is almost basic for understanding the interaction between man and environment and ultimately the cultural processes.

Besides this general problem of prehistoric ecology in Afghanistan some specific problems related to the ecological system may be mentioned here. The question of the

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relationship between secular climatic changes and the distribution of hunting and gathering populations during the Palaeolithic in Afghanistan is baffling most prehistorians. It has been suggested[40] that during the maximum of the last Wurm glaciation environmental conditions had deteriorated beyond the adaptive capacity of hunting-gathering groups over wide areas of Central Asia and South-west Asia and this would account for the archaeological gap found during maximal Wurm period in Afghanistan and other regions. But the suggestion is only an intuitive inference. To reach any definite conclusion in this matter we need investigation of the climate during the Wurm period in Afghanistan, a careful study of the prehistoric diet and are analysis of ecological limiting factors of hunter-gatherers in arid and cool steppe environments. It has been further suggested[41] that the climate of the region north of Hindu Kush must have been very severally cold which must have made the region unfit for the Lower Palaeolithic hunter and gatherer. This specific explanation of the absence of Lower Palaeolithic sites from north of Hindu Kush in terms of Climatic change can not be established unless we have more investigations in the sphere of prehistoric climatic change in northern Afghanistan. The absence of sites of Lower Palaeolithic may be explained on the ground of lack of field work. In is pertinent to remind that Lower Palaeolithic tools have been discovered from loess deposits in Karatau in Soviet Central Asia[42] and similar loess deposits have been found in the plains of northern Afghanistan which might yield Lower Palaeolithic tools in future. It is quite uncertain whether the absence of Lower Palaeolithic sites in the north of Hindu Kush is due to the bad climate or due to a lack of the field work.

Another ecological problem which a prehistorian faces is the question of the interaction between the moderation of the climate during the early Holocene and the developments towards the domestication of plants and animals. It has been surmised[43] that the moderation in the climate in the early Holocene must have been responsible for the increased population of Epi-Palaeolithic groups and the pressure of population must have led to the widening of the subsistence resources. This challenge-response dynamism dnring the Early Holocene must have been responsible for the change from the hunting—gathering economy to the food—producing economy. However, so far no palynological studies have been done and unless and untill more paleo-climatic investigations are done we can not be sure of the interaction between the responses of the Epi-Palaeolithic man and the environment and consequent transition to the domestication of animals and plants.

Similarly the occupation of high altitude zones such as Dasht-i-Nawur during the Epi-Palaeolithic—Mesolithic phase needs investigation in terms of factors influencing the groups for the change. Was it due to ecological factors or was it due to some other factors ? It has rightly been indicated[44] that similar occupations (high altitude above 4000 meters) in Tadzhikistan have been traced by Mesolithic times.

Likewise the long gap between the Upper Palaeolithic as represented at Kara Kamar III

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and the Epi-Palaeolithic of Afghanistan has been explained by Solecki[45] and Davis in[46] terms of climate and climatic change and is thus an ecologically oriented problem. The contention of Davis that digestable vegetation was not available on the cold steppe needs substantiation in future by more researches on vegetational history of Afghanistan. Thus ecologically oriented problems are numerous and multi-faceted and no advance can be made in repect to the prehistoric behaviourism and cultural changes unless we are equipped with scientific field data on total ecology of Afghanistan in the Quaternary times.

Coupled with the problems of the paucity of materials, systematics, and ecology is the general problem of the approach to the origin of various cultural traditions in the prehistoric Afghanistan. Till quite recent times it was almost a creed with the archaeologists to trace the origin of different cultural traits Afghanistan on the basis of some diffusionary mechanism,[47] either from Europe or West Asia or some other regions. But the pendulum appears to have now swung to the other side of the autochthonou development. To illustrate the point it may be pointed out that tate Palaeolithic industries in Afghanistan are regarded as the results of the indigenous processes.[48] For Lower and Middle Palaeolithic cultures also local origin have been anticipated.[49] Afghanistan has now been taken as one of the centres for the Neolithic cultural transformations.[50] Thus the prehistorians of Afghanistan are faced with two diametrically opposite views—the development of culture by diffusion and the evolution of culture by indigenous origin. The most interesting point in both cases is that there is no definitive evidence in either case. There is no stratigraphic sequences of even two successive stages of prehistoric cultures in Afghanistan which may throw some light on the origin and development of any industry of prehistoric times. Likewise, in spite of general similarities in cultural traits of certain prehistoric stage in Afghanistan and West Asia or Europe or Central Asia or India, there is hardly any thing conclusive to prove that the particular cultural trait in Afghanistan is an intrusion by some diffusionary mechanism.

We have very little evidence of scientific nature on the chronological horizons of different stages of prehistoric cultures in Afghanistan. There is only one R-14 date[51] for the Middle Palaeolithic and that too according to Dupree[52] is from a contaminated sample. For the early Upper Palaeolithic from Kara Kamar III there are many R-14 dates but the equipments used had limited capacity. In one case it has capacity only upto 25000 years while in the other case the maximum range was 32000 years. In both the cases the maximum range was exceeded. For the Epi-Palaeolithic (Upper Palaeolithic of Dupree) from Aq Kupruk II we have only one R-14 date, though there are several sites of this phase in Afghanistan. For the Mesolithic we have again only one date from Kara Kamar I though many sites have been reported to have been discovered from northern Afghanistan by the Soviet archaeologists. For the Non-Ceramic Neolithic we have two R-14 dates and for the Ceramic Neolithic also there are two dates. Similarly there are two R-14 dates for Mountain Goat-Cult Neolithic from Darra-i-Kur. This statistical review will leave no room for doubt

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that it is hazardous to fix time—brackets for different cultural phases of the prehistoric Afghanistan. All chronological reconstructions are in the nature of broad guesses rather than also but chronology in Afghanistan. More R-14 dates are needed from different sites so that cross-checkings may be done.

Afghanistan may figure prominently on a debate on the origin of anatomically modern man. A temporal bone of the Middle Palaeolithic man has been recovered from Darra-i-kur[53]. It may fit into a partly Neanderthal population like the Es-Skhul cave specimens from Mt. Carmel as well as into a modern *Homo-Sapien*[54]. This single piece of evidence for the origin of anatomically modern man needs confirmation by future discovery of more fossils from the rock-shelters in northern Afghanistan. However, till the fossils are not discovered it would be profitable to compare this evidence with the examples from Mt. Carmel, Shanidar, Teshik Tash etc. with a view to determining the nature of this significant biological and cultural transition.

The problem of technological evolution in prehistoric Afghanistan is a much discussed but unresolved issue. If we accept the tools of Dasht-i-Nawur (Upper terraces) as of the Lower Palaeolithic tradition we may suggest that Dasht-i-Nawur contains handaxe and Chopper-chopping traditions simultaneously. The next stage of the Middle Palaeolithic is characterized by the use of Levalloisian technique in blade cores but the predominant flaking technique was discoidal. There is almost absence of handaxe in this stage. What is the relationship between the Dasht-i-Nawur biface-Chopper-chopping tradition and the Levalloisian technique of the Middle Palaeolithic tradition at Dara-i-Kur ? Probably no one can establish any relationship between these two different traditions. What is the intermediate stage between these two ? What is the background against which the advanced Levalloisian technology was developed ? Similarly the transitional stage between the Middle Palaeolithic and the Upper Palaeolithic tool technology can not be established because there is no stratified site with both the cultural phases. Kara Kamar used to be claimed as having both the cultures but now this has been shown to be wrong affiliation. The Kara Kamar III Upper Palaeolithic is a unique industry[55] because it has no predecessor and no successor. No doubt, the tools have been made on the blade but the blades of this phase are different from blades of the Middle Palaeolithic in Afghanistan and elsewhere. Blades of this stage are made from cylindrical cores while the blades of the Middle Palaeolithic are made from discoidal/Levalloisian cores. The question of the presence of Aurignacian or Aurignacoid elements in the retouched artifacts at Kara Kamar III is a problematic issue as Davis[56] does not subscribe to the view of Coon[57]. The intermediate stage between the Upper Palaeolithic and the Epi-Palaeolithic in Afghanistan is completely unknown as there is a long gap between these two. The Epi-Palaeolithic technology[58] consists of flake -blade production from simple and multiple platform cores and manufacture of fine microblades by pressure technique from exceptionally small bullet-shaped cores. Microblade technology was very

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sophisticated involving heat-treating, pressure removals, some kind of vise to hold the core steady. The functional aspect of the tool is not definitely known. It may be either connected with some extractive activity or may be multi-purpose tool. The microblade and microcore technology of the Epi-Palaeolithic Afghanistan is a unique phenomenon because such lithic industry at such an early date has not been found from anywhere in and outside Afghanistan. What is the secret of the unique character of the microblade-micro-core technology of the Epi-Palaeolithic Afghanistan ? There is again the problem of correlation between this technology and functional parameters and population density.[59] The initial stages of this unique technology are yet to be identified. The Mesolithic microblade components included geometrics also., and there is no evidence of bullet-shaped microblade cores which were distinctive characteristic of the Epi-Palaeolithic. True burins are also absent. Thus it is difficult to explain the origin and antecedents of this phase though on account of its microblade character it seems to have evolved from the Epi-Palaeolithic technology. The Neolithic tools[60] included sickle blades with sheen on edges, pressure flaked leaf paints, notched flakes, hoes, ground stone querns' and pounders and steatite bowl fragments. Some sort of continuity may be seen in the Epi-Palaeolithic (Kuprukian) tool technology and the Neolithic tool technology because both have large blades, points and diehedral burin. But the presence of sickle in the later phase is a point of departure from the earlier tradition. This is the only available case in Afghanistan where successive stages of technological evolution may be traved. The synoptic review of tecnological development in prehistoric Afghanistan shows that there are acute problems such as the question of antecedents and successors of a tradition, the presence of obsidian tools[61] in Mesolithic G.P.2 and 4, the uniqueness of Kara Kamar Upper Palaeolithic blade technology, the relationship between the microblade technology of the Epi-Palaeolithic and the population growth in the phase etc.

The most vital problem in the prehistoric economy of Afghanistan is the question of the transition from the hunting-gathering economy to the food-producing economy. It has been surmised[62] that the domestication of animals and plants being processes rather than events must have begun sometimes between I 4665 B.C. and 8566 B.C.. It has been challenged by many.[63] There is no floral evidence for the domestication of plants in Afghanistan [64] There is a controversy regarding the domestication of animals from the non-ceramic Neolithic at Aq Kupruk I.[65] Thus such high antiquity for these processes in Afghanistan can not be proved unless we have evidence of pollen-analysis and domestication of animals in the non-ceramic Neolithic. However, Afghanistan appears to be one of the centres of thess processes but the time and nature have to spelled out in future when we have definite evidences.

Another question concerning social and economic life of prehistoric Afghanistan is the nature of Neolithic peoples of Aq Kupruk I and II-- whether they were specialized pastoral nomads[66] or sedentary agriculturists[67] or simultaneously[68] both. Arguements and counter-

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arguements have been put forth in favour of these theseses. It has also been suggested[69] that the Neolithic culture saw a symbiotic development of pastoral nomadism and sedentary agriculturism.—a feature which has been characteristic of Afghanistan throughout the history. This will differentiate the Neolithic culture of Afghanistan from the sedentary agricultural Neolithic of India and West Asia. In view of this other features such as the absence of architectural evidence in Afghan Neolithic may be studied.

The Epi-Palaeolithic culture of Afghanistan developed a tradition of art also as is evident from the Sculptured Head and the Flat Stone from Aq Kupruk.[70] They indicate towards the evolution of a complex multileveled tradition of symbolic usage.[71] In spite of much ingenuity the question remains to be solved whether these are products of dispersion from cultural centres in the West and the North or they are creations of the soil ? What exactly is the purpose behind such art ? How is it that no other example of prehistoric art has been found from Afghanistan after Aq Kupruk ? There are many such questions to be asked and answered in the case of prehistoric art tradition of Afghanistan.

Lastly, the role of Afghanistan in prehistoric cultural evolution in the region as a whole has to be determined. It has been surmised[72] that Afghanistan was an integral part of that nuclear zone of prehistoric culture which extended from West Asia through Central Asia to South Asia. It played independent and creative role in the story of the man from the ape to the agriculturist. This thesis is in opposition to the earlier belief that Afghanistan was a refuge area with no creativity.[73] How far the thesis of Afghanistan being a part of the formational zone can be substantiated ? This naturally raises a re-evaluation of the status of Afghanistan in prehistory. We have to analyse whether Afghanistan was the cross-road of Asia[74] or an interaction sphere[75] or a meeting place[76] or a melting pot[77] or it was akl this and something more than this—an independent creative formational zone of prehistoric man and his culture.[78]

The problems and perspectives that have been indicated above clearly falsify the view that there is more cheese than holes[79] in archaeological reconstruction of Afghanistan. The fact is that there is cheese here and there but holes are here, there and everywhere. The prehistoric record of Afghanistan needs to be enriched by excavations of more and more sites—vertically in most cases but horizontally also in a few cases, analysis of materials on multidisciplinary approach and the application of a variety of perspectives—technological, ecological, chronological etc. and multiple models—materialistic or ideational or synthetic. This enormity of work and complexity of approach in the case of prehistoric research in Afghanistan makes the statements of Coon[80] and Davis[81] as understimates because several lifetimes of work remain not only for a younger man but for a whole generation of active archaeologists.

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10

A Brief Note on Various Kinds of Bronzes

—Lalan Kumar Prasad

Bronze is among the most ancient of alloys and still forms an important group of structural metals. The bronzes are the most celebrated of all the alloys. Bronze is usually understood to be copper alloyed with tin, but zinc is often present, and sometimes other metals, to produce desired qualities.

The term 'bronze' itself is not very old, and seems to have first been introduced in the 15th or 16th century. The Italian author Vannuccio Bringoccio states in his "Pirotechnice", published in 1550, that the alloys of copper and tin were termed "bronzo", but fails to give the derivation of the word. From the Italian the term passed into the English, French, German and other languages. Whether the opinion expressed by the French Chemist Berthelot, that the alloy was originally called "brondision", and that its name was derived from the city Brunduzium (which is now known as Brindisi, Italy), is correct, must be left undecided.

Bronzes do not mean an alloy but a class of alloys which is large. All these kinds of bronzes differ from each other in properties and hence in uses. These differences in properties of bronzes are due to their different compositions of the constituent metals. Some copper-based alloys are not bronzes but they are misnamed bronzes. Some copper-base alloys should have been named brasses but they are named bronzes. So, the author of this paper has tried to put some remarkable facts by giving a brief note on some important and typical bronzes.

According to tin content, the colour of bronze varies between red and white, and with a considerable amount of tin it passes into steel-gray. Generally speaking, tin exerts a greater influence on the colour than zinc, the alloy with comparatively small tin content exhibiting no longer a red, but a white colour. Alloys containing go to 90% of copper retain

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a pure red colour, with 80% of copper it rapidly changes to orange-yellow, and with 85% becomes pure yellow. With a decrease of the copper content to 50% the respective alloys show a slightly yellowish-white colour. It is a remarkable fact that alloys with a content of copper between 50 and 35% are distinguished by a pure white colour, while those containing upto 65% of tin show a steel-gray colour. With a still greater percentage of tin the colour of the alloys again becomes pure white.

Bronze has been known from very remote times, and was used by the ancients in casting statues and other ornaments. The bronze used in those days contained no lead, and come nearest to what is at present time designated by the term bronze—that is, an alloy of copper and tin. The older bronzes especially those of Greek origin, consisted almost only of copper and tin. The bronze used by the Romans and after them was rarely an alloy of pure copper and tin, but contained usually more or less lead. Considerable quantities of lead are frequently found in the older-Roman coins, which must be considered as an intentional addition. Zinc seems first to have been intentionally added to bronze in the beginning of the present era. The following are the main bronzes :—

1. *Coinage Bronze :*

Generally, it contains copper 95% and tin 5%. It is used for making coins and medals. It is sufficiently hard and tough to resist considerable wear and malleable enough to be stamped to shape. It is usual custom to add about 1% of zinc in order to obtain sounder metal. Thus, the alloy employed for the coinage bronze contain copper 95%, tin 4% and zinc 1%.

2. *Statuary Bronze :*

This bronze is used for making statues should be capable of being cast and worked with chasing tools and gravers. It should resist the influence of the weather, and at the same time by reason of its hardness, resist mechanical wear. It should have a beautiful colour. Bronze used for the preparation of statues contains a small percentage of zinc and lead. Zinc in small quantity is also added to obtain a more fluid metal and sounder casting. Small—amount of lead is added in order to obtain a shining and a beautiful brownish black colour. Mostly, it contains 89-93%, copper, 1-9% tin, 1-5% zinc and 1-2.5% lead.

3. *Gun Metal :*

Usually, it contains copper 90% and tin 10%. It is called gun metal because it was used for manufacturing gun for the first time. It is very strong, hard, tough and durable.

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A small quantity of zinc is also added in order to obtain a more fluid metal and a sounder casting. Thus, the alloy bell metal usually contains copper 80%, tin 18% and zinc 2%. Gun metal is mostly used in the form of castings and better properties and obtained from castings in sand.

4. *Speculum Bronze or Speculum Metal :*

This bronze is composed of two-thirds copper and one-third tin. It is a white bronze and it takes a beautiful polish that gained fame for high reflectivity before glass mirror were invented. It was formerly used for mirrors of telescopes, has been replaced by silvered glass. One of the most famous metal mirror is that of Lord Rosse's telescope. It weighs over 3 tons and consists of copper 68.2% tin 31.8%.

Good speculum metal should be perfectly white, without a tinge of Yellow, with a fine-grained fracture, sound and uniform, and sufficiently tough to bear the grinding and polishing without danger of disintegration. A composition answering all purposes must contain at least 65 to 66% of copper and 34 to 35% tin.

5. *Bell Metal :*

Generally, it contains copper 80% and tin 20%. It is called bell metal because it has the best tonal quality. Hence it is used for making bells etc. A small quantity of zinc is usually added to obtain a more fluid metal and a sounder castiag. Thus, the bell metal usually contains copper 80%, tin 18% and zinc 2%.

Bell-metal must be hard to give a sound and does not suffer a change in form when the bell is subjected to the frequently repeated action of the claper or tongue. It must therefore contain more tin than gun metal; but not with standing the high tin content it should not be more brittle than can be helped so as not to crack under these strains. For this reason, the addition of other metals, besides copper and tin, is not good practice—in fact, it is useless and in most cases injurious. Experience has shown that the best proportion of the two constituent metals is 20 to 23 parts tin and 77 to 80 parts copper. The ten content of the bell metal is increased with the size of bell. Small bells are made from alloys containing about 15% tin.

6. *Bearing Bronze :*

Bearing bronzes contain from 81 to 87% of copper and 13 to 19% of tin. Their

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composition varies according to the loads to be supported and the metal of which journal is formed. From 2 to 4% of the copper is replaced commonly by zinc.

7. *Phospher Bronze :*

Phosphor bronzes are true bronzes to which very small amounts of white phosphorus have been added. Phosphorus is not a metal but has a special effect in bronze. These alloys are extremely resilient and have great fatigue endurance and hardness, which along with their excellent corrosion resistance give them to a special place in this illustrious family group. Typical uses for them are expansion and bridge bearing plates, shaftings, diaphragms and hardware. Usually phosphorus bronze contains copper 90%, tin 9%, Zinc 1-2% and phosphorus 0.05-0.1%.

Phosphorus is added both as a deoxidiser and also to increase the hardness. The hardness is due to the formation of a compound Cu_3P. When phosphorus is used only as a deoxidiser, very little of it remains in the alloy. These alloys do not contain above 9% tin and they can be rolled or drawn. Having better corrosion resistence they are used for condenser tubes, pump rods, boiler stays etc.

The other type containing phosphorus between 0.2 to 20% are used only in the cast condition. Due to their very high resistance to wear these alloys are used for the manufacture of warms, warmwheels, piston rings, etc.

8. *Plastic Bronze :*

This noted alloy was derived as the result of experimental work carried out by G H. Clamer, Vice-president and secretary of the A-jax Metal Co. of philadelphia, Pennsylvenia. It contains approximately 64% of copper, 5% of tin, 30% of lead and 1% of nickel. This is known as plastic bronze, since it is more plastic than ordinary bronze. Lead increases resistence to wear without increasing the co-efficient of friction. The nickel is added as alloy to get the best result, since small amount of nickel lessons the seggregation of lead by causing the alloy to solidity at a higher temperature.

9. *Silicon Bronze :*

This is also very strong bronze that has a high tenzile strength and is practically non-corrosive. For this reason it is largely used for seriel wires. It is usually made of 97.12% copper, 1.14% tin, 1.12% zinc and 0.52% silicon. Silicon acts on copper in almost exactly the same manner that phosphorus does, that it appears to be a more natural alloy. Copper and silicon, with or without tin, may, also be alloyed to form silicon bronze. According

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to sperry, the standard silicon bronze, is composed of 98.55%, copper, 1.40% tin and 0.05% silicon. Silicon bronzes give good casts. Silicon does not appreciably reduce electrical conductivity of copper and, therefore, is used as a deoxidiser for copper.

10. *Nickel Bronze :*

Nickel is used extensively in bronzes, especially in the eastern united states. Some of these alloys, known as nickel bronze, contain as much as 7% nickel, with 9% tin. Nickel is also used to replace tin in bronze alloys, and a special alloy consisting primarily of nickel 3%, tin and copper about 30% with strengthening and deoxidising agents, is sold to the trade by Alloys and Products Inc., of New York. This alloy is added to yellow brass with advantage and results in sounder and smoother castings. In brass foundry alloys, nickel should always be introduced in a alloy with other metals forming part of the melt; and the mixture should be properly deoxidized and should carry sufficient deoxidiser to cleanse the alloy to which it is added if the best result are to be obtained. Used in this manner it will effect great improvement in bronze, and will save tin.

Some bronzes without tin :

Actually the word "bronze" means a copper-tin combination. But the work is used also to include several copper-base alloys which do not contain any tin, yet have characteristic of bronze, notebly the typical colour of bronze such as Architectural and Commercial bronze.

Some such brozes are :

11. *Aluminium Bronze or Aluminium Gold :*

Alloys of copper as a base and alluminium as the alloying agent are known as alluminium bronze and are just as true bronzes as alloys copper and tin exclusively.

This alloy is the finest bronze that has yet been made but its high cost has prevented it from being widely used in the arts except for making jewelry. It has a beautiful golden colour while its mechanical and electrical properties surpass that of any other bronze, being at once light, strong, and resistant to oxygen and other chemical reactions. This alloy consists simply of 5 to 12% alluminium with 88 to 95 copper. This alloy when powdered and mixed with oil makes a very fine silvery-white paint.

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12 *Tungston Bronze :*

The properties of this alloy are in some respects quite like those of managenese bronze. It is a very simple alloy, being made of 90% copper and 10% tungston.

13. *Manganin :*

This alloy is formed of 84% copper, 12% manganese and 4% nickel. Although it contains so large a percentage of copper, it has a high electric resistence, its conductivity being about 30 times less than that of copper. Wire made of this alloy is largely used in electrical instruments because its resistance does not change with ordinary changes of temperature.

14. *Beryllium Bronze :*

It is a very simple alloy, usually being made of 97.5 to 99% copper and 2.5 to 3% beryllium. This alloy is very good for springs used in precision instruments.

Brasses misnamed bronzes :

Alloys that are strictly brass are sometimes known by the term bronze, as in the case of manganese bronze and vanadium bronze. These alloys are brasses, because these are fundamentally alloys of copper and zinc while true bronzes are alloys of copper and tin. There is no good reason why alloys of copper and tin should be called bronze exclusively, but there must be some distinction between brass and bronze, and it is customary to regard alloys of copper and zinc as brass, and alloys of copper with tin as bronze.

15. *Manganese Bronze :*

The typical composition of manganese bronze is copper 60 to 62%, zinc 36 to 40% and manganese about 2%. A small quantity of manganese makes it very hard and tough. It is wrongly called "manganese bronze" should have been named "manganese brass," since its main constituents are copper and zinc. It has very high strength. It is used for making brushes, pinions, etc. Manganese bronze is a strong alloy, but it is not a bearing alloy, it is suitable where very strong castings are required. When manganese bronze was first introduced, its competitor was alluminium bronze, and the former, being cheap and easier to cast, became more popular.

16. *Vanadium Bronze :*

When copper and zinc are melted together and very small amount of vanadium is

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added to them they from a bronze that is remarkably hard and tough. The formula for making vanadium bronze is to use 61% copper, 38.5% zinc and 0.5% vanadium.

Formulae for some other bronzes :

Kind	*Copper %*	*Tin %*	*Zinc %*	*Other metals %*
Lead bronze	80	10		Lead 10
U. S. standard bronzes.	90	7	3	
Tobin Bronze	55	2	43	
Sillmann Bronze	86			Alluminium 10% & Iron 4%.

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B. ART AND ARCHITECTURE

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11

Indian Art History : Some Reflections

—K.D. Bajpai

For an adequate appraisal of Indian Art history, it is essential to have a knowledge of the traditional growth of the variegated aspects of Indian culture. This culture grew not only in this country but also in several other parts of Asia. One has to acquire a good grounding in the world history, particularly of the countries with which India had close contacts. It is necessary to have a good grounding in India's cultural relations with Iran, Greece, Rome, Central Asia and the Arab countries on the one hand, and with Tibet, China, Japan, Shri Lanka, Burma, Indo-China and Indonesia on the other. Similarly, the necessity of an adequate training in modern methodology of the study of the art history can not be over-emphasised.

Art history of a region has to take into account not only the geographical and political background of a particular period, but also its socio-economic set-up and the religious and aesthetic norms.

For the study of Ancient and Medieval Indian history and culture there is a vast indegenous literature. The written accounts left by foreign travellers are also of considerable importance. The evidence furnished by these is, at times, corroborated by the archaeological sources. These sources include monuments, objects of plastic and pictorial art, inscriptions, coins and seals.

So for adequate work has not been done on the source-material furnished by the epigraphical records, coins, terracottas, seals and sealings for the study of Indian art history. This material undoubtedly supplements the evidence known from other relevant sources. Several inscriptions mention the names of artists and some of them give the names of the guilds of craftsmen, A few rare coins from Taxila, Kauśambi and Vidisha refer to the names of the guilds *(nigamas)*, which issued those coins.

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By about c. 200 B.C. the followers of several arts and crafts had formed their guilds in India. *Goṣṭhīs* and *nigamas* of various professionals are mentioned in the ancient literature and inscriptions. One of the inscriptions of early *2nd* century B.C. found at Bhaṭṭiprolu in South India refers to a *Goṣṭhi* and *nigamas*, which made a combind gift of several Buddhist caskets. A number of pre-Gupta inscriptions from Nasik, Junnar, Karla, Mathura, Bhīṭā and other places have supplied the names of guilds of different crafts. The Deopara inscription of Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty refers to one Rāṇaka Śūlapāṇi, who is called "the Crest jewel of the *goṣṭhī* of the *śilpis* (artists) of Vārendra." Like the guilds of bankers (śreṣṭhīs), some guilds of the artists also had their own seals. Some of the names occurring on the seals and sealings from Mathura, Vidisha, Bhītā, Kaushambi, Vaiśālī and several other sites seem to refer to the names of head artists of the guilds.

For the study of art history, ancient inscriptions furnish interesting material. In a large number of epigraphs from north and south India, several terms are used for the artists. The terminology for art and architecture and the component parts of structures as well as the art-objects is very rich indeed. For different categories of artists, terms like *kāru*, *śilpī*, *sūtradhāra*, *Karmika*, *takṣaka*, *sūpakāra* and *chitrakāra* have been found in inscriptions.

Quite a large number of inscriptions fonnd at Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Antichak, Vaiśālī, Nalanda, Amaravati, Nagarjunikonda, Ajanta, Tanjaur, Kanchipuram and other sites are important for the study of Indian art and architecture. The art terminology found in the inscriptions, particularly in the regions of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, is extremely valuable for the study of the plastic and pictorial art which developed in the country during the course of several centuries. Some of the designations for artists, and also for the component parts of various types of structures, paintings and sculptures preserved in the ancient Sanskrit, Prākrita, Kannada, Telugu and Tamil literatures are still current in some parts of our country.

About the artistic activities of various types, the inscriptions give reliable evidence. They provide useful material pertaining to the contribution made by different communities to the progress and enrichment of art.

Several inscriptions, particularly from the period of the Sātavāhanas to about 1300 A.D., open with the *dhyāna* or eulogy to a deity. From the time of the Guptas, one or more such *stuti* verses formed the opening part of an inscription. Some of the *dhyānas* throw welcome light on the iconographic forms of the deities concerned and also on their designation. Śiva is contemplated in the form of Paśupati, Maheśvara, Umāpati, Kalyāṇasundara, Ardhanārīśvara, Lakulīśa, etc. Similarly, Viṣṇu is mentioned in the inscriptions as Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa,

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Janārdana Murāri, Śrīpati, etc. Other deities, including the Buddha and the Tīrthaṅkaras, are also similarly eulogised in the inscriptions.

As regards numismatics as a source for the study of art history, some scholars still entertain a wrong notion that coins do not come under the purview of art history. These tiny pieces of metalic art in fact furnish an important source-meterial. Not only have they a bearing on the political and economic history but also on the art history.

I would like to mention here the outstanding recent discoveries of some early punch-marked and die-struck coins in the Betwa and Narmada valleys of Madhya Pradesh and in the Godavari valley of Andhra Pradesh. Among these the beautiful square punch-marked coins bearing inscriptions are of particular significance.

The punch-marked inscribed coins from the Betwa-Narmada valleys give the names of several rulers, and of an ancient *janapada*. They have placed before us new material pertaining to the history of Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period.

The new rulers known from the punch-marked coins are : Nārāyaṇamitra, Bhānumtira, Vasu (or Vajramitra), Ravimitra, Rāmabhadra and Hastideva. Inscribed square punch-marked coins of the Sātavāhana rulers bearing the legends *raño Siri Sātakaṇisa* and *raño Siri Sātasa* have also been discovered. Similar punch-marked coins of a city-State Bhāgilā are also known from the same region.

It is interesting to mention here that from Eran names of two early rulers of about 200 B.C. are already known. One is Dharmapāla known from his single die-struck coin (now in the British Museum). The other is Indragupta. He is known from the legend given on his die (of a full Kārshāpaṇa size) struck on a semi-circular lead-piece recovered from Eran excavations. The legend in Mauryan Brāhmī characters is *raño Indagutasa*.

From the heavy lead piece of king Indragupta it is clear that the die-striking device was current in eastern Malwa in c. 200 B.C., side by side the punching method, for preparation of coins. The excavations conducted at several sites in eastern Malwa, e g. Eran, Vidisha and Tumain, have confirmed this statement.

The current theory that Indian rulers started inscribing their names on coins in imitation of the Indo-Greek coinage has to be reconsidered now. I feel that some of the inscribed punch-marked coins, referred to above, were issued in Central India before the time of Demetrios-I.

Recently some die-struck square copper and potin coins from an ancient site near a village Kota-Linglā on the right bank of the river Godavari, about 60 kms. from the district

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head-quarters of Karimnagar in Andhra Pradesh, have been discovered. Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry has published these coins.

The coins are of 6 rulers : two of them Gobhadra and Sāmi Gopa flourished before king *Sātavāhana*. As many as 10 coins of Gobhadra and 38 of Sāmi Gopa have been reported.

From Kotā-Linglā 8 coins of Chhimuka Sātavāhana, 16 of Sātakarṇi and 8 of king Sātavāhana have been obtained. One coin of king Śrī Nārāyaṇa has also been discovered. No coins of the later Sātavāhana rulers are so far known from this site.

An idea of art-symbology is also necessary. In various art forms, symbols of different types are met with right from the time of the Neolithic period. The significance of these symbols cannot be minimized. Several symbols are known in archaic rock-paintings and in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic terracotta figurines, seals and sealings. In the rock-paintings we get the symbols of the Sun, the Moon, the stars, hill, *svastika*, tree, etc. These and a few other symbols also occur on coins, seals and sealings At the initial stage these symbols are shown in the natural forms of the Sun, Moon, Fire etc. Late on they assume human forms. We may take the example of Sūrya. On the coins of the Pañchāla kings, Sūryamitra and Bhānumitra, we get the representation of Sūrya both in the natural and in the human forms. Besides Sūrya, several other Vedic-Purāṇic deities are represented on the coins of the Pañchāla rulers and also on the coins of the Sātavāhanas, the Kṣaharāta-Kṣatrapas, the Kushāṇas, the Yaudheyas, the Kuṇindas, the Guptas, etc. Besides the human and geometical symbols, the figures of some animals, birds, etc. also occur on sculptures, coins, seals and sealings. Some decorated female figurines, occurring from the period of the Harappan culture to the Śuṅga period, have been identified with Mother goddesses. Similarly, a good number of figures of snakes, elephants, bulls, etc. seem to represent cult objects.

For instance, the evolution of the bird *garuḍa* in art can be taken up. We can notice the early depiction of this bird on the coins of the Gupta ruler, Rāmagupta (last quarter of the fourth century A.D.). By now I have identified more than two thousand coins of Rāmagupta and have noticed various forms of *garuḍa* on them, which is usually shown as a bird sometimes with outstretuched wings. Garuḍa has also been depicted on several coins in the human form, having one or three heads (as in the case of Śiva or Kārtikeya). If we compare the forms of Garuḍa on the coins of Rāmagupta with those found on the coins of Candragupta-II or Kumaragupta-I of the same dynasty, we find a very close similarity. The carving of garuḍa in the Śeśaśāyī cave at Udaigiri (dist. Vidisha, M.P.) is of a similar type. On the same lines we can trace the evolution in the iconography of Śiva, Kārtikeya (Skanda-Kumāra), Viśākha, Mahāsena, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī and of some other deities. The

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depiction of these deities is found on the coins and seals and also on stone, metal terracotta and other media of art.

On the coin of the Indo-Greeks, the Scythio-Parthians the Kushāṇas and the Indo-Sassanids a number of Indian deities are depicted. Mention may be made of Lakṣmī, Agni, Indra, Śiva, Umā, Skanda and Gaṇeśa. Their figures on coins, seals and sealings are important not only for the study of their iconographic features but also for the study of aesthetics and religious history. On a few coins of the Indo-Greek ruler Hermios we get the dipiction of Gaṇeśa, which shows that by the beginning of the *Ist* century A.D. the image of Gaṇeśa was portrayed on some coins of the foreign rulers. On some copper coins of the Indo-Greek king Agathocles, of the beginning of the *2nd* century B.C., we notice the figures of Kriṣṇa and Bala·āma with their usual *āyudhas*. The two deities wear interesting drapery. The drapery is similar to one found on the unique 4-handed inscribed figure of Viṣṇu known from Malhār (district Bilaspur in M.P.). This is the earliest stone image of Viṣṇu so far known in India, and can be assigned to c. 200 B. C.

Mention may also be made here of some interesting Janapada coins from Mathura, Ujjain, Vidisha, Eran, Kauśāmbī and a few other sites. Similarly, the coins of the Yaudheyas, the Kuṇindas, the Mālavas, the Audumbaras, etc. are also important. If we compare the portayal of the figure of Śiva on the coins of the Kushāṇas with that found on the coins of the Yaudheyas, we can find some similarities. The contemporary coins of the Yaudheyas bear almost the same traits in the depiction of Śiva as we find on the Kushāṇa coins.

When we go to the times of the Guptas, we have a more sumptuous numismatic material for the study of art, particularly in regard to the developed aesthetic sense of the Gupta age. Later on we come to the time of Harṣavardhana (600-647 A.D.). Some years ago I published a gold coin of this ruler. On the reverse of the coin is a fine depiction of Śiva and Pārvatī seated on their bull Nandī. Pārvatī is all attention to her Lord. The delineation of their bodies is perfect. On a recently discovered stone panel of Śiva-Pārvatī from Kanauj (dist. Farrukhabad in U.P.) assignable to the *7th* century A.D., we can notice a striking similarity in the figures of the two deities. This can lead to the presumption that the same artist was probably responsible for the preparation of the stone sculpture and the coin device of the gold coin referred to above.

If we trace the depiction of Śiva on the coins, seals and sealings from the 2nd-1st century B. C. to the *7th* century A. D. we can clearly mark the evolutionary change. If we compare the form of Śiva found on the Ujjayinī coins or on those of the Kushāṇa emperor Vima Kadphises or Kanishka-I, with the depiction of Śiva on the gold coin of Harshavardhana, we can notice the change due to the development in the iconographic form of the deity.

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On ancient Indian coins, besides the portrayal of gods and goddesses we have other religious and secular depictions. On some coins of the Sātavāhana king Yajñaśrī Sātkarṇi, the depiction of a boat is found. This form of boat can be compared with the portrayal of boat in rock-paintings or in the Indus Valley art or with the boat occurring in the Ajanta paintings. This kind of a comparative study in regard to the religious and secular motifs can prove to be rewarding.

During the last decade, rock-paintings have been discovered in a very large number in central India. They furnish interesting material for the study of the life of the pre-historic and proto-historic people The depiction of such paintings continued during the historical times. One of the painted rocks bears an inscription in the Aśokan Brāhmī script, which reads "Siṁhakasa Leṇa" (i.e. the cave of Siṁhaka.). From the inscription it is clear that one of the big caves in the famous Bhimbaithkā area in the Sehore dist. of M.P. belonged to a person called Siṁhaka in the 3*rd*-2*nd* century B.C. The name of another person Dabuka is written in the same script in a painted rock-shelter discovered near Gwalior ('Dabukena Kāritam'). The inscription suggests that the painting was done on the rock by a person called Dabuka.

Recently a remarkable site Pānguḍārī has been discovered in the Lehore district of Madhya Pradesh. This site has several rock-shelters with beautiful paintings on the walls and ceilings of some shelters. Near one of them are carved two inscriptions of the Maurya emperor Asoka. The indicates that the site was located on the south-western route joining Vidisha with the Deccan. In one of the inscriptions Aśoka instructs a prince of the royal house called Saṁva to provide necessary facilities to all the Bhikṣus visiting a monastery there, named *Upanitha Vihāra.*

It appears that some of the monks residing in the shelters were good artist, who painted the shelters. This can furnish a clue to a broad-based study of the rock art of western India, including that of Ajanta and Bagh. The credit for the preparation of some good paintings and sculptures, particularly at these two sites, can go to the monk-artists who resided in the caves. The recent discoveries at Govind Nagar near Mathura have brought to light some very interesting evidence. Among the newly discovered antiquities there is an inscribed stone sculpture representing the Buddha carved in 454 A.D. by a *bhikṣu* called *Yaśadinna,* this is known from the inscription on the pedestal of the image. The same artist prepared another excellent inscribed image of the Buddha during the time of the Gupta emperor Kumaragupta-I. Both these status are now exhibited in the State Museum, Mathura and offer an eloquent tribute to the monk-artist Yaśadinna who carved out the two Buddha statues of exquisite beauty and remarkable perfection.

Some Indian *Śilpaśāstra* are known from the Gupta period onwards. The śilpa texts

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are also incorporated in some of the *Purāṇas*. We have some material of this nature in the Buddhist and Jaina works also. When we study of the *pratimā-lakṣaṇas* enumerated in these technical works, along with the extant art relics, particularly from the 4*th* century A.D., we find that all the artists did not adhere to the prescriptions given in the *śāstras*. In my study of the sculptures of Madhya Pradesh and Eastern Rajasthan, I have found that several distinct *śāstric* injunctions have not been strictly followed by the artists. They have given vent to their free thinking in depicting particular art-forms, especially in regard to some of the Brahmanical deities. The earliest cult image of Viṣṇu from Malhar can be cited as an example here. The heavy mace of the image bears an inscription in the Aśokan Brāhmī script, which wentions that the image was installed by a lady called Bhāradwājā, wife of one Parṇadatta. The image is four-handed and wears an undergarment of leaves *(Parṇas)*. This early image stands in *samabhaṅga* and is carved in the round. Its stiffness and the staraight standing posture are remarkable. The features of this statue are indicative of the local folk elements. As mentioned above, similar drapersy can be noticed on the figures of Krishṇa and Balarāma found on the coins of the Indo-Greek ruler Agathocles. I think that the rare stone image of Malhar represents the early Vâsudeva Kriṣṇa from of Viṣṇu.

Early images of Yakṣas and Nāgas, carved in the round, are known from several sites in north India. The Viṣṇu image from Malhār is of the same pattern. It has four hands carrying Śānkha, cakra and gāda. The Śankha (conch) is mulilated, it was held in front of the chest by the two lower hands There is also a miniature sword *(asi)* hanging from the waist of the deity. We do not come across any definite injuctions for this kind of Viṣṇu image. It shows that in so far as the extant *lakṣaṇa granthas* are concerned, they are silent about certain traits discernible in ancient Indian art. The folk elements played their role and had a considerable impact, particularly in the Yakṣa and Nāga cult statues.

The prevalence of regional folk elements continued in India for long. Mention may be made of the image of Gaṇeśa. From Mathura one Kushāṇa stele has been found, which shows five Gajānana Yakṣas with elephant heads. They are carved together around one slab. The later Gaṇeśa images were evolved out of the basic concept of Gajānana Yakṣa. Several interesting images of Gaṇeśa have been found at Badoh, Kadwāha and a few other places in the north and south India. We come across the Pañcagaṇeśa images and also the images of *Sapta Mātrikās* and *Sapta Sūryas*. Then we have Sapta Gaṇeśa and *dvādaśa Āditya* statues also. This shows that in course of time the old folk elements were amalgamated with the rising of the Tāntric beliefs. This resulted in the formation of several complex type of syncratistic images in the early Medieval age. This may explain the fact that all the injuctions or prescriptions of the *Śilpa* texts have not always been faithfully followed in the visual forms of several deities.

Another important aspect of Indian art pertains to the popular stories. It may be

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mentioned here that several popular Buddhist Jātaka-stories were portrayed in art from quite early times. The story of the tortoise (Kacchapa Jātaka) and that of the owl (ulūka Jātaka) were carved in stone at Bodhgaya, Mathura, Malhār and several other sites. These and other depictions provide interesting material for the study of the life of the people in the context of their entertainments. The story of Rishya Śriṅga was also quite popular with the people, as it is known from the depiction at Sānchī and Mathura. So also was the love story of the fisherman *Śūrpaka* and the beautiful princess Kumudvatī, which is portrayed on the terracotta figurines. We have also the stories from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and several *Purāṇas* and other works. Particular mention may be made of the story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā and that of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. The interesting stories of the Brihat Kathā, the Pañcatantra and other works were also popular with the artists.

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12

The Dharma Approach To Indian Art

—*S.P. Gupta*

HOW BOLD IT IS TO EMBODY THE BODILESS

Plotimus, *Emmeads* IV.3.11

That basically God is only a conceptual entity is held by all higher religions, including Vedic. Thus, like any other concept, He too is formless and operates at the level of abstraction. But the moment one starts conveying one's concept of God through the medium of words, spoken or written, one creates, in the very process of things, what is called 'Verbal Image' or *Śabda-rūpa*. By the same logic, when one starts conveying the concept of God through the medium of painting or plastic art, one creates, in the very process of things, what is called 'Visual Image' or *Dṛshya-rūpa*. Thus, what in reality is body-less is given by the artist a body or from. *Amūrta* becomes *mūrta*. And this is indeed a very bold feat. Scholars of Indian art devote themselve to the study of this wonderful feat.

The traditional approach in Indian art studies is exemplified by the writings of Coomaraswami, Stella Kramrisch, V.S. Agrawala, Sivaramamurti and many others in India and outside. According to them, *Śabda-rūpa* explained the *Dṛshya-rūpa*. For them literature was the mirror in which Indian art reflected itself most clearly. They, therefore, worked more in libraries than in art galleries although each one of these savant has been a museum man, handling museum objects.

Niharranjan Ray, who was primarily a university professor, tried to give necessary footing to two other dimensions of the study of Indian art—Social and Aesthetic. His Foreword to V.P. Dwivedi's *Indian Ivories* and his Introduction to the *Mauryan and Post-Mauryan Art* address themselves to the former concern while his *An Approach to Indian Art* and the *Idea and Image in Indian Art* deal at length with the latter framework. Unfortunately, he left behind no strong legacy since he did not write enough on these subjects and most of his

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worthy disciples still followed Coomaraswami and Stella Kramrisch tradition in which J.N. Banerjea and S.K. Saraswati had developed themselves at Calcutta. Pramod Chandra in a recent book[1] has traced the history of various approaches in Indian art which would make an informative reading on the changing approaches to Indian art.

In recent years, in my own first serious work on art, *The Roots of Indian Art*, I used field archaeology for more definitive answers to various questions of early Indian art which had deceived the library diggers for several decades. To the best of my knowledge, field archaeology was not used with so much of profit earlier. I am now making a simple model which I hope will present the total picture of Indian art and make our art historians remodel their post-graduate courses.

Let me start with a few observations which run contrary to some of the most accepted views.

Indian art is not Religious Art.

Indian art is also not Secular Art.

Indian art is not 'art for art sake', either, since each artist is not depicting the God in his own conceptual framewoak—that framework is given by sages.

One may, therefore, legitimately ask : What is then the real nature of Indian Art ? My answer is 'Indian art is the art of '*Dharma*' and its real nature lies in the very nature of *Dharma*.

But then what is *Dharma* and how does it differ from 'Religion'?

Webster's English Language Dictionary defines religion as 'any system of faith and worship'. This dictionary has no such word as *Dharma*. There is no other language in the world which has a word with *identical* meaning. Hence all those who try to know Indian life through their own so-called 'nearest' terms, for example, the English speaking men claim to have such a term 'religion', they miss the very essence of Indian life, which is based on *Dharma*. Even scholars like Camil Bulke, whose English-Hindi Dictionary is supposed to be the most standard one, has translated the English word Religion as *Dharma*.

Dharma is, however, defined as.

Dhārayate iti Dharmh whose root is *dhṛ*. धृ-धारयते इति धर्मः ।

i.e., something which 'holds' life is *Dharma*. Life, I am, to the dismay of all these scholars, but like all our seers, of the opinion that human life is not held in India by any

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'System of faith and worship'. That is the Christian and Muslim view point. The Indian point of view is that life is held by *Dharma* which is beyond religion. In fact where religion ends, *Dharma* begins. *Dharma* is the outer-most frame of a picture in which religion and non-religion both exist. Buddhism, is religion. So also Vishnuism, Śivaism, Brahmanism, and a host of other religions and their sects and sub-sects. *Kāma*, on the other hand, is the act of creation. *Artha* stands for the entire mundane life. Both are thus primarily secular. *Dharma* is, therefore, a Way of Life in which ecclisiastical and secular cooperate on equal footing. *Dharma*, in other words, determines the basic attitude of the 'entire people' of a nation towards life as a whole, both 'spiritual' and 'mundane' or religious and secular. Thus while 'religion' is a *particular system of faith and worship*, *Dharma* is neither a particular system, nor a 'faith', nor a mode of 'worship'. And yet it is all these. It is common knowledge that 'parts' do not make the 'whole' ! Parts are included in the whole yet the 'whole' is much different from the sum-total of all the parts. Head, hands, legs, etc. do not make the whole living creature, it is at best a dead assembly of body parts. That which operates this assembly is called 'life', hence a living being. This assembly may even be devoid of a few parts. People with only one eye or both hands missing are also living beings. *Dharma* is, therefore, the 'life principal' of a people. It is their 'collective' will, formed over a very long period of time. Hence it is eternal.

Indian art has generally been compartmentalized under sectarian headings—Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jain, Sikh and the like. But this a very gross view of things. It is short-sightedness to divide Indian art in such compartments without clearly stating that this is done only superficially. This observation can easily be understood by those who study Indian art in terms of styles. Gupta style is Gupta style which pervades all works of art done in this style—the same characteristics mark an image of Buddha and an image of Vishṇu and an image of Śiva. The aesthetic approach to art also brushes aside all the sectarian differences and looks at works of art purely in terms of aesthetic appreciation of Bhāva, Rūpa, Lāvaṇya, etc. Clearly, those who look at the Indian art in the framework of religions, they miss the life-principle of Indian art and keep on chewing only the bones i.e. iconography, mythology, etc.

If, therefore, not the religion but *Dharma* provides the proper framework for Indian life, how do we correlate *Dharma* with art ? They have causal relationship. Let me explain it with the help of a figure (Fig. 1).

Indian attitude to human life has the strong framework of four *purushārthas—artha*, *kāma*, *dharma*, and *moksha*. The first two stand for the mundane life while the latter two stand for the extra-mundane and spiritual life. They are also understood in terms of Body and Spirit, respectively. What is significant to note is that the two go together in the most

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harmonious fashion. This is called *samanvaya* of *privitti* and *nivritti* or the co-existence in equal partnership of the life of 'indulgence' or *bhoga* and 'renouncement' or '*tyāga*'. At every stage of Indian art one can see the loving couples, often engaged in the actual process of creation (*kāma*), and figures indicating extra-mundane bliss (*moksha*). Both are juxtaposed. And the location of both of them has been the temple. Their being together in a such a sacred and public place has usually disturbed even the most well-meaning art critics born and brought up in the puritan Christian world where even the birth of a child is taken to be the product of sin, hence baptism. For the Idian mind *kāma* is 'creation', hence it is as much an act of piety as the efforts made to achieve *moksha* which is the ultimate goal of all creation. *Kāma* and *moksha* are thus the two sides of the same coin. This is the fundamental of *Dharma*.

The manifestation of *Dharma* is seen in all possible modes of artistic creation—dance, drama, music and poetry in particular. Hence they all find prominent place in Indian painting and plastic art. Could we, therefore, appreciate Indian art only in terms of iconography of mythological stories or parallels from literature and comparative religion ? Courses in Indian art are, however, sadly lacking instructions in Indian dance, drama, music, etc. In fact a number of terms, widely in use in the books of Indian art, come from these cognate disciplines and no amount of verbal explanation can make one understand them. To give an example, the term *laya* or rythm comes to art from music. Hence one must listen to music and locate *laya* in it with the help of a teacher. Once one can independently locate it in music, one can easily grasp the same principle in dance. Once one can locate *laya* both in music and dance one can locate it in poetry too. Now it will not at all be difficult for this person to locate and enjoy *laya* in plastic art and painting both for the simple reason that the 'verbal image' and the 'visual image' have combined here.

The same is true of the term *bhāva* which comes from *kāvya* or literature but which now occurs prominently in the vocabulary of dance, drama, music and plastic art since the same mental and emotional phenomenon mark these fields of activities also. Thus one should begin with *bhāva* in literature and then locate it in other arts, and finally observe it in painting and plastic art.

All this has been included in a large circle, called Higher Tradition, a term used by anthropologists for cultural manifestations of the elite. This classification has been accepted only as a pragmatic step.

The smaller circle, called Lower Tradition, include tribal and folk practices as well as folk tales and legends. These are largely oral in character. They lack both sophistication and

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variety. Experiments and new formulations are rare among the rares although they are not stagnant.

The two traditions, differing only qualitatively and not fundamentally, move vertically up and down, although the downward trend is limited. In other words, they interact. Folk tales enter into a drama written by a Sanskrit dramatist located in a city and at the same time the new elements evolved there sometime come back to effect some changes in the folk tale. Its nature, quantum, etc. depend on the two-way mobility of the people. The Jataka stories generally picked up folk tales and adapted them to the tales of Bodhisattvas of the previous lives of the Buddha and get depicted at Sanchi, Bharhut, Sarnath, in plastic art of the 'higher tradition'.

Learning and teaching of Indian art is, therefore, a very complex and difficult task and requires a long period of schooling in various fields of learning. One has to be a historian as also a student of archaeology. One has to be cultural anthropologist as also a student of literature. One has to learn the principles of Indian dance, drama and music as also Indian poetics. The fact of the matter is that there is hardly any aspect of Indian life which Indian art does not touch. And since the underpinning of Indian life is *Dharma*, the proper understanding of *Dharma* alone can make us understand Indian art in its true spirit. Then *kāma* in Indian art will not become a subject of erotica, a term defined by the Webster's Dictionary as 'literature dealing with sexual love'. It will then also not become a subject merely of religion, meaning, according to the same dictionary, 'a system of faith and worship'. It will then also not become a product only of what is high and noble in Indian life. It will then be not equally lifted and placed in the high air of spiritualism. It will then become the most prolific manifestation of the total life of Indian people, their attitude both to everything mundane and everything extra-mundane. This attitude is best explained in terms of perfect harmony and balance, called *samanvaya*, in *privitti (kāma* and *artha)* and *nivritti (dharma* and *moksha)*.

One may, however, still ask as to what role then religion and religious sects really play in the formation and formulation of Indian art since they do provide the subject matter to Indian art ?

They have a strong role to play but perhaps only at the level of popular understanding—the level at which *kathā* (story) itself becomes *kathya* (the essence of story). In other words, where the the 'support' of ideas (myth, for example) becomes the 'idea' (the social or moral purpose for which the society created a particular myth) itself. Take for example the classical dances of India, Kathak or Manipuri. The Krishna legend provides just a little support to these dances; these dances are not *meant* to narrate the story of

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Krishna's life. It is not a cinema show. These dances have their own autonomy, their own creativity at the level of aesthetics and must be judged at that level and not at the level of story—telling. If the 'story' is the vehicle and the 'essence of story' is the goal how can we reach the goal without using the vehicle ? Mythology, symbolism, iconography, etc. are all only vehicles or aids to understand the essence and spirit of Indian art. The difficulty arises when the aids themselves become the end. Let aids be studied only as aids as in archaeology, palaeobotany, paleopathology, radiocarbon dating methods, etc. are studied. As archaeology is inclusive of all these and also above these so also is art history. Let us study it in its own framework of *Dharma*.

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13

Vedic Goddess Nirṛti and the Inamgaon Headless Figurine

—Prithvi Kumar Agrawala

In the Vedic texts the goddess Nirṛti is the evil genius *par excellence* of destruction, dissolution and misfortune. She occurs in the *Ṛgveda* as a personification presiding over death.[1] Though an abstract deity, her figure is quite prominent and well defined in the later Vedic literature. She is related with Yama, the god of Death as his female associate, and is believed to cause decay, ill health, diseases, discontent and all sorts of misfortune. In one passage of the *Atharvaveda* the four immortal Guardians of the Regions are requested to rescue the person praying from the bonds of Nirṛti.[2] Another hymn ritually employed in the ceremony after the birth of a child is a charm against various diseases, curses, Varuṇa's noose and Nirṛti.[3] Elsewhere she appears to be a low-graded evil spirit causing abortion.[4] She is said to seize a person in her snare; her snare or noose *(pāśa)* is frequently mentioned.[5]

Nirṛti is sometimes identified as sin. As noted by Bloomfield, "the boundary-line between sin and misfortune *(nirṛti)* is evanescent."[6] She is said to belong to the *pāpman* class of divinities.[7] *Pāpmā* also occurs as her epithet.[8] It is further curious to find that Sleep or Dream *(Svapna)* is said to be a son of Nirṛti.[9] The dove is called her envoy,[10] and another bird, *Śakuni* (possibly raven or the carrion crow, being given the epithet *kṛṣṇa*) is alluded to as her mouth.[11]

In the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* the dove, owl and hare are described to be offered to Nirṛti.[12] Similarly, the *Tattirīya Āraṇyaka* mentions the mule and ass for her offering.[13] In the Sūtras a Brahmacārin student being under a vow of chastity if fails in this duty is required to make an offering of an ass to the goddess Nirṛti.[14] In the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* dice, women and sleep as the three most evil things are said to be specifically connected with this goddess.[15] In her particular ceremonies she was offered black grain or nail pairings.[16] As noted by Keith, the sacrificial fee in such cases was a black cow with imperfect horns. In the piling of the fire alter, black bricks were built in for her.[17] In the Horse Sacrifice the bald head of the dismembered horse was the offering to Nirṛti.[18]

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On some occasions Anumati seems to be treated as an antithesis of Nirṛti. In the Rājasūya ceremony the preliminary rite of Dīkṣā is immediately followed by offerings to both Anumati and Nirṛti, who receives the fallen portions of the grain on a salt piece of ground in the southwesterly direction.[19] Sometimes Nirṛti is also identified with the Earth.[20] As noted by Heesterman, "Moreover, both Nirṛti and Anumati are identified with the earth, Nirṛti representing the earth's evil aspect."[21] We can further refer to a section of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* affording a well-commented description of the preparation of the altar for Nirṛti.[22] The text details various notions and their exegetical significance understood in connection with the evil nature of Nirṛti as she was thought to be primarily represented by a number of inauspicious and baneful objects and motifs such as the darkness *(tamas)*, the evil *(pāpman)*, the embryonic coverings, the signless *(alakṣaṇa)*, the rice-husk *(tuṣa)*, the black *(kṛṣṇa)*, south-westerly quarter *(nairṛti dik)*, the soil salied by nature *(svakṛta-iriṇa)*, the ground with cleft *(śvabhra-pradara)*, one which neither presses Soma nor makes offering, a thief, a robber, Yama, Yamī, the metal-bond *(ayasmaya-bandha)*, awfulness, a sling *(śikya)*, a noose *(pāśa)*, etc.

In *Atharvaveda* 5.7.9, some allusion is made to the form of Nirṛti. She is said to be golden haired *(hiraṇyakeśā)*. But here Arātī, Malignity, an inferior personification of Nirṛti's class, is addressed by the name of Nirṛti herself, who latter seems to be the leading goddess of all such evil spirits.[23] Elsewhere the lap of Nirṛti is mentioned.[24]. From an iconological point of view, one of the most significant passages in the Vedic literature is *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, 1.28.1, wherein this goddess is described to be headless *(viśīrṣṇī)* and vulture-headed *(gṛdhraśīrṣṇī)*; her associate mentioned is an obstacle-demon with the white belly, stunted thighs and brindled stomach.[25] According to Sāyaṇa, the epithet *viśīrṣṇīm* of the goddess Nirṛti here signifies her to be possessing no head *(śirorahitām)*. In this particular context we are expressly reminded of an obscure myth alluded to in the *Ṛgveda* (VI.59.6) which mentions the Dawn as "wandering headless" or as "moving having left her head" *(hitvī siro.....carat)*. However, it would be most tempting here to draw a comparison between the "headless" Nirṛti of the *Taittīriya Āraṇyaka* and the recently found Chalcolithic evidence about a headless representation of the mother-goddess at Inamgaon.

Some outstanding evidence revealing the prevalence of goddess cult in the Chalcolithic Deccan is afforded by the recent archaeological discoveries at Inamgaon (Poona district).[26] The Inamgaon unbaked clay-figurines (from Period II, Jorwe Culture, c. 1300—1000 B.C.) represent a predominant mother-goddess type showing a modelled flat body characterised by stumpy arms and legs, pendulous breasts and a cone-like head. In one case this goddess was found contained inside a clay receptacle as deposited in the floor along with a bull figurine in house indicating that the animal was presumably associated with the goddess as her mount. Besides, an exceptional specimen was unearthed of the goddess figure showing no markings for the head. With it also was associated a bull figurine as the vehicle of this goddess and

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the definitive pointer in this direction has been provided by the evidence of a lost device which actually served to support the goddess figure on the bull model. With respect to the cone-headed goddess a semi-circular clay-base was provided to stand the figure on it.[27]

In view of the Vedic passages analysed above as revealing a representation of the goddess Nirṛti without head, we may suggest a presumable identification of the "headless" goddess figure-type from Inamgaon. However, the presence of a male figure of an inarticulate physiognomical type in association of the mother-goddess effigies at Inamgaon is further remarkable[28] although its parallelism with the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* description of such a male associate of the goddess is not so exact.[29] The goddess Nirṛti is also said to be the presiding deity of the *Mūla* asterism[30], which is regarded to be the most ill-natured and nasty and called *Mūlabarhaṇī*, i.e. "uprooting".[31] Can we suggest further on this basis some unknown connection of the Inamgaon "headless" goddess with the burial of ill-fated children born under this evil asterism ? In case of a living child born under the Mūla asterisms it is likely that some ritual propitiation of the goddess Nirṛti was performed. The *Mānava Śrautasūtra* contains in its Pariśiṣṭa portion a full-fledged section called the "expiation rite for the babe born under the Mūla asterism" *(Mūlādijāta-śānti-viddiḥ)*, in which the goddess Nirṛti also received her due offerings.

NOTES

1. A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 120.
2. *AV.*, 1.31.2.
3. *AV.*, 2.10.1-8.
4. *AV.*, 2.25.1.
5. *AV.*, 4.36.10; also 16.8.2; 19.44.4; *Yajurveda* 12.65.
6. M. Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda and the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* Strassburg, 1899, p. 84.
7. *AV.*, 11.8.19, *nirṛtiḥ pāpmāno nāma devatāḥ.*
8. *Śatapatha Brahmaṇa* 7.2.1.1.
9. *AV.*, 16.5.2.
10. *AV.*, 6.27.1; also AV. 6.28.1.
11. *AV.*, 7.64.2; cp. *Mait. Saṃ.* 4.3.8, wherein *śyenī* is her form.

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12. 3.14.19, *kapotā ulūkaḥ śaśaste nirṛtyai.*

13. 3.10.3.

14. The peculiar details of this ritual of atonement as prescribed in the texts have been discussed by Oldenberg *(Die Religion des Veda,* pp. 327 ff.) and Keith *(The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads,* vol. I, pp. 266-67). The latter is of opinion that 'in the case of the offering of an ass to Nirṛiti the aim to secure replacement of virility by the offerer is obvious, and reduces the offering to its reduce character, a magic rite dignified by the introduction of the goddess and the form of sacrifice' (*ibid.*, p. 279; also pp. 266-67).

15. 3.6.3.

16. Keith, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 212ff.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

18. *Taitt. Saṃ.*, 5.7.13.1; *Kāṭhaka Saṃ.* 53.3; also *Mait. Saṃ.* 3.15.2.

19. Keith, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 341; J.C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration,* The Hague, 1957, pp. 15ff.

20. *Taitt. Saṃ* , 4.2.5. 3-4; *Kāṭhaka Saṃ.*, 16.12; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* 7.2.1.11.

21. Heesterman, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

22. 7.2.1.1-18.

23. *AV.*, 5.7.9; also see 14.2.19.

24. *AV.*, 8.4.9.

25. *viśīrṣṇī gṛdhraśīrṣṇī ca apeto nirṛtiṃ hatha, paribādhaṃ śvetakukṣaṃ nijaṅghaṃ śabalodaram.*

26. *Indian Archaeology 1968-69—A Review,* p. 19; *ibid , 1970-71,* p. 26; H.D. Sankalia, *Prehistory and Protohistory of India and Pakistan,* new edition, 1974, p. 448.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Indian Archaeology 1968-69—A Review,* pl. XXI, A; Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

29. See note 25 above.

30. *Mait. Saṃ.*, 2.13.20; also see *Taitt. Br.*, 1.5.1.4.

31. *Kāṭhaka Saṃ.*, 9.16; 20.2; *Mait. Saṃ.*, 3.2.4; *Taitt. Br.*, 1.6.1.3; also above note.

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14

The Prākāra of Ayodhyā As Noticed by Patanjali

—*Bharati Kumari Roy*

It is a well-known fact of Indian history that Patañjali belonged to the Śuṅga age. He had acted as chief-priest in an important sacrificial ritual of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, reference to which is to be clearly found in his *Mahābhāṣya*. While illustrating a rule of this text, its commentator *(Kayyaṭa)* observes that Sukośalā (Ayodhyā) was an explanatory (*vyākhyāyinī*) of Pāṭaliputra.[1] Further, he mentions that the '*prākāra*' of Ayodhyā followed the same pattern as that of Pāṭaliputra. The various '*avyavas*' (Constituent integrals such as *Gopura*, *Pratolī*, *Aṭṭālaka*, *Indrakośa* and *Devapatha*) of the former, according to him, seemed to illustrate (*vyākhyātavyam*) those of the letter.[2] The above testimony of Patañjali contains a great historical significance.

It may be recalled here that the first literary account of Ayodhyā is to be found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. The poet indicates his familiarity with the defensive wall *(prākāra)* of this city in connection with its planning. As regards its integral constituents, he refers to its lofty towers decked with banners and also speaks of accumulation of missiles (*śataghnīs*) at its summit for defensive purposes.[3] A comparison of the descriptions of the two writers (i.e. Vālmīkī and Patañjali) reveals that the city-wall as noticed by the latter (i e. Patañjali) was a different one and, evidently, built at a later time. It possessed some new distinctive architectural features which were lacking in the original city-wall of Ayodhyā as noticed by Vālmīkī.

That Ayodhyā suffered a serious set back towards the close of the Mauryan rule and beginning of the Śuṅga Age is a fact, revealed by the testimony of Patañjali itself. He refers

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1. "पाटलिपुत्रस्य व्याख्यायिनी सुकोशलेति"
   Mahābhāṣya, 4,3,66 (Bhargava Shāstrī Joshi Edition, Vol. IV, page 210).
2. "इति पाटलिपुत्रं व्याख्यातव्यं भवतीति"
   Ibid., page 210.
3. *Rāmāyaṇa, Bāla-Kāṇḍa*, Canto 5, Verse 11.

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to the siege of Ayodhyā by the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks[1]). The Yuga-Purāṇa also refers to the formidable invasion of this city and also great havoc played by them in the Ganjetic valley.[2] From the combined testimony of the Mahābhāṣya and the Yuga-Purāṇa, it is clear that Ayodhyā was a victim of serious disaster at the hands of the ferocious Yavanas who had besieged the city from all the sides. A thrilling account of the former grandeur and the subsequent ruined and deserted state of Ayodhyā is to be found in the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa. The poet also metions its elaborate remodelling for a befitting revival of its lost glory.[3] It appears that he is recalling here the significant event of a fresh planning of this traditional city on the pattern of Pāṭaliputra which formed his capital after registering a convincing victory over the maliciously valiant Bactrian Greeks (Yavanāḥ duṣṭavikrāntāḥ[4]).

While remodelling the defensive wall (prākāra) of Ayodhyā, he would have made the surrounding wall of Pāṭaliputra as its model. It was quite natural because it was the premier city (Agranagara) of India at that time as also in the subsequent historical periods as far as the sixth century A.D., which is clear from the Daśakumāra-charita of Daṇḍin who mentions it as the best model city of the country (śekharībhūtā) and also as touch-stone for judging the excellence of the existing cities in India at that time (Samasta-nagarī-nikaṣāyamāṇā).[5]

A careful scrutiny of the testimony of Megasthenes and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya reveals that the architectural constituents of the 'prākāra' of Ayodhyā as witnessed by Patañjali (i.e. Gopura, Pratolī, Aṭṭālaka, Indrakośa and Devapatha) also formed integral parts of the city-wall of Pāṭaliputra from the earlier times. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga would have rightly chosen this capital city as an ideal for rebuilding the new 'prākāra' of Ayodhyā with the result that the defensive walls of the two cities closely resembled with each-other in a large measure. Patañjali indicates his familiarity at one place with the palaces and 'prākāra' of Pāṭaliputra[6] and hence his testimony about the sharp resemblance of the surrounding walls of the two cities should be assessed as fairly trustworthy and reliable.

While explaining the details of a 'Kṛitrima-durga' (artificial fortification), Kauṭilya mentions that a city-wall was to be provided with main gates (gopura[7]) as also subsidiary gates (pratolīs[8]) whose size was to measure one-sixth of the standard dimension prescribed for the

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1. "अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम्"
   Roy U.N., Prāchīna Bhārata Me Nagara Tathā Nagara-jivana, page 77.
2. Yuga-Purāṇa, page 3 (Mankad edition).
3. Raghuvaṁśa, Canto 16, VV. 15-22.
4. Yuga-Purāṇa, page 3 (Mankad edition).
5. Daśakumāra-charita, page 1.
6. Mahābhāṣya, 4, 3, 66.
7. Arthaśāstra, page 53 (Shāstrī edition).
8. *Ibid.*, page 53 (Shāstrī edition).

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'Gopuras[1], Megasthenes had witnessed sixty four gates (main and subsidiary combined together) in the 'prākāra' of Pāṭaliputra.[2] For adding strength to the 'prākāra', Kauṭilya recommends that it was to be furnished with lofty 'aṭṭālakas' (towers) at regular intervals in all the directions.[3] Megasthenes had seen 570 towers in the city-wall of Pāṭaliputra.[4]

According to Kauṭilya, in between every two towers there was to be erected an 'Indrakośa'[5], being a chamber raised on the height of the wall for accomodating at least three dexterous and steady archers. He also mentions that on the vertex of the 'prākāra', there should be built roads for gods (devapatha)[6] which may be compared to 'Surapatha'[7] of the Raghuvaṁśa.

It is quite possible that when a new city-wall was built by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga around Ayodhyā (Sukośala), he furnished it with these constituent architectural parts ('*prākara-avayava*') in a more eleborate manner on the Pāṭaliputra pattern which was held as a model for a pretty long time. The above testimony of Patañjali also suggests that Puṣyamitra Śuṅga had evinced great enthusiasm in the recovery of the former glory of Ayodhyā which has yielded an important inscription, referring to his two horse-sacrifices one of which has also been noticed by Kālidāsa in his Mālvikāgnimitram.[8]

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1. Arthaśāstra, page 53.
2. Mc. Crindle, Megasthenes, Fragment XXVI, page 66.
3. Arthaśāstra, page 33.
4. Mc. Crindle, Megasthenes, Fragment XXVI, page 66.
5. Arthaśāstra, page 33.
6. *Ibid.*, page 33.
7. Raghuvaṁśa, 13, 19.
8. Mālavikāgnimitram, Act 5.

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15

'Dohada'—A Folk-Custom of Ancient India

—*U.N. Roy*

The term 'dohada' which occurs profusely in ancient Indian literature, denotes a popular social custom, widely prevalent amongst the women-folk of the country. It was commonly believed that the tree of Aśoka does not bloom and the hero (Nāyaka) fails to show his strong emotion for longing unless the two received the stroke (prahāra) of the left foot (vāmapāda), especially, of a charming lady under intoxication. It was held that if she kicked the Aśoka tree with her left food or spat a mouthful of drunken liquor on its stem, it blossoms into full in consequence.[1] Such references are of frequent occurrences in

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1. Besides the desire of Aśoka for kick of a young lady or sprinkling of her mouthful liquor at budding time, the word 'dohada' has also been used in the following sense in early Indian literature :—

(I) Sometimes it has been used to denote the longing of a pregnant lody, for a particular thing. As for the example, in the Raghuvaṁśa Sītā is depicted as expressing her desire to see a hermitage during the stage of her pregnancy :—

"प्रजावती दोहदशंसिनी ते तपोवनेषु स्पृहयालुरेव ।
स त्वं रथीत द्वयपदेशनेयां प्रापय्य वाल्मीकिपदं त्यजैनाम् ।।"

Raghuvaṁśa, Canto 14, Verse 45.

Also compare :—
'Whenever pregnant Sudakṣiṇā longed for a material object, Dilipa arranged for it immediately because he was competent to achieve even the heavenly objects what to speak of earthly ones :—

"उपेत्य सा दोहददु:खशीलतां यदेव वव्रे तदपश्यदाहृतम् ।
न हीष्टमस्य त्रिदिवेऽपि भूपतेरभूदनासाद्यमधिज्यधन्वन: ।।"

Raghuvaṁśa, Canto 3, Verse 6,

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Sanskrit lyric, drama and prose romances, throwing light on its wide popularity in the female section as early as the Maurya-Śuṅga Age. In an interesting account of the Mālavikāgnimitram of Kālidāsa, we find the lady attendant Madhukarikā, requesting the queen Dhāriṇī to apply the 'dohada' device to the young Aśoka tree which was not yet blossoming.[1] As the left leg of the queen was injured, having fallen from the swing, she expressed her inability for the same and selected charming Mālavikā, the young heroine of the damda

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In the Uttara-Rāmacharita there is reference to *gorbhadohada* which denotes the pregnancy hankerings of a woman (*garbhiṇī-abhilāṣa*). In the drama, Aṣṭāvakara is reported as advising Rāma to fulfil all the desires of Sītā without any delay during the stage of her pregnancy :—

यः कश्चिदगर्भदोहदो भवत्यस्याः सोऽवश्यमचिरान्मानयितव्यः"

Uttara-Rāmacharita, Act I.

(II) Sometimes, the word denotes paegnancy also. In the Raghuvaṁśa, we come across the word '*dohada-vyathā*' i.e. pains of pregnancy :—

"क्रमेण निस्तीर्य च दोहदव्यथां, प्रतीच्यमानावयवा रराज सा ।
पुराणमत्रापगमादनन्तरं लतेव संनद्धमनोज्ञपल्लवा ।।"

Raghuvaṁśa, Canto 3, Verse 7.

(III) Sometimes, the word denoted certain strange appliances, such as sprinkling (seka) of liquid (drava) or substance (dravya) which had the virtue (śakti) of putting forth untimely flowers in trees, plants and creepers :—

"महीरुहाः दोहदसेकशक्तेराकालिकं कोरकमुद्गिरन्ति"

Naiṣadhīyacharitam, Canto III, Verse 21.

Also Compare :—

"तरू-गुल्म-लतादीनामकाले कुशलैः कृतम् ।
पुष्पाद्युत्पादकं द्रव्यं दोहदं स्यात्तुतत्क्रिया ।।"

Śabdārṇava, quoted in Naiṣadhīyacharita, ed. by P.L. Abhimanyu, page 138.

(IV) The word, has sometimes, also been used in the sense of irresitble desire :—

बाहुबलावलेपप्रवर्तितमहासमरदोहदाः
कौरवपक्षपातपणीकृतप्राणद्रविणसंचया नरपतयः"

Veṇi-Saṁhāra, Act. IV.

1. "अहमप्यस्यचिरायमाणकुसुमोद्गमस्य तपनीयाशोकस्य दोहदनिमित्तं देव्यै निवेदयामि"

Mālavikāgnimitram, Act III.

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to perform the delicate[1] duty and promised to award her profusely, if the tree came into blossom in a brief course of five days only.[2]

Vakulāvalikā, another lady attendant of the chief queen, is reported as saying to Mālavikā that even after receiving the stroke of her tender feet (charaṇa-satkāram labdhvā), if the Aśoka tree does not bear flowers, it will be assessed as warthless one (nirguṇo).[3] The king, too, is reported as observing, that if the Aśoka did not burst into buds even after receiving an honour from the newly blossomed lotus-like foot, adorned with red dye and tinkling with metallic sounds of the anklets of a young lady with slender waist, it would be presumed that longing of the lustful for the foot-stroke ('dohada') of a charming damsel, grows in him invain.[4]

The king, who was highly enamoured of charming Mālavikā, is represented in the drama as saying that either an unblossomed Aśoka tree or a hero committing blunder in romance and hence lying prone before his sweet heart seeking her mercy, deserves the kick of the foot of that fascinating lady.[5] Mālavikā, the heroine of the drama, while expressing a similar view, observes that this unbloomed Aśoka tree (āgṛitīta-kusuma') is lustful for a stroke from the delicate and charming foot of an attractive maiden (*lalita-sukumāra-dohadāpekṣī*).[6] In the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa also, we find reflection of a similar popular social custom. The Yakṣa says to his messanger (the cloud) that like him the red Aśoka tree (raktāśokaḥ), standing within the premises of his house with fluttering leaves under the

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1. "दोलापरिभ्रष्टायाः त्वं तावद् गत्वा तपनीयाशोकस्य दोहदं निर्वर्तयति"

   Ibid., Act III; also see Roy, U.N., Śālabhañjikā, page 17.

2. "यद्यसौ पञ्चरात्राभ्यन्तरे कुसुमं दर्शयति ततोऽहमभिलाषपूरयितृकं प्रसादं दापयिष्यामीति"

   Ibid., Act III.

3. "निर्गुणोऽयमशोको यदि कुसुमोभ्देदमन्थरो भवेत् यस्तेचरणसत्कारं लब्ध्वा"

   Ibid., Act III.

4. "अनेन तनुमध्या मुखरनूपुराविणा, नवाम्बुरुहकोमलेन चरणेन संभावितः ।
   अशोक यदि सद्य एव मुकुलैर्न संपत्स्यते, वृथा बहसि दोहदं ललितकामिसाधारणम् ।।"

   Idid., Act III, Verse 17.

5. "नवकिसलयरागेणाग्रपादेन बाला, स्फुरितनखरुचा द्वौ हन्तुमर्हत्यनेन ।
   अकुसुमितमशोकं दोहदापेक्षयं वा, प्रणमितशिरसं वा कान्तमार्द्रापराधम" ।।

   Ibid., Act III, Verse 12; also see Roy, U.N. Śālabhañjikā, page 19.

6. Malavikāgnimitram, Act III.

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pretext of bursting into flowers and fruits, also must be longing for the kick of the left foot of his dear friend i.e. Yakṣiṇī herself (vāmapādābhilāṣī) and emission of wine from her mouth too (vadanamadirā[1].) When Mālavikā had given her stroke to the stem of the tree in act of performing the 'dohada', the king enquires from her whether her left foot tender like a delicate leaf, was not injured in rendering the task[2].

In the Vikramorvaśīyam, Purūravā is depicted as saying to the full-blossomed Aśoka tree that shaking by its sides with the force of the wind, it was acknowledging his ignorance about his darling Urvaśī. But if it was a fact, then how it was glowing with full-grown lovely flowers, whose petals were being bitten by black bees, without receiving her foot-stroke *(Pādāhata)*[3].

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1. "एकः सख्यास्तव सह मया वामपादाभिलाषी
काङ्क्षत्यन्यो वदनमदिरां दोहदच्छद्मनास्याः"

Meghadūta, II, Verse 18.

Also Compare :—
"सातिरेकमदकारणं रहस्तेन दत्तमभिलेषुरङ्गनाः ।
तामिरप्युपहृतं मुखासवं सोऽपिबद्बकुलतुल्यदोहदः ।।

Raghuvaṁśa Canto, XIX, Verse 12.

In the Raghuvaṁśa while lamenting at the sudden demise of his consert Indumati, Aja is depicted as expressing his inability to place in the bollowed palms of his hands offering oblations of water to her soul, the flowers of Aśoka which had bloomed because of her foot-stroke and which originally used to adorn her braid—

"कुसुम कृतदोहदस्त्वया यदशोकोऽयंमुदीरयिष्यति ।
अलमाभरणं कथं नु वत्त्वं नेष्यामि निवापमाल्यताम् ।।"

Raghuvaṁśa, Canto VIII, Verse 62.

2. "किसलयमृदोर्विलासिनी कठिने निहतस्य पादपस्कन्धे ।
चरणस्य न ते बाधा संप्रति वामोरु वामस्य" ।।

Mālavikāgnimitram, Act III, verse 18; also see Roy, U.N., Śālabhañjikā, page 18.

3. "रक्ताशाककृशोदरी क्व नु गता त्यक्त्वानुरक्तं जनं
नो दृष्टेति मुधैव चालयसि किं वाताभिभूतं शिरः ।
उत्कण्ठाघटमानषट्पदघटासंघट्टदष्टच्छदः
तत्पादाहतिमन्तरेण भवतः पुष्पोद्गमोऽयं कुतः ।।"

Vikramorvaśīyam, Act IV, Verse 62.

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In the Viddha-śālabhañjikā or Rājaśekhara, we find Kuraṅgikā, the female attendant of the queen, feeling annoyed of the jester (Vidūṣaka) due to his pinching jokes and consequently threatening him with what the Aśoka tree receives at the time of 'dohada' (*charaṇa-ṣatkāra' i.e. foot-stroke*)[1]. The idea may have resulted in the delightful theme of dohada, a longing peculiarly human in its emotion that plants and trees look for fulfilment. This popular social custom prevalent among the women-folk in ancient India was adopted as a lovely art-motif, vivid and striking specimens of which have been brought to light from different cultural centres of the country right from the Śuṅga Age.

In a Bharhut rail-post, we find the carving of a semi-dohada motif, which may be treated as a rare specimen of its kind. The lady, a variety of 'woman and tree' symbol and identified as 'Chulakokā-devatā' or Yakṣinī, stands with the right leg fixed on the back of a standing elephant and left one placed on its head. She holds a branch of the Aśoka tree by her right arm; and with her left hand and so also with the left leg, firmly grasps its slim stem. The representation suggests the idea of blossoming of the Aśoka tree not by kick of the foot but by embrace of a charming lady and as such it, somewhat, differs from the other scenes of 'dohada' type in strict sense of the technical tern (Fig. 1). In another similar semi-'dohada' scene on a Bharhut rail-post, the profusely ornamented Yakṣiṇī is depicted as standing on a seated winged horse with her right leg fixed on its back and the left on its head.[2]

It is significant to note that in one more illustration resembling with semi-'dohada' variety, found in a Bharhut piece preserved in Indian Museum, Calcutta, a profusely ornamented lady (with Yakṣiṇī features and possessed of muscular strength) is represented as embracing the slender stem of the Aśoka tree by her left arm and left leg, and bending its branch by the right hand, which part of the scene (i.e. the foliage) is partly broken and lost from its precise position in the carved relief. Standing akimbo, her left foot is fixed on the neck of a well-decoarated horse and the right one on its back (Fig. 2). In another Bharhut

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1. "यत् कङ्के केलितरूर्दोहदेलभते"

Viddhaśālabhañjikā, Act IV ;

also see Śālabhañjikā, Roy, U.N., page 19. It was also believed that during the stage of pregnancy, if lady did not apply '*dohada*', the womb was likely to pollute. It could, sometimes, disfigure or go waste even. Hence '*dohada-pradāna*' was a must for a pregnant lady :—

"दोहदस्याऽप्रदानेन गर्भो दोषमवाप्नुयात् ।
वैरूप्यं मरणं चापि तस्मात्कार्यं प्रियं स्त्रेया: ।।"

Uttara-Rāmacharita, ed. by S.S. Regmi, page 20.

2. Roy, U.N., Śālabhañjikā, Fig. 40.

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example (2nd century B.C.), displayed in Indian Museum, Calcutta, a stout lady, wearing different ornaments and looking like Yakṣiṇī by her bodily features, is depicted as clasping the thin stalk of a full-bloomed tree by her right hand and the right leg instead of her left ones, while standing on a bursting lotus with her left arm gracefully resting on her tender waist (Fig. 3).

A railing-pillar, adorned with an excellent example of 'dohada' scene and displayed in the Mathura Museum (accession number 33.2345, gallery 7), depicts a profusely ornamented nude lady with a broad jewelled girdle around her slender waist under a green Aśoka tree. She holds a lotus along with stalk ('sanāla-padma') with both her hands by its delicate stem and strikes the tree not by the left but with the right foot (Fig. 4).

A 'Stambha-Yoṣita' pattern (lady carved on pillar), displayed in National Museum, New Delhi (accession number J. 55), is a true example of dohada' scene where the lady is represented as kicking the stem of the Aśoka tree under which she is standing by her left foot. The ancient Indian literature, as we have already seen, describes that a green Aśoka tree yearns for the kick of the left foot of a charming damsel (vāmapādābhilāṣī).[1] The rail-post in which the typical scene is engraved, belongs to the second century A.D. and was discovered at Mathura. She embraces the branch of the Aśoka tree by her left arm and by right one she touches her lower garment which conceals her nudity. The coiffure of the lady is exceptional in the sense that the braid of her hair is piled up in diminishing rounded tiers (Fig. 5). With her broad hips, stout breasts and slender waist, she reminds us of the bodily features of Mālavikā, engaged in 'dohada' scene in the Mālavikāgnimitram.[2] Incidentally, it may also be added here that if Aśoka tree was allied with 'dohada'; 'Bakula' tree was connected with sprinkling of the mouthfuls of wine, and 'Kurabaka' with the practice of rubbing of the breasts against it.[3] These popular social practices bear testimony to the wide

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1. Meghadūta, II, Verse 18.

2. "विपुलं नितम्बदेशे मध्ये क्षामं समुन्नतं कुचयोः ।
अत्यायतं नयनयोर्मम जीवितमेतदायाति ।।"

Mālavikāgnimitram, Act III,
Verse 7 ; also see Śālabhañjikā, Roy, U. N., page 20.

3. "कुरबक कुचघातक्रीड़ा रसेन वियुज्यसे
बकुलविटपिन्स्मर्त्तव्यं ते मुखासवसेवनम् ।
चरणघटनाशून्यो यास्यरयशोकसशोकता-
मिति निजपुरत्यागे यस्य द्विषां जगदुः स्त्रियः ।।"

Subhāṣitāvalī, 2564 ;
C. Sivaramamurti, Sanskrit Literature & Art—Mirrors of Indian Culture, page 40.

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prevalence of the custom of 'Udyāna-kṛīḍā' (pastime play in a grove) among the ladies of ancient India.

Before finally concluding the discussion, it may also be observed that sometime the 'dohada' device was applied to a creeper instead of a tree like 'Aśoka'. The difference lies in the fact that whereas in the case of the Aśoka, the pleasing touch of a maiden was essential, in the instance of a creeper physical contact or close proximity of a male was desired. In the former case' the Aśoka symbolised the Nāyaka (hero) and the young lady represented the heroine (Nāyikā). But in the latter case, the creeper typified the heroine (Nāyikā) and the male signified the hero (Nāyaka). It was, sometimes, believed that creeper had a longing even for its before time blooming with the pleasing touch of a romantic hero.

As for example, in the Ratnāvalī, we find king Udayana (hero of the drama) deeply immensed, day and night, in the thought of evolving a device for untimely budding of the jasmine creeper (Navamālikā latā).[1] In the drama, with his desire of putting forth flowers into the unriped jasmine creeper accepted as his symbolic consort (akāla-kusuma-sanjana-*dohada*), the king is represented as learning its lore from a spiritual preceptor Maharāja Śrīkhaṇḍadāsa who hailed from Śrī-Parvata.[2] When the charm of '*dohada*', as learnt from him, is experimented in it by him in the presence of the jester, the branches of the young jasmine are instantaneously studded with continuous clusters of bursting flowers to the utter surprise of all present there.[3] The jester (vidūṣaka) exclaims at the firm belief of the king in the art of '*dohdda*', because after its application the latter takes the jasmine as readily budded even without seeing the view.[4] Taking it as a great wonder, he congratulates the king and repeatedly murmurs that spell of '*dohada*' had miraculously resulted into the Navamālikā (jasmine) immediately bloomed in full.[5] In the drama, the king is finally reported as saying

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1. "एषाप्यपरा नवमालिकालता यस्या अकाल-कुसुमसमुद्गमश्रद्धालुना भर्त्ताऽनुदिनमायाश्यात्मा"
Ratnāvalī, Act II.
2. "अद्य किल भर्त्ता श्रीपर्वतादागतस्य श्रीखण्डदासनामधेयस्य धार्मिकस्य सकाशादकाल-कुसुमसंजननदोहदं शिक्षित्वात्मनः परिगृहीतां नवमालिकां कुसुमसमृद्धिशोभितां करिष्यतीति ।"
Ibid., Act II.
3. "आश्चर्यमाश्चर्यम् । साधु रे श्रीखण्डदास धार्मिक साधु । येन दत्तमात्रेणैव तेन दोहदेनेहशीं नवमालिका संवृत्ता येन निरन्तरोद्भिन्नकुसुमगुच्छशोभितविटपा ।"
Ibid., Act II.
4. "एष खलु प्रियवयस्यस्तस्य दोहदस्य लब्धप्रत्ययतया परोक्षामपि तां नवमालिकां प्रत्यक्षामिव कुसुमितां प्रेक्षमाणः हर्षोत्फुल्ललोचन इह एवाणच्छति ।"
Ibid., Act II.
5. "तेन दोहदेन ईदृशी नवमालिका संवृत्तेत्यादि पठति ।"
Ibid., Act II.

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t o the jester that there can not be any scope for doubt in '*dohada*'. It is incomprehensibly as effective or enchanting in serving its purpose as any gem, spell or a herb.[1] When the enemus of Viṣṇu saw the 'Kaustubha Maṇi' on his chest, they took to heels, frightened by charm and spell the serpents hide themselves in the nether region; it was the miraculous herb (Saṁjīvanī būṭī) that had revived Lakṣmaṇa and the monkeys killed by Meghanāda in the battle-field. '*Dohada*' is possessed of amazing significance because it can do the wonder which spell-bounds all, witnessing its effects.[2]

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5. "वयस्य कः सन्देहः । अचिन्त्योहि मणिमन्त्रौषधीनां प्रभावः ।"

Ibid., Act II.

3. "कण्ठे श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य समरे दृष्टा मणि शत्रुभिर्नष्टं मन्त्रबलाद्वसन्ति वसुधामूले भुजङ्गाः हताः ।
पूर्वं लक्ष्मणवीरवानरभटा ये मेघनादाहताः, पीत्वा तेऽपि महौषधेगुणनिधेर्गन्धं पुनर्जीविताः।।

Ibid., Act II, Verse 5.

Therefore, 'dohada' has also been noticed in literature as a drug for bursting flowers (पुष्पोद्गमौषधम्) or a peculiar appliance for putting forth untimely flowers in an unbloomed tree, creeper or a plant (क्रियाविशेषो वा येनाकाले स्यात्कुसुमोद्गम); See Ram Chandra Mishra edited Ratnavālī, page. 213.

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16

Decorated brick temples of Post-Gupta period from Fatehpur District of Uttar Pradesh

—Deo Prakash Sharma
—Madhuri Sharma

Fatehpur, a district of Uttar Pradesh, lies in the lower part of the Ganga-Yamuna Doab between the districts of Kanpur and Allahabad. Its extreme northern point is 26° 16′ 31″ N and its most southern point is 25° 26′ 18″ N latitude, its western and eastern limits reach 80° 15′ 16″ E and 81° 21′ 26″ E longitude, respectively.[1] It is bonded on the north by river Ganges separating it from districts of Raibareli and Unnao, and on the south by river Yamuna separating it from districts of Banda and Hamirpur. The ancient trade route from Kauśāmbī to Mathurā passes through Fatehpur district. Its geographical location in the fertile land might have induced ancient people to make their settlements on the bank of the two great rivers which are a perennial source of water supply. The authors of this paper lacated more than a dozen ancient mounds on the bank of river Ganga and Yamuna.[2]

Fatehpur district is a paradise for archaeologist as it has got the traces of a long historical cultural tradition since the prehistoric time. Stone Age tools of Mesolithic period and Neolithic period have been recently reported from this district.[3] Painted Grey ware potsherds were located at Khaga[4] and Golenganath[5] villages of this district. Northern black polished pottery were noticed at many places[6] and a stone pillar with a Brāhmī inscription of the Indo-Greek King Menander I was discovered by the author at the village, Reh of this district.[7] Some experts of Paleography are of the opinion that the Reh inscription does not belong to Menander, but to some Kuṣāṇa King or Indo-Scythic King.[8] Few months back the authors brought to light another very important Brāhmī inscription from the village Magilgao of the same district.[9] The Magilgao inscription which is inscribed on an one-faced Śiva Liṅga belongs to the Naga King Vīrasena. The Śiva Liṅga of Magilgao, dated 3rd Century A.D., clearly indicates that there was a temple of third century in Fatehpur in which this Śiva Liṅga was installed by King Vīrasena. It is clearly written in the inscription 'VĪRASENA... ŚIVA ṬENAKĀRITENA..." It means that this Liṅga was installed by King Vīraṣena. The Brāhmī

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inscriptions of 4th-5th century A.D. and 7th-8th century A.D. have already been reported from village Hathgao[10] and Santo[11] respectively. The inscriptions of Hathgao and Santo are inscribed on the lintel portion of a ruined temple, which shed welcome light on the temple architecture in Fatehpur in the 4th-5th centuries A.D. This led the authors to conclude that the brick temple of Bahua Korari and other places of Fatehpur can be placed between early 6th century A.D. and 8th century A.D.

Antiquity of Bricks :

The antiquity of mud bricks (pressed earth type) goes back to 6000 B.C. in the word.[12] Mud bricks (dried by sunlight) are reported from Mehgarh[13] (Neolithic site in Baluchistan), Jerico (Neolithic site of Iran) and Kalibangan[14] (a pre-Harrapan site in Rajasthan). Burnt bricks were for the first time noticed in large number at Harrapan and late Harrapan sites in India. Mishra pointed out that there is less practically no evidence of brick architecture in India in a period ranging from 1700 B.C. to 600 B.C.[15] with the only exception of Hastināpur[16] and Bhagwānpur.[17] G.R. Sharma also reported an eighth century B.C. fortification wall of mud brick from Kośāmbī.[18] But such an early date of the mud brick ramparts was not acceptable to some scholars.[19] After 600 B.C. burnt brick architecture was reported from numerous sites of India. From 1700 B.C. to 600 B.C., wood was used as the main building material in India. From these various sources, it seems fairly clear that an important phase of brick building was partly conterminous with and succeeded the period of wooden architecture in India.

Antiquity of temple architecture :

The earliest temple in the world is of Sumeria which is dated 4000 B.C. to 3000 B.C. In India the earliest evidence of a temple where only its eliptical foundation was found is that of the Besnagar,[20] district Vidiśā in Madhya Pradesh and Nāgarī,[21] district Chittor, in Rajasthan, which can be dated from 4th-3th century B.C. At Besnagar the nature of building material employed in brick foundation and the manner of their laying ensured the high quality this method of construction.[22] It clearly indicates that the knowledge of brick architecture was fully developed by the time of Besnagar temple. Eliptical foundation of pre-Gupta brick temples is recently reported from Sonkh[23] in district Mathura of Uttar Pradesh.

Brick Temples of Gupta Period :

The Golden Age of the Guptas is dated from 319 A.D. to 578 A.D.* Previously scholars were of opinion that Gupta period ended in 550 A.D.; but after the discovery of Sumandal insciption of last Gupta King, it is now believed that Gupta dynasty ended in 578 A.D. Activities of brick temple architecture reached its climax in the Gupta and post-Gupta period.

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Brick temples of Gupta period are reported from Dah-parbatia (in Assam), Shorkot (Sindh). Mirpur Khas (Sindh), Bhitargaon in district Kanpur, Bhītari in district Gazipur (all in U.P.). Ter in Andhra Pradesh and Mandhol[24] in district Nagpur of Maharashtra. The earliest decorated mould made burnt bricks was found at Sarnath [25] Decorated mould made burnt bricks of the Gupta period are found in the structures from following places : sārnāth and Vārānasi (all Varanasi), Kauśāmbī, Bhīṭā. Garhwa (all in Allahabad district), Sahetmahet (Faizabad), Atranji Khera (ETA), and Ahichatra (Bareilly) all in Uttar Pradesh.[26] The group of famous Bhitargaon decorated brick temple of the early Gupta period is reported from Ghatampur tehsil of Kanpur district. Possibily these burnt brick temples flourished principally in great alluvial plain of Fatehpur destrict where good plastic clay, which is suitable for brick-making, is easily obtainable. The famous brick temples of Bhitargaon is about 100 K.M. from the these temples of Fatehpur. The brick temples of the Gupta period in Fatehpur were for the first time reported by V.S. Agarwala. Agarwala said that there were numerous brick temples of the Gupta period in Fatehpur, which were very similar to the famous Gupta period temple of Bhitargaon.[27] K.D. Bajpai also pointed out the possibility of Brick temples of the Gupta period in Fatehpur but the exact locations of these temples were not given by any of the above two scholars earlier. Fuherer[28] reported a few decorated bricks temples in Fatehpur but he ascribed then up to the 9th-10th century A.D. Mr. Growse[29] reported a few brick temples in Fatehpur. He assigned them roughly to 10th century A.D. A few scholars recently suggested that these brick temples of Fatehpur cannot be dated earlier than the 7th century A.D.[30] The authors once again explored the area adjacent to these temples and collected associated archaeological material found on ancient mound situated near these temples in Fatehpur. The authors have also explored some new basement of brick temples of the Gupta period in this district. They studied their architectural features, the comparative size of bricks, art style of sculptures of these temples and associated archaeological meterial. They came to the conclusion that these temples of Fatehpur can be ascribed to a period extending from the fag end of the Gupta period (6th century A.D.) to the per od of Harṣa (7th century A.D.) Architectural style of the Gupta period brick temples continued in 7th and 8th centuries A.D. So, the temples of the 7th-8th century A.D. reported by the authors in the Fatehpur district can also be said to belong to the style of the Gupta period. Brick temples dating back from the 6th-8th century A.D. were located at Korari, Thithora, Tinduli, Santo and Sarchan all villages of the Fatehpur district. Basement of rural ruined brick temples having only the foundation of the *garbhagṛha* with double recessed corners at ground plan similar to famous Bhitargaon brick temple were discovered by the authors at the following villages : Gambhiri, Santon, Chitapur, Reh and Ashothar.

KORARI (Geographical location 45° 41′ N to 80° 40′ E) is situated 20 miles south-west of Fatehpur district headquarters. Here four brick temples were recorded in which two are completely ruined and remaining two are better preserved and could be restored. Temple No. I of Korari is the best preserved. This temple is double-storied, its height is

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about 8 metres and the upper storey of this temple is covered by double Hindu dome. The porch of *garbhagṛha* is roofed with a circular vault and the room with a pointed dome. The most important architectural feature of this temple is its *śikhara*, which looks like the frustem of cone ; it has voussoir arch similar to the arch of the famous Bhitargaon group of temples in Kanpur district. Moulded burnt bricks are used in this temple, which have floral and scroll designs. Similar bricks with Anthropomorphic figures on them have also been reported from a place, Ladgao, 1/2 km from this temple of Korari. Measurement of bricks used in the temple of Korari is 22 cm. × 33 cm × 6 cm and 32 cm × 21 cm × 5½ cm respectively. Bricks used in the temple of Korari have striking similarity in design and size with those bricks used in the Gupta period building at Sārnāth[32] in Vārāṇasi and Bhītari in Gazipur districts. The architectural style of the remaining three temples of Korari is the same as of temple no. I. On the basis of the art style of fragments of sculptures found a little away from the temples, their architectural devices and associated archaeological material, including the characteristic pottery of the Gupta period found on nearby mound, these temples can be assigned towards the end of the Gupta period and beginning of the period of Harṣa (6th C.A.D. to 7th century A.D.). About 1/2 a km. away from the main brick temple complex of Korari towards the Fatehpur—Banda Road, the authors discovered three stone idols of the goddess Gaṅgā, goddess Yamunā and Śeṣaśāyi Viṣṇu in an agricultural field. From the art style and iconographic features these three sculpture can be dated to 6th-7th century A.D.; and may be regarded as forming a part of the brick temple of Korari. The sculptures and decorated bricks are fixed in the nearby well. Statues of Gaṅgā and Yamunā which are generally depicted on the door jambs of the Gupta period temples are also found here.

BAHUA (Geographical location 25° 50′ N—80° 40′ E) is situated at a distance of 22 K.M. from Fatehpur on Fatehpur-Banda Road. Here one brick temple was noticed. The temple with the carved door jamp is still intact. Female sculptures are depicted on the door of the temple. The temple is 4 metre high ; it has only a single storey with a flat roof. The temple has double recessed type corners at the ground plan similar with the Gupta period brick temple of Bhitargaon. The size of bricks used in this temple is 25 cm × 18 cm × 5 cm. The roof of the temple is made in lantern pattern architectural style. Stone lintels and stone slabs are used in the roof to suppo t the temple. One full lotus is carved in the slab of stone used in the roof. On the basis of the architectural art style and the pottery of the Gupta period found near the mound of this temple it can be dated to 6th-7th century A.D.

TINDULI (Geographical location 26° 3′ N to 80° 35′ E) is situated at a distance of 25 kms. north-west of Fatehpur. Here one decorated brick temple was noticed. This temple has two storeys. Architectural style is similar to that of the temple of Korarari. This temple belongs to the 8th century A.D.

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THITHORA (Geographical location 25° 54′ N to 80° 39′ E) is situated at a distance of 18 kms. south-west from Fatehpur. Here one burnt brick temple was recorded. Bricks used on the outer face are chiselled as well as engraved into patterns and it appears that the recessed portion of the temple were filled with plaster which must have produced a very striking effect. Four miniature temples are noticed at four corners of the temple.

SATON (Geographical location 25° 46′ N to 70° 59′ E) is situated at a distance of 24 kms. north-east from Fatehpur. Here one brick temple of the time of the Vardhan dynasty (7th century A.D.) was noticed by the author. A late Brāhmī inscription of the Vardhan dynasty was already reported from the lintel portion of this temple[33]. This inscription reads "*OM JAYĀDITTYAPUTTRA DURGĀDITTYA KĪRTTIḤ*", meaning the glorious work of Durgāditya, the son of Jayāditya. According to the author Jayāditya mentioned in this inscription is Harṣavardhana the Great and this inscription belongs to his son Durgāditya. This inscription was inscribed on the lintel of this temple there, for this temple can be dated in the 7th century A.D. This temple has double dome and the outer surface is profusely decorated with carved brick work divided into equal faces of vertical grooves.

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17

Ancient Temples of Rajasthan

—*Kailash Chand Jain*

The religious beliefs and ideas among men gradually led to worship of images and temples. During the Harappan period (2350 B.C.), the worship of images and temples is noticed. The building, from which a few stone sculptures have been unearthed at Mohenjodaro, is identified with the temple by some scholars. Some literary sources refer to *Devakulikas* or *Chaityas*, the worship of which was popular during the sixth century B.C. A *Chaitya* or *Devakulika* was some sort of sacred enclosure containing a garden, grove or park and a shrine. Mahavīra, Buddha and other religious ascetics are represented as halting or resting in these shrines.

As there are only the remains of a few temples before the seventh century A.D. in Rajasthan, it is difficult to get the complete idea of their gradual development, and their characteristics. The earliest remains are of a structural shrine at Bairat that goes back to the third century B.C. Its circumambulatory passage has also been discovered. The *Pūjāśilāprākāra* mentioned in the inscription of the second century B. C. at Nagari proves the earliest trace of the existence of Vaiṣṇava temple. Two things were erected in *Nārāyaṇavāṭikā*. One is *śilāpaṭa* for the worship, and another the surrounding wall. *Śilāpaṭa* was on the platform, which was surrounded by the walls.[1] At this place, even fragments of an unearthed *āmalaka* testify to the existence of the *śikhara* temple as early as the Gupta period.[2] The *stūpa* of this place constructed of moulded bricks and decorated with terracotta tiles of high artistic merit probably belonged to the Gupta period.[3] The Śiva temple at Charachuma and the temple of Mukandara are of the Gupta period.[4]

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1. *El*, XXII, p. 204.
2. Stella Kramrisch, *Hindu Temples*, Calcutta, 1946, II, p. 348.
3. *Marg*, XII, p. 25.
4. *Both the places are located in Kotah Division.*

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In the seventh and the eighth centuries A.D., the Mauryas, the Nāgas and the Rāṣṭrakūtas were ruling in the region of Kota, but the rest of Rajasthan was ruled by the Pratihāras who later on transferred their capital to Kanauj when their empire became extensive. Then, other Rajput dynasties such as the Paramāras, the Guhilas, the Chālukyas and the Chahamānas ruled over Rajasthan. The temples began to be constructed in large number under the patronage of the Rajput rulers who were considered saviours of faiths and defenders of religions. During their reign, a large number of people from neighbouring provinces took shelter in their kingdoms from foreign invasions. Both Brahmanical religions and Jainism flourished exceedingly during the Rājpūt period. Religious saints also gave inspiration to their followers for spending their wealth in the construction of the temples.

Most of the ancient temples in Rajasthan have been destroyed, but those preserved give an idea of the evolution and development of art. The temples of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries A.D. were simple in style, though, in some respects, they were crude imitations of the later Gupta art. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., as a result of long experience and continuous development, art and architecture reached its culmination in all respects. From that stage, it progressed towards greater richness, but in doing so lost the purity and perfection that it had attained at the earlier period, and from that climax, its downward trend can be traced.

Along with the other temples of Northern India, the cruciform plan and the curvilinear tower are, however, distinctive characteristics of the early medieval temples of Rajasthan. But, still we find some variations and ramifications in the formal development of the style in this region. These temples possess greater affinities with those of Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat. The *Mahāpiṣṭa* supporting temple is the characteristic of such monuments both in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The shallow pillared porticos of the Osia temples in Rajasthan have their parallels in the *antarālas* of the Madhya Pradesh temples of early date. The *Bhūmija* style of architecture of Malwa influenced some neighbouring regions where such temples have been found. A three-fold division of the *bāḍa* is the characteristic of both the Rajasthan and Gujarat temples. The temples of these regions seem to be alike also in respect of design and composition, the form and disposition of the pillars and of the *toraṇa* in front. In the form of the plinth, and of its decorative scheme, the movements respectively in Rajasthan and Gujarat also appear to be related to each other. The projecting eaves shading the *bāḍa* and its riches are characteristics of the temples of these two regions.

The temples built during the rule of these dynasties have some common features, as regards plan, design, and decorative scheme. The common constituents of the plans are the sanctum, vestibule and *maṇḍapa*. The Sītaleśvara Mahādeva temple at Chandravati near Jhalarapatan was built in 689 A.D. It has been demolished and crudely rebuilt, but it still

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retains some original parts, such as the pillars of the porch, basement, mouldings, and perhaps some pa ts of the lower portion of the shrine-walls. The pillars of the temple are minutely carved. These are unique examples of such intricate stone-works. The male and female figures of *dvārapālas* on the doors upholding the structure are life-like. J. FERGUSSION[5] considers this temple to be one of the most elegant specimens of architecture in India. Another temple of this age at the same place is dedicated to Kālikādevī.[6] It consists of two rooms—the ante-chamber and the sanctum. The sculptured entrance to the sanctum shows that the temple is an old one, and also that it was originally dedicated to Viṣṇu, whose four-armed figure holding a conch-shell, occupied the central Miche over the doorway. It would seem that it was built as a pair with the temple of Sitaleśvara. They are parallel and the centres of both the shrines are of the same time. The remains of the ruined Śiva temple at Kansua, dated by an inscription[7] in 738 A.D., indicate that this temple was similar to the Chandravati temple in plan and in design.

The temple of Dharmanātha[8] at Dhamnār, originally dedicated to Viṣṇu, belongs to the eighth century A.D. This temple consists of porch, hall and sanctum, surmounted by its *śikhara* and seven small shrines around it acting as its satellites. One peculiarty noticeable in the decoration of the roof of the *maṇḍapa* is the half chaitya-arch ornament, seen on the either side of the little central *śikhara* over the porch. The interior of the temple is comparatively plain, the pillars being both simple and substantial. The ceilings have been decorated to some extent. Along with these Brahmaṇical temples, a large number of rock-cut caves or temples have been discovered at Dhamnar,[9] Kholvi,[10] Binaika,[11] Khejaria Bhopa and Poladungari. They were crected during the reign of the rulers of the Nāgas and Maurya dynasties, who were followers of Buddhism.

Generally, the temples of the Pratihāra period (700-1000 A.D.) are characterized by a low socle, a simple and relatively stunted spire, and a wall decorated with a single band of sculptured niches crowned by tall pediments. There is an unpretentious plan generally consisting of only the sanctum and vestibule which in a few cases, is preceded by a porch. These temples are marked by simplicity and elegance. The pot and foliage type of pillars

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5. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1920, p. 449.
6. *PRAS. Wc.* 1905-06, p. 56.
7. *IA*, p. 55.
8. *ASI*, 1905-06.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
10. *ASC*, II, p. 187.
11. *ASI*, 1922-23, p. 124.

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are found in them The doorways are decorated with floral designs, nine planets, snakes entwined etc. Scenes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have been illustrated in some of them.

The temples of Osia belong to the Pratihāra period. The most famous among them are the temples of Harihara, Sun, Mahāvīra, Pīpaladevī, etc.[12] The Brahmaṇical temples of Bardi are beautiful from the artistic point of view, and they have certain similarities with those of Osia. The remains of the Sun-temple and ālikā Māṭā found at chitor belong to the Pratihāra period. The Sun-temple of Varmāṇ[13] also belongs to this age. The careful finish of its carving, the proportion of its parts and its decorative details tend to show that it was built when the temple architecture was a living art. Most of the Brahmaṇical and Jaina ruined temples of Rājergarh belong to the Gurjara-Pratihāra period.[14] The temple of Nilakaṇṭheśvara Mahādeva is a large pyramidal-dome richly decorated with figures. The *Maṇḍapa* has four central pillars which are exquisitely sculptured with *Nāvikās* and with frescoes of the musicians and dancers. Besides, artistic pieces of medieval sculptures are found. The Nilakaṇṭheśvara temple at Kekind[15] and Someśvara at Kiraḍu[16] seem to represent fundamentally the same design and form as those of Osia temples. The monuments of Ābhāneri such as Chānda Baori and temple of Harṣat Māṭā are also of this period.[17] In these temples, sensitive carving and the simplicity of ornamentation are the main features of these sculptures which illustrate scenes of music, dance, nature, beauty, and the meeting of lovers. On the stylistic grounds, the temple of Jagat belonged to the early tenth century A.D., and is rich from the iconographic point of view.

The *Bhūmija* style of architecture of Paramāra period in Malwa also influenced the temples of Rajasthan. The so-called sun temple at Jhalrapatan[18] is octagonal and *sapta-ratha* in plan, with a seven storeyed elevation, but has a complicated *śikhara* design, combining a pair of half-leaning spires on each side over the central *ratha* (offset) with the characteristic turrets of the style. The temple introduces elaborate *toraṇas* at the entrance to the porch, and two bands of sculptures on the wall. At Jhalarapatan, there are some other temples[19] of this period. The temple dedicated to the *Varāha Avatāra* or the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, is

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12. *A.S.I.* 1908-09, p. 108.
13. *PRAS.Wc.* 1917, p. 71.
14. *ASC*, XX, p. 124.
15. *PRAS,Wc.* 1911, p. 35.
16. *Marg*, March, 1959.
17. *Ibid*, p. 28.
18. *Temples of North India*, p. 69.
19. *PRAS. Wc.* 1905-06, p. 56.

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an open temple with four pillars supporting a canopy, under which the statue of a boar is enshrined. On the pedestal, there is an inscription in characters of the ninth or tenth century. The great Vaiṣṇava temple, the Sāta Saheli, has been rebuilt at some late period. The shrine, and its *śikhara* and the *maṇḍapa*, up to beams above the pillars, are old. The Jaina temple of Śāntinātha is a rebuilding of an older temple. It was built by Sāha Pīpā in 1046 A.D. and its installation ceremony was performed by Bhāvadevasūri.[20] The shrine and *śikhara* are old, but the *maṇḍapa* is new.

The Śiva temple at Ramgarh,[21] near Kota is also of *Bhūmija* style. Its socle, however, is more ornate, showing bands of elephants, horses, lions and humans, while its sculptures reveal an unmistakable impress of Rajasthani plastic style. Only one of its four subsidiary shrines has survived, and shows a peculiar *Śikhara*-design offering a new interpretation of the *Bhūmija* mode. However, this temple must once have been a structure of considerable architectural merit. The ruined temples of Atru, belonging to this time are artistic, and their pillars and roofs are deeply and elegantly carved out. The ruins of temples of Kṛiṣṇavilāsa are the most magnificent and they are dedicated to Viṣṇu. His ten *Avatāras* have been carved in red stone. There are sculptures of Kṛiṣṇa with his flute and Viṣṇu sleeping on *Śeṣanāga*.[22] The Mahāvīra temple at Sewari (District Pali) is *Pañcha-ratha* in plan and six-storeyed in elevation. This temple has a brick-built superstructure and is assignable to 1010-20 A.D. The temple of Mahānāleśvara is also of *Bhūmija* style, and five storeyed in elevation. The Undeśvara temple at Bijaulia is of this style, but it is nine storeyed in elevation. The sun temple at Rāṇakpur (Dist. Pali) and the Śiva temple known as the Adbhutnātha at Chitor are late regional versions of the *Bhūmija* style, of the fifteenth century.[23]

The period from the eleventh to the thirteenth century A D. may be regarded as the golden period in the history of art because several beautiful temples were built in Rajasthan. The Jaina temples of Abu namely Vimalavasāhī and Lūṇavasāhī belong to this age. Both these temples are similar in style. The beauty of the buildings, and the skill of the artists have been appreciated by several scholars. COUSINS[24] remarks, "The amount of the beautiful ornamental detail, spread over these temples in the minutely carved decoration of the ceilings, pillars, doorways, panels and riches, is simply marvellous ; the crisp, thin, translucent, shell-like treatment of the marble surpasses anything seen elsewhere, and some of

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20. *Anekanta*, XIII, p. 125.
21. *Temples of North India*, p. 69.
22. *Marg, March*, 1959.
23. *Temples of North India*, p. 68.
24. *PRAS. Wc.* 1910, p. 3.

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the designs are veritable dream of beauty. "In the words of FERGUSSON,[25] "These temples for minute delicacy of carving, and beauty of detail stand almost unrivalled even in the land of patient, and lavish labour". Tcd[26] justly remarks, "The delineation of it defies pen, and would tax to the atmost the pencil of the most patient artist" and he further asserts, 'No ornament of the most florid style of Gothic architecture can be compared with it in richness. It appears like a cluster of the half-disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent and so accurately wrought that they fix the eye in admiration." A large number of temples, gateways, *toraṇas* and images have been found at Chandravati, near Abu One temple to Brahmā was adorned with rich and finely-executed sculptured figures and ornaments.[27]

The Singhiji Jaina temple of Sanganer is famous for its beautiful deep carvings and excellent specimen of sculptures. The *Ḍhāī-din-kā-Jhoṁparā* of Ajmer, which was originally a Sanskrit college, is a wonderful specimen of art. Its pillars and roofs are richly carved. The *toraṇa* of the temple of Pārśvanātha at Lodorva is elaborately carved and richly decorated. The great temple of Toḍāraisingh, with a lofty and beautiful *śikhara* and basement adorned with sculptures, was probably built during the Chauhāna period. The doorway of the Sanctum is the most beautiful and highly polished with greenish coloured stone. The doorway is ornamented from the top to the bottom with elaborate sculptures consisting of human figures, and figures of divinities.[28] The temple of Gokarṇeśvara built by the Chauhāna ruler Vigraharāja is found at Vīsalpur, near Toḍāraisingh. It is surmounted by hemispherical dome which is supported on eight tall pillars. These pillars consist of a lower shaft and the upper shaft. The upper shaft is plain but the lower shaft is most richly sculptured with floral festoons, chains, bells and circular wheel ornaments.[29] The beautiful sculptures of the period are found at the old places such as Baghera, Harsanr and Naraina. These sculptures prove that there must be excellent temples at those places in early times.

Most of the temples described above belong to the great age of architecture which extended down the 1300 A.D. or perhaps a little longer. Then a pause for more than a century, and after that started the revival in the architecture from the fifteenth century A.D. Most of the temples of the later period are the copies of the early temples. In doing so, they lost the purity and elegance that characterized the early temples. They did not posses the magnificence, grandeur of plan and wealth of details.

25, *HIEA*, p. 36.

26. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.*

27. *Gazetteer of Sirohi State (Rajputana Gazetteers)* p. 298-99.

28. *ASC*, VI, p. 124.

29. *Ibid.*

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Rana Kumbha, who lived in the fifteenth century, was a great patron of art, and was responsible for its revival. He built innumerable buildings such as forts, palaces and temples at several places. The most beautiful and well known among them was the Kīrti-stambha (pillar of victory) at Chitor. It is enriched by numerous images of Brahmaṇical gods and goddesses. Actually, it is a veritable text book of iconography. Another pillar at Chitor known as Jaina Kīrti-stambha built in honour of Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha by a merchant of the Bagheravāla caste also belonged to his reign. It is full of decorations. He also constructed the temples of Kumbhaśyāma and Brahmā. A charming temple known as Śṛiṅgāra Chaurī was erected in honour of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha by his treasurer. Probably, the Sāsa-Bahu group of shrines at Nagda belongs to this period. Some of its carvings are remarkable. There is a war scene with the dynamic grouping of elephants, and horses proceeding to assault. Temples of Jaisalmer may also be placed in this class. Their shrines, *Śikharas*, pillars, Walls, *toraṇas*, columns, etc. are deeply carved with profuse ornamentation in the shape of foliage, flowers, birds, and human figures.

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18

Siva Temple, Chorapura, District Shivapuri (M.P.)

—B.L. Hagareh

The village Chorapura is located in district Shivapuri of Madhya Pradesh. It is situeted on the Gwalior Shivapuri Road and is about 40 Kms from Shivapuri and about 75 Kms from Gwalior.

The Śiva temple stands on a platform measuring 12.90 mts. long, 10.32 mts. broad and ·95 mt. high [PL-I]. This platform is approached by a flight of three steps [PL-II]. It consists on plan of a *pañcharatha* sanctum, an *antarāla* and an *ardhamaṇḍapa* consisting of two pillars and two pilasters. The temple faces west.

The basement mouldings of the temple from bottom upwards consist of a *bhiṭṭa*, *jāḍyamha*, *paṭṭikā* decorated with diamonds, *kapota* decorated with *kuḍus*, *kumbha* decorated with a niche containing a dancing gaṇa on the *bhadra*, *kalaśa* decorated with a diamond design on each *bhadra* and *kapota* decorated with *kuḍus* [PL-III].

The basement moulding are surmounted by the *jaṅghā* divided into two rows of sculptures by a *bāndhanā* decorated with *tamālapatras* [PL-IV]. Above the *jaṅghā* rest the *varaṇḍa* mouldings consisting of *padma*, *kapota* decorated with *kuḍus* and a *padma*. The *varaṇḍa* moulding are surmounted by a dilapidated *pañcharatha śikhara* divided into three storeys by two *bhūmi-āmalakas* and decorated with a mesh of *chaitya*-arches [PL-V].

The temple is built of white sandstone. The *ardhamaṇḍapa* has a flat-roof. The pillars and pilasters of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* are highly decorated [PL-VI]. They have a square base decorated on each face with a niche containing a dancing *gaṇa*. Above the base is the square shaft decorated with a vase and foliage design at the base and at the top. The middle portion of the shaft is decorated with scrolls and Kīrttimukhas. The shaft is surmounted by a capital consisting of *Karṇikā* and *padma*. Above the *padma* rest the brackets each decorated with a half *kīrttimukha*. The brackets are surmounted by the lintel decorated with cut triangles and

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half lotus designs. Above the lintels rests the roof of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* [PL-VII]. The roof is decorated on the front face with a *chaitya*-dormer showing a crocodile head on either ends at the base.

In front of the sanctum is a *chandraśitā* decorated with a conch at either ends. It is now only partly preserved.

The sanctum door-way is decorated with four *śākhās* [PL-VIII]. The first *śākhā* is decorated with diamonds and rosettes. The second is a *nāga-śākhā*. The third *śākhā* is embellished with three panels each showing a *gaṇa* either dancing or playing on musical instrument and flanked on either sides by a *vyāla*. The fourth *śākhā* is decorated with lotus petals.

The lower portion of the right flank of the sanctum door-way shows four-armed Gaṅgā standing in *tribhaṅga* and holding a pot by her both hands. Her head and right leg have been chopped off. The pot held by her and the mount crocodile shown on her left have also been chopped off. To the right of Gaṅgā stands a four-armed *Śaiva dvārapāla*. His head, hands and right leg have been partly chopped off. The mount bull with chopped head is seen seated on his right. To his right is seen a male attendant standing in *tribhaṅga*. Above the *Śaiva dvārapāla* are seen three flying *vidyādharas* and a *Kīchaka*.

The lower portion of the left flank of the sanctum door-way is decorated with three divine figures each standing in *tribhaṅga* [PL-IX]. The figure on the extreme right is that of Yamunā standing in *tribhaṅga* and holding a *Kalaśa* by her both hands. Her hand and the *Kalaśa* have been chopped off. The mount tortoise shown on her right has also been chopped off. The central figure is that of a four-armed. Śaiva *dvārapāla* standing in *tribhaṅga*. He wears a long *mālā*. His head and hands have been chopped off. The figure on the extreme left is that of a male-deity standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying flower and *Kaṭi*. Above these figures are seen two flying *Vidyādharas* each carrying a garland and a *Kīcheka* supporting the load by his both upraised hands.

The lintel of the sanctum door-way shows ten-armed Naṭarāja as *lalāṭa-biṁba*. He carries a *triśūla* and *nṛityamudrā* in his surviving right hands and *Kheṭaka*. *sarpa* and *ghaṇṭā* in his extant left hands. Both of his legs and bull mount shown on his left have been chopped off. On either sides of Naṭarāja are seen the *grahas*, five on his right and four on his left. From right to left they are Ketu, Rāhu, Śani, Śukra, Brihaspati, Budha, Bhauma, Soma and Ravi. All of them are two-armed and standing in *tribhaṅga* except Sūrya who stands in *samabhaṅga*.

The right end of the lintel of the sanctum door-way depicts Brahmā standing in *tribhaṅga* in embrace with his consort. He is bearded, three-headed and four-armed and

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carries b-oken, *sruk*, broken and *āliṅgana*. Both of his legs have been chopped off. The head, breasts and legs of his consort have also been chopped off.

The left end of the lintel of the sanctum door-way shows four-armed Vishṇu standing in *tribhaṅga* in *āliṅgana* with his consort. His head and the head, left breast and left leg of his consort have been chopped off. The mount Garuḍa in *añjalimudrā* is seen seated on his right. The hands of Vishṇu have been chopped off. Lakshmī carries *āliṅgana* and a lotus-stalk.

The architrave of the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* is decorated with half rosettes, *gagārakas*, cut-triangles and *Kīrttimukhas*.

The walls of the sanctum are quite plain. The interior of sanctum is devoid of all decoration. The sanctum is marked on the floor by a circular Yonipaṭṭa in the centre of which is seen a large hole for installing the Śiva-liṅga.

The door-sill (*udumbara*) of the sanctum door-way is decorated with a *mandāraka* in the centre flanked on either sides by a female standing in *tribhaṅga* and holding a garland by her both hands. The either ends of the door-sill show a lion and an elephant in an affectionate mood.

Sculptures on the Jaṅghā

Lower row :—

Starting from the north-west corner and proceeding in the clock-wise manner the sculptures on the lower row of the *Jaṅghā* depict the following :—

1. Four-armed Kubera standing in *tribhaṅga*. His head and all hands have been chopped off. On his right is seen his animal mount (Lion or bull) and on his left is placed his *nidhi*.

2. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying *Kaṭi* and *Chaurī*. Her head has been chopped off.

3. Four-armed Varuṇa standing in *tribhaṅga*. His head, all hands and right leg have been chooped off. The mount crocodile is seen on his left.

4. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying *Kaṭi* and lotus-stalk.

5. Stone slab taken away an missing.

6. A niche on the *bhadra* consisting of two pilasters and surmounted by a tall pediment of *chaitya*-arches. It contains an image of four-armed Vishṇu standing in *samabhaṅga*

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and carrying broken, *gadā*, *saṅkha* and broken. He wears *Kirīṭamukuṭa* and a long *mālā*. The left pilaster of the niche has been chopped off. The frame of the niche is decorated with elephants and Vyālas.

7. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga* and yawning.

8. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying *Kaṭi* and lotus-stalk. Her head, right breast and right leg have been chopped off.

9. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying *Kaṭi* lotus-stalk.

10. Four-armed Kubera standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying broken, broken, broken and *nakulaka*. On his either sides are placed his *nidhis*. His chain and both the legs have been chopped off.

11. Four-armed Īśana standing in *tribhaṅga*. His head, hands and legs together with the bull mount on his left have been chopped off.

12. Stone-slab taken away and missing.

13. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying lotus-stalk and *Kaṭi*. Her head, breasts, left hand and legs have been chopped off.

14. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying *Kaṭi* and lotus-stalk. The upper portion of her head and right breast have been chopped off.

15. The niche on the *bhadra* containing an image of two-armed Sūrya standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying full-blown lotuses in both of his hands. He wears *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, *kavacha* and long boots. In between his feet is seen standing Aruṇa. Both the pilasters of this niche have been chopped off. The niche is surmounted by a tall pediment of *chaitya*-arches. The frame of the niche is decorated with elephants and *Vyālas*.

16. An *apsara* standing in *tribhaṅga*. She carries lotus-stalk and *Kaṭi*. Her head, breasts and left leg have been chopped off.

17. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga*. She carries *Kati* and lotus-stalk. Her head and right leg have been chopped off.

18. Stone-slab taken away and missing.

19. Four-armed Indra standing in *tribhaṅga*. His head and all hands have been chopped off. The mount elephant is shown to his right. The trunk of the elephant has been chopped off.

20. Four-armed bearded Agni standing in *tribhaṅga*. His head and all hands have been chopped off. To his right is shown his seated mount ram.

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21. Stone-slab taken away and missing.

22. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying lotus-stalk and *Kaṭi*. Her head, breasts, hands and legs have been chopped off.

23. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying lotus-stalk *Kaṭi*. Her head, breasts, right hand and both the legs have been chopped off.

24. A niche on the *bhadra* containing an image of four-armed Brahmā standing in *samabhaṅga* and carrying broken, *sruk*, manuscript and broken. He is three-headed, bearded and pot-bellied and wears an elongated *jaṭāmukuṭa* and a long *mālā*. The niche consists of two circular pilasters and is surmounted by a tall pediment of *chaitya*-arches. The left pilaster of the niche has been completely chopped off. The frame of the niche is decorate with a half lotus design, elephants and *Vyālas*.

25. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga* and carring *Kaṭi* and lotus-stalk. Her face has been disfigured and her breasts have been chapped off

26. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga* and carring an indistinct object in her right hand. Her head, hands and legs have been chopped off.

27. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga*. Her head, hands and right leg have been chopped off.

28. Four-armed Yama standing in *tribhaṅga*. His head, hands and legs have been chopped off. The seated buffalo mount seen on his left has also been chopped off.

29. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying lotus-stalk and *Kaṭi*. Her head and breasts have been chopped off.

30. Four-armed Nirriti standing in *tribhaṅga*. His head, hands and legs have been chopped off. He is shown nude. His mount corpse seen on his left has also been chopped off. There is a halo behind the head of Niṛriti.

Uppeer Row :—

1. Two male figures, one of whom is playing on a drum and the other is dancing. The heads of both of them have been chopped off.

2. A dancing male. His head has been chopped off.

3. Seated two-armed Varāha.

4. A dancing male.

5. Two-armed Saraswaṭī seated in *lalitāsana* and playing on *Vāṇī*.

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6. Four armed Gaṇeśa seated in *lalitāsana*, and carrying indistinct, *paraśu*, broken and *Kalaśa*.

7. Two male figures of whom one is playing on a drum and the other is dancing. The heads and legs of both of them have been chopped off.

8. A dancing male. His head and both the legs have been chopped off.

9. An amorous couple. The heads and hands of both of them have been chopped off.

10. Two dancing male figures.

11. A flying *Vidyādhara* holding a sword by both of his hands.

12. Four-armed Vishṇu seated in *lalitāsana* and carrying *varada*, *gadā*, *chakra* and *śaṅkha*. His head and upper portion of his *gadā* have been chopped off.

13. Two male-figures os whom one is playing on a drum and the other is dancing. The heads and legs of both of them have been chopped off.

14. Two-armed Saraswatī seated in *lalitāsana* and playing on *Vīṇā*. Her head, right breast and right hand have been chopped off.

15. Two male-figures one of whom is dancing and the other is playing on a drum. The heads of both of them have been chopped aff.

16. Two male-figures of whom one is dancing and the other is playing on a drum.

17. A seated male-figure of which the head and hands have been chopped off.

18. Two-armed Saraswatī seated in *lalitāsana* and playing on *Vīṇā*. Her head, left knee and the shaft of *Vīṇā* have been chopped off.

19. Two male-figures seated face to face. The heads and hands of both of them have been chopped off. They are seen holding discourse.

20. A female standing in *tribhaṅga* and holding a garland by both hands. Her head and left leg have been chopped off.

21. Three male-figures engrossed in dance and music. The male figure on the extreme right is playing on a drum. The head of this male has been chopped off. The central male figure is danching. The male figure on the extreme left is standing cross-legged.

Sculpture on the roof :—

1. Four-armed Śiva standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying *varada*, *triśūla*, broken and *Kal śa*. The mount bull is shown on his left.

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2. A niche on the roof of the *antarāla* containing an image of four-armed Vishṇu seated in *lalitāsana* and carrying *Varada, gadā, chakra* and *saṅkha*. He wears a *kirīṭamukuṭa*. The niche is composed of two circular pilasters and is surmounted by a tall pediment of *Chaitya*-arches.

3. A niche facing south. It is composed of two circular pilasters and is surmounted by a tall pediment of *Chaitya*-arches. It contains an image of four-armed Śiva seated in *lalitāsana* and carrying *varada, triśūla, sarpa* and *kam..ṇḍalu*. He wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa*.

4. Four-armed bearded Brahmā standing in *tribhaṅga* and facing south. He is pot-bellied. His mount is seen seated on his right.

5. A four-armed male-deity standing in *samabhaṅga*. All of his hands have been chopped off.

6. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga*. Her head, hands and legs have been chopped off.

7. Four-armed Śiva seated in *lalitāsana*. He is playing on *Vīṇā* by his three hands. His upper right hand holds a *ḍamaru*. He wears a *Jaṭāmukuṭa*. The shaft of his *vīṇā* has been chopped off [PL-X].

8. An *apsaras* standing in *tribhaṅga*. Her left hand is in *Kaṭi* while her right hand has been chopped off.

9. Four-armed Śiva standing in *tribhaṅga* and carrying *triśūla* in his only surviving upper right hand.

The foregoing description of the temple and its sculptures clearly shows that Chorapurā occupied an important position in the domain of religion and art during the period when the temple was constructed The temple is datable to C. 9th century A.D. on the stylistic considerations. Besides this Śiva temple Chorapurā possesses the architectural remains of a number of other temples. To the south of this temple stood another temple the platform of which is seen nearby. The ruins of this temple can still be seen scattered at the site.

To the south of the Śiva temple at a distance of about one hundred metres lye the ruins of a Jain temple. Noticeable among the ruins are two sculptures of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras [PL-XI]. One of these shows a Jaina Tirthankara seated in *Padmasana* in *dhyanamudra* and the other depicts a Jaina Trithankara [PL-XII] standing in *Kayotsargamudra* [PL-XIII].

Near the Railway watering station Chorapura are lying the ruins of another temple. Only the *mandapa* of this temple has servived [PL-XIV]. The flat ceiling of *mandapa* is

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supported by nine pillars arranged in three rows, three in each row. Some slabs of the ceiling have fallen. The *mandapa* measures 7.15 mts. long and 5.30 mts. broad. The pillars of the *mandapa* are square at the base and top and octagonal in the middle. They are surmounted by plain brackets. The temple is datable to C. 10th Century A.D. stylistically.

The other temple at Chorapura is located on the left of the Gwalior-Shivapuri road. It stands on a platform measuring 10.60 mts. long and 9.50 mts. broad. At present only the mandapa of this temple has survived. The flatroof of the mandapa rests on four plain pillars [PL-XV]. The slabs of the ceiling of this mandapa are now missing. The pillars show from bottom upwards square, octagonal and square portions and are surmounted by plain bracket capitals A number of architectural components of this temple are lying scattered at the site. This temple is also datable to C. 10th Century A.D. on stylistic grounds.

The ruins of temples at Chorapura conclusively prove that it was an important town throbbing with religious activities during the medieval period.

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Sculptures from Bharat Temple, Rishikesh, Uttar Pradesh

—K.N. Dikshit & P.K. Trivedi

The famous pilgrim centre of Rishikesh is located in district Dehra Dun, U.P. From the beginning of eight century to about the close of the twelfth century A.D. area wielded the effective sway of Katyuri rulers of Joshimath (district Chamoli). The Katyuris established their first capital at Joshimath, also called by Jyotirdham in the upper Alakananada valley.[1] There are many ancient remains in the area ascribable to local Katyuri dynasty. The Bharat temple of Rishikesh on its *Jangha* is studded by stone images under reference. These specimens carved out in sandstone belong to Hindu pantheon and deserve attention of art historians. A brief description of the selected ones is, however, attempted herewith Most of the sculptures belong to the *circa* ninth-tenth century A.D.

1. *Sūrya*

Sun god is shown standing in *samabhaṅga* on a rectangular pedestal and he carries a pair of stalked lotuses in both of the hands. He wears armlets, *keyūras*, a long garland and a scarf (*uttarīya*) around, elbow is also depicted dangling down below. He also puts on designed *kirīṭa*-crown on head and a *prabhāvalī* carved with lotus petals is depicted behind. Above is portrayed a *mālādhārī* on either side. Face is badly damaged. He is ornamented with *padma-kuṇḍalas*, a *nishka-hāra* and *chhanavīra* on body. His lower garment secured by a plain girdle reveals a knot forming scaloping like pattern between legs and is plain in design Below have been shown Daṇḍa and Piṇgala, the attendants and Ushā and Pratūshā, his two wives. The main figure is carved inside a frame engraved with creeper and lotus petals from inner to outerside. River goddesses Gangā and Yamunā in triflex have been shown below with crocodile and tortoise as their respective vehicles on left and right sides. (Pl. I).

On stylistic grounds this specimen may go to the circa ninth century A.D. The continuity of early idioms in this piece is worth taking note of.

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2. *Vāyu* :

Two armed male deity carries a staff in his right hand whereas left hand is shown resting on thigh. He stands in *tribhaṅga* posture with crown on head but face is damaged. He is bedecked with beaded necklace a *mālā* reaching below knees and lower garment adorned with *uruḥ-jālak*. Feet are adorned with *nupūras*. Vāyu is the p oteactor of north-west direction. On his lower left side is shown his mount deer in action. *Parikar* consisting of a pair of pilasters relieved with *simha-vyālas*, carries pediment motif as superstructure. The sculpture is assignable to *circa* tenth century stylistically. (Pl.-II).

3. *Agni* :

Agni, the dikpāla of south-east direction in *tribhaṅga* pose is accompanied with his mount ram below. His face has completely been obliterated but flames carved behind head are clearly visible. He wears a beaded sacred thread, a long pearly garland and a lower garment fastened by tassels (Pl.-III). His left hand is mutilated but right hand is shown upraised. The whole piece reveals a *virālikā-yukta-parikar* and is datable to *circa* tenth century.

4. *Dancing Ganeśa* :

Elephant headed male deity is shown in dancing posture carrying broken, *svadanta*, *sarpa*, presumbly sweet balls and *sruka*. His face is damaged. He wears a bejeweled fillet on forehead, beaded *keyūras*, plain *valayas*, a *nishka-hāra*, *sarpōpavīta*, a scarf clad around elbows is also shown dangling down. He is modelled pot-bellied and wears a lower garment adorned with *uruḥ-jālak* secured by *Udara-bandha* and *nupūras* on feet. Below, between legs is epicted mouse, the mount (Pl.-IV). The specimen is assignable to *circa* tenth century A.D.

5. *Vārāha* :

The third incarnation of lord Vishnu represents a four armed boar headed deity with right leg planted on a *padma-pītha*. His lower right hand rests on right thigh in *katyava-limbita* posture and the corresponding left one carries conch, whereas upper hands carry *gadā* and *cakra*. Prithvī (Earth), the goddess having been rescued from clutches of Hiraṇayakṣha is shown being reposed on the upper left hand of Vārāha. She holds the tusk of the deity.

Behind raised head of Vārāha is carved a plain halo, and a *mālādhārī* is also depicted on either side. He wears torque, *keyūras*, *valayas* and a long *vaijantī-mālā* reaching upto knees and *pada-valayas*. A dagger is tucked to his waistband. Below are depicted a male attendant standing in triflex and carrying a *hala* and a male *nāga* figurine suggestive of *pātāla-lōka* (Pl. V).

The sculpture is assignable on stylistic grounds to *circa* tenth century A.D.

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6. *Brahmāṇī* :

The badly defaced statue represents three headed Brahmani standing in *tribhaṅga* pose (Pl. VI). Her breasts have been chopped off. She is bedecked with *jatā-mukuṭa*, ear-rings, and a scarf hanging down through arms. Other ornaments are not clearly visible owing to weathering. Presumably right hand was carrying a *kamaṇḍalu* and lefth and mutilated. The image is decorated with pilasters, surmounted by pediment. Stylistically the piece could safely be assigned to *circa* tenth century.

7. *Revanta* :

Revanta, the son of Sūrya is exhibited as seated on horse back and going to jungle for hunting. He holds a sword in right hand whereas the details of other hand have been multilated. His face is damaged and wears *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* on his head (Pl. VII). He is bedecked with *ratna-kuṇḍalas*, a beaded *ekāvalī*, *ratnōpavīta*, and a long *ratna-mālā* and top boots. Below is shown a hound with its head upraised. The deity is carved inside a frame work consisted of a pair of pilasters surmounted by pediment motif and *siṁha-vyālas* on lateral sides.

8. *Maṅgal* :

Two armed deity is shown seated in *pratyālidha-mudrā* on a pedestal below which is carved his vehicle—the ram with carved horns shown in movement. His right leg is bent at the knee and left leg stretched behing and kept straight at an angle. He carries a staff and an indistinct (Pl. VIII). Behind head is carved his half orbit. On either side of the main figure have been portrayed a female ar d male attendant, the former is shown in *katyava-limbita* whereas latter's upright hand carries on indistinct. It could be dated provisionally to *circa* ninth-tenth century as most of the fine carvings have gone away. The plates in this article are by the courtesy of the *Archaeological Survey* of India.

The study revealed that pratihara style also penetrated in the small Himalayan kingdom of Katyuri which was extended from the snows to the foot hills and from beyond the Ganges to the eastern Ramaganga.[2]

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Pārvatī in the Art of Bihar

—Bhagwant Sahai

Pārvatī, the divine consort of Lord Śiva, is a goddess extremely popular amongst the married Hindu women for her worship is believed to confer the good fortune and marital bliss *(saubhāgya)* on them. She is variously known as Gaurī, Umā, Chaṇḍī, Durgā, Aṁbikā, etc. She is very often found represented in close association of her lord in the images of Umā-maheśvara. She has also been rendered as being accepted as wife by Lord Śiva in the Kalyānasundara images representing the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. She is also part and parcel of the physical existence of the lord in his Ardhanārīśvara form. The images representing Umā-Maheśvara, the Kalyānasundara aspect and the Ardhanārīśvara form have been found from a number of places in the state of Bihar, attesting to the wide popularity Lord Śiva has had been enjoying amongst the general populace of the state. At the same time individual images of Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva, unaccompanied by her lord, have also been obtained from a number of places within the state. Wherever she has been depicted independently, she has her usual symbols, a mirror and a trident in place of a lotus.[1] A variant of the same goddess known as Aṁbikā has also a lotus and rides on a lion.[2] However, no such images of Pārvatī prior to the Gupta period are known to us. The form of Gaurī, according to Hemādri, is that of a maiden having the symbols of a rosary, *protection*, lotus and *kamaṇḍalu* in her four hands.[3] As already said, Gaurī, Umā and Pārvatī are different names of the same goddess, the consort of Śiva, and consequently, the images, with slight modifications, represent the uniform type of the same goddess.

The earliest image of the goddess Pārvatī belongs to the late Gupta period which comes from Muṇḍeśvari in the district of Rohtas.[4] The goddess has been shown standing to front on a plain pedestal. She is four-armed. She puts on a *sārī*, the upper part of her body being bare. Her hair is arranged into a *jaṭā* with a *liṅga*-like decoration above. Her front right hand has been exhibited in the *varada-mudrā*, whereas her back right hand, which is raised up, carries a rosary (*akṣamālā*). The back left hand similarly held up has a longish object which appears like a hatchet. The front left hand has a vessel of nectar. To her right is a

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human bodied lion and to her left is a banana plant with figures of two deers in front. The sculpture is carved out of buff coloured sandstone. (Fig. 1) Another image which comes from the same place represents the goddess carved in a pillar along with Sūrya, Śiva and Harihara. The image, presently preserved in the Patna Museum, may be dated in the 6th century A D.

The image of Pārvatī discovered recently in the excavation at Antichak in the district of Bhagalpur is specially noteworthy. The four handed goddess with the *jatabhara* on her head stands within a plain pilastered niche below a mutilated pediment. The upper part of her body is unclad in contrast to the lower part draped with a lower garment secured with a waist band. She holds a twig in the upper left hand and a pot in the lower left hand. Her lower right hand is shown in the *varada-mudrā* and a sword *(khaḍga)* held in the upper right hand. Two trees with long leaves are clearly shown flanking the goddess on her lower sides. The image from Antichak is datable in circa 9th century A.D.[5] A tenth century mutilated image of Pārvatī discovered at Gangapur (Patna), now preserved in the Patna Museum, shows her seated and endowed with sword and shield in upper right and left hands and a trident *(triśūla)* in the main left hand.[6] Another image of the goddess from Monghyr shows her having six hands, seated on a lion, holding shield and *triśūla* in her right hands and *chakra* and *khaḍga* in her left hands.[7]

From Nalanda have been found very interesting bronze images of a four-armed goddess standing on a lotus placed over a pedestal. One of the bronze images from Nalanda, described and illustrated by J.N. Banerjea,[8] has some very striking features present in the statuette, requiring detailed notice. The goddess, who is three eyed and four-armed, stands in the *samapādasthānaka* pose, holding in three of her hands a rosary (now lost), a staff with three off-shoots *(triśikhā, tridaṇḍī* or *triśūla ?)* and a water vessel *(bhriṅgāra)*, the remaining hand being broken at the elbow. There is a creeping alligator *(godhā)* near her right leg, and a lion at the proper right side and another horned animal (buffalo or deer) at the left are seen on the lower section of the pedestal. Heaped offerings *(naivedya)* are shown on the four corners of the pedestal, and the sun and the moon are placed on the either side of the very beautiful and elaborately designed *śiraschakra.* (Fig. 2).

Another bronze image from Nalanda corresponds mostly to the image just described.[9] It also represents the goddess standing and four-armed, with her lower right hand held in the *varada-mudrā* with a fruit in it, while the attributes in her remaining three hands are the same as in the preceding example. The *śiraschakra* being partly broken, only the figure of the sun is preserved. There are branches rising on both the sides of the legs of the goddess, and on the pedestal at the proper right side a lion, at the left a buffalo or a deer, in front of the pedestal an alligator *(godhā)*, and in the right corner the kneeling figure of a worshipper are

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noticeable. On the four corners of the pedestal are again found the heaped offerings *(naivedya)*. According to R. D. Trivedi, the objects on the four corners of the pedestal described by J. N. Banerjea as heaped offerings *(naivedya)*, actually represent the four burning fires which, added to the sun, go to make five fires as required in the *pañchatapas*.[10] These bronze images from Nalanda thus represent the goddess Pārvatī in *pañchatapas* with her *godhāsana* (an alligator as her mount) aspect added to it.

Now, according to the *sādhana* in the Buddhist text *Sādhanamālā* devoted to the worship of Bhṛkuṭī, a form of the Buddhist goddess Tārā, 'the Buddhist goddess Bhṛkuṭī, should be conceived as four armed, one-faced and yellow in colour, three-eyed and as blooming with youth. She shows the *varada-mudrā* and the rosary in her two right hands and carries the *tridaṇḍī* and the *kamaṇḍalu* in the two left. Her crown is stamped with the effigy of Amitābha. She sits on the orb of the moon over a lotus '[11] On the basis of the description furnished by the *Sādhanamālā*, the goddess represented by the Nalanda images may be identified with the Buddhist goddess Bhṛkuṭī. But most of the description of the bronzes corresponds with that of the Brahmanical goddess Pārvatī or Chaṇḍī, stone sculptures of which have been found in a sufficiently large number from Northern India.[12] The iconic motif Pārvatī associated with an alligator (iguana, *godhā*) has been found in other parts of India, particularly in Bengal, and many sculptures from Eastern India illustrate this aspect.[13] H.P. Shastri is also disposed to regard such an image as that of the Hindu goddess Chaṇḍikā.[14] The goddess associated with the alligator (iguana, *godhā*) may have also the appellation of Gaurī on the basis of a text which enjoins that Gaurī should sit (or stand) on an alligator (*Godhāsanā bhaved Gaurī*).[15] According to Rao as well, an aspect of Gaurī is represented as a female figure standing on the back of an alligator.[16] Kempers[17] states that Gaurī with the same attributes has been represented by a number of images described and partly reproduced by Bhattasali,[18] which show an even closer resemblance to the Nalanda bronzes than Bhṛkuṭī. The images of Gaurī from Bengal show almost in every case the rosary and the trident in the shape of a branch with three off shoots in the upper hands. The further emblems are, however, not always the same, though four images described by Bhattasali show the *varada-mudrā* (in one case a fruit) and a water vessel. The *vāhana* is an alligator, and in one instance there are two deers besides. The resemblances to the Nalanda bronzes are indeed very striking. The lion too suits Gaurī well. However, the meaning of the effigies of the sun and the moon is uncertain. Probably they do not, in these cases, symbolise the formula : 'as long as the sun and the moon will exist.' Thus, on the basis of these suggestions, the Nalanda bronzes may well represent the Brahmanical goddess Pārvatī, Chaṇḍī or Gaurī. B.S. Verma has drawn our attention to a stone sculpture of a goddess at Baḍgāon near Nalanda in the premises of the Sūrya temple there, which wonderfully tallies in its features with the Nalanda bronzes.[19] What renders the image of special importance is that it bears the miniature figure of Amitābha in her head-dress. In view of the presence of the figure of

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the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha over the head of the goddess, the Baḍgāon figure can definitely be taken to be representing the Buddhist goddess Bhṛkuṭī, and the comparison of the Baḍgāon sculpture with the Nalanda bronzes will lead one to suggest that the bronzes as well depict the goddess Bhṛkuṭī. Thus, points in favour of the identification of the goddess represented by the Nalanda bronzes as the Brahmanical goddess Pārvatī, Chaṇḍī or Gaurī or the Buddhist goddess Bhṛkuṭī are evenly balanced, and one may consider her both a Brahmanical or a Buddhist deity. It may, however, be pointed out that, as suggested by Foucher,[20] Bhṛkuṭī, a form of the Buddhist goddess Tārā, is nothing but the Buddhist counterpart of the Brahmanical goddess. Devī-Gaurī and Tārā-Bhṛkuṭī have their attributes in common, which fact may point to the striking similarity between the two. In any case, the Śaivite elements in the representations of the goddess are prominent, and it may, therefore, be assumed, as stated by Kempers,[21] that either Gaurī or Bhṛkuṭī in a form which was strongly influenced by the former, has been shown in the bronze images from Nalanda.

Another bronze image of Pārvatī from Bihar is preserved in the collection of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad.[22] It is dedicated in the 54th year of the reign of the Pāla ruler Nārāyanapāla. Mention may also be made of an image of Pārvatī dedicated in the 3rd year of the reign of the Pāla ruler Madanapāla. It is now displayed in the Patna Museum at Patna.[23] Unfortunately, the head of the goddess is broken.

The Patna Museum has recently acquired some stone sculptures and other stone objects from S.V. Sohoni. Goddess Pārvatī is represented by two images,[24] one in grey stone and the other in black basalt. The former shows the goddess four-armed holding a trident in the front left hand and a sword and a shield in the back hands, the object held in the front right hand being indistinct. The other image is, however, badly damaged. Not only the upper right side of the stele is broken, even the face and the left hands of the goddess are damaged. The mount of the goddess, the lion, is shown near her left leg, besides another horned animal (not identified) on the right side Both the images of Pārvatī are datable in the 9th-10th century A.D.

There are two images of Pārvatī, in the guise of Durgā, in the Patna Museum.[25] Both the images are almost similarly treated. Unfortunately the find spots of both the images are unknown. Both the images represent the goddess seated in the *ardhaparyaṅka* pose with the left leg folded and placed on the seat and the right one pendent, there being the figure of the lion, the mount of the goddess just below the seat of the goddess. The goddess has been endowed with four arms, displaying *varada-mudrā* by her front right hand and carrying a sword by her back right hand and a shield by her back left hand. She is supporting a child seated on her lap by her front left hand, emphasising her mother aspect as well. Both the images are carved out of black basalt and are datable in the 10th-11th century A.D. (Figs. 3 and 4)

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A beautiful standing image of Pārvatī has been found from Girijāsthāna, Phulahara. The goddess has been endowed with four hands, holding a Śiva-liṅga in the upper right hand and a fruit in the lower one. The upper left hand has a mirror, whereas the lower left one rests on the head of Kārttikeya. To her right, there is a figure of Gaṇeśa. Her *sārī* has been shown with the help of ripple-like folds. An alligator is shown at the bottom of the pedestal. The image may be dated in the 11th century A.D.

Two images of Māheśvarī, the female counterpart (*śakti*) of Maheśvara or Śiva have been obtained from Pachar in the district of Gaya and Seraikela in the district of Singhbhum. Māheśvarī from Pachar is represented as seated in the *ardhaparyaṅka* pose with her left leg folded and placed on the seat and the right one pendent. The two armed goddess holds a spear in her left hand and displays *vanada-mudrā* by her right hand. Her *vāhana*, the bull, is shown below her seat facing towards the right. (Fig. 5) The two armed Māheśvarī from Seraikela is carrying a trident in her right hand and by her left hand she is emb acing the child who is touching her necklace. Her bull facing to the right is carved on the pedestal. The goddess has *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and circular ear-rings. The flowery curly ends of the hair on the two sides of the head are beautifully rendered. Both the images are housed in the Patna Museum, Patna.

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1. *Agni Purāṇa* :

   Gaurī tu dvibhujā trayakṣā śūlinī darpaṇānvitā.

   Cf. also *Hemādri,*

   Umāyāḥ-akṣasūtraṁ cha kamalaṁ darpaṇaṁ cha kamaṇḍaluṁ.

2. *Lakṣmaṇa Samuchchaya* :
   Siṁhārūḍhāṁbikā trayakṣā bhūṣitā darpanodvahā.

3. *Hemādri* :

   Akṣasūtrābhaye padmaṁ tasyādhaścha kamaṇḍaluṁ,
   Gauryyā mūrttiśchaturvvāhaḥ karttavyā kamalāsanā.

4. *Artibus Asia*, vol. XXV, fig. 16 (Patna Museum Arch. No. 6005).
5. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1975-76, p. 7, pl. 7 A.

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19. B. S. Verma, *Socio-Religious, Economic and Literary Condition of Bihar*, p. 76, fig. 29.
20. A Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique*, vol. I, p. 173 ; cf. A. J. B. Kempers, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
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22. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLVII, 1918, p. 110.
23. R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, p. 23, pl. VI. b.
24. *Journal of the Bihar Purāvid Parisad*, vol. III, pp. 298-99,
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21

A Unique Wooden Pāla Image of Tārā from the Kanheri Caves, near Bombay

—H.D. Sankalia

The wooden image of Tārā briefly described here was found by the late Dr. Moreshwar Dikshit, when he was preparing a thesis for Buddhism in Western India It was found in Cave No. 31, and has been cited in his thesis, a copy of which is available in the library of the Heras Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

I do not know where this image is at present. For Dr. Dikshit died suddenly. Fortunately, he had given me a photograph of the image, which I found unexpectedly in my collection, last December. (1982).

Immediately I realized, from my previous study, as far back as 1932 of the Nalanda Bronzes and other Buddhist sculptures from Nalanda and Bihar—Bengal that this image was of the Buddhist goddess of Tara, and most probably from Nalanda or Bihar-Bengal.

In order to understand the problem when and how this image could have gone to Western India, and particularly the Kanheri Caves, near Bombay.

This study, undertaken after fifty years, was most rewarding. For it was found that though Tantrayana and Vajrayana in their fullest manifestation as current in Bihar, Bengal, Nepal and Tibet in the between the 7th-13th centuries was never prevalent in Western India. Still Tara, as a Saviour of the devotee from all defficulties and dangers, finds a place at Ellora.

However, more definite evidence of the direct contact between Bihar-Bengal and Konkan has been found. In fact, this is contained in an inscription found from the Kanheri caves, as far back as 1891 and published in Indian Antiquary.[1] This record tells us when Amoghavarsha, a powerful king of the Rashtrakutas was ruling over Maharashtra, and Karnataka, and his vassal, the Silahara Kapardin II over Konkan, Gomin, a Bauddha devo ee

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from Gauda (Bengal) had got a Temple (*Prasthana Mandira*) excavated in the Kanheri Caves. Twenty four year later that is in Saka 799 (A.D. 867) he got another excavated Kanheri.[1]

Active patronage of the Mahayana Buddhism was continued by the successors of the Rashtrakutas, viz the Chalukyas of Kalyani. And an inscription of Tribhuvana Pala (Vikramaditya VI) had got an image of Tara made. And he invokes the blessings of the Goddess Tara at the beginning and end of the inscription.

Thus we have excellent archaeological and historical evidence to say that the Mahayana and Vajrayana form of Buddhism was prevalent in Maharashtra and North Karnataka up to the 12th century A.D. and there was active and continuous contact between Bihar-Bengal and Maharashtra, particularly Konkan.

This is now proved by the discovery of the wooden image of Tara from the cave 31 at Kanheri.

The images is 2 ft. × 10 in. × 8" and the goddess is seated in *dhyana* Padmasana on a double lotus. She has two arms, but since these are partly broken, it is not possible to say in what they were kept. She has worn a highly decorated crown, large earrings, and a necklace which falls between the breasts.

When I saw the photograph, I was immediately reminded of the grace and delicacy of the Pala images, particularly from Nalanda.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, pl. 13, p. 133.

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22

Bronzes From Antichak

—B.S. Verma

The excavated remains of the village Antichak (Long. 25° 15 N Lat. 87° 25 E) in the district of Bhagalpur, Bihar have now been identified as the remains of the ruins of the ancient Vikramshila Mahavihara which according to the Tibetan sources was founded by Dharmapala, the 2nd ruler of the Pala dynasty of Bengal. Here in course of excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India, the site has yielded a fairly large number of antiquities of different materials of which the most interesting are the bronze icons and figurines. An accidental discovery of bronze icons from the vicinity of this area has also been reported earlier.

Long back, the discovery of about nine bronze images was made by a contractor who was quarrying kankar in the vicinity of this site in the village Chandipur. These relics were discovered in an earthen pot. The contractor collected those pieces and handed over to the Pandits at Vateshwarasthan, a religious place near the site. In course of time one of the best pieces i e. of Vajra Tara in sitting posture in the centre of an archaic lotus, about 20 cm in height went to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The lotus is resting on a pedastal and it contains eight petals, each containing the figure of a goddess in relief on its innerside. These eight figurines are alternately seated and standing in a bent attitude. In the centre the goddess Tara is there. She is eight-armed and is otherwise worked very exquisitely in silver on bronze ground. The head-dress is fashioned like a stupa. The lotus expands and closes hiding and exposing inside figure by skilful mechanism. When the petals fold together, the top which is of the form of a votive stupa, tighten then and gives it the appearance of the bud of a lotus. This relic of priceless value is evidently on stylistic basis of the 10th century A.D. if not earlier. A similar icon in bronze is adorning the British Museum, London. But in place of Tara in the centre there is the figure of Buddha. On comparison, it is apparent that later is of Indian origin and on stylistic basis both belong to the 10th to 12th century A.D.

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The Patna University Museum is also in possession of one bronze which probably is the figure of Tara in a sitting posture. It was donated to the museum probably by a villager from Antichak. The author could not get more information regarding this piece. The excavations conducted at Antichak so far have yielded altogether six pieces of bronze fi urines out of which two represent animal figurines and the rest four represent Buddhist dieties. Besides these, about five more pieces have been procured by the author from the possession of some of the villagers. The descriptions of the figurines discovered from the excavations are as follows :—

1. *AVALOKITEŚVARA* :

The figure is relatively a small one being 5 cm high including the pedastal which is 1 cm. Worked in the round, the figure is in the sitting posture. Stylistically, the figure does not appear to be earlier than the 12th century A.D. as the workmanship appears to be very crude and inferior. The facial expression with the large open mouth is ungainly.

Clothed in an *antarīya* held by a beaded girdle, and an *uttarīya* tightly worn in an *upaviti* fashion, the two armed god is bedecked in anklets, *valayas*, armlets with a flower-shaped central piece, a necklace also with a flower-shaped central piece and a high conical stylized crown.

The figure is seated in the *lalitāsana* posture on a lotus petalled circular stand with his right foot resting on a small lotus emerging out from the pedestal. With his right palm in the *varada-mudrā* on the knee, he holds the stalk of a lotus with his left hand placed on the seat. The figure was discovered in course of regular excavation. (Fig. 1)

2. *MAITREYA* :

Worked in the round with the back side fairly well finished, the icon is 5.4 cm high with pedestal which is 2 cm high and, on artistic basis, it can be dated to the 10th century A.D., if not earlier. The figure with an *upavita* is without upper-garment. Any trace of lower garment is negligible. The figure is sitting on an oval high seat which is resting on a double lotus (hollow within). Its physical frame is characterised by a tall but strongly built slim body. It has a round smiling face with a somewhat sharp chin. Despite its being devoid of ornaments, the icon gives the feeling of over ornamentation which is due not only to the lavish, but stylized treatment of inordinately high *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and the luxuriant branches of *Nāgakeśara* flower with a decorative effect by the sides. The arrangement of the hair is with coiled locks falling on shoulders, the rest of the hair being arranged on the crown in an elaborate *jaṭā-mukuṭa* bearing the representation of a *stūpa*. Loops of the ribbon that tie the hair are seen fluttering on both the sides of the head.

The head of the icon is tilted towards the right. With a charming face Maitreya is

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seated in the *lalitāsana* posture on the base of a double lotus pedastal. His right foot rests on the left thigh, while the left foot is perched on a small lotus. It was also discovered in course of regular excavation. (Fig. 2)

3. *VAJRASATTVA OR VAJRAPĀṆI*

The icon is 8 cm with pedestal which is 1 cm high (standing in *tribhaṅga* posture) is interesting on account of the superb expression of the placid and serene face. On the pericarp of a Viśvapadma with a lotus stalk coiling his left hand and palm resting against the thigh, he caries a thunderbolt in his right palm (front visible) held upwards near the navel.

The figure is dressed in an *antarīya* fastened by a girdle of beaded double-cords with a knob-like clasp (jewelled buckle) and a folded *uttarīya* seen across his left shoulder. He is richly be jewelled wearing an amulet of single-string with a dot-like central piece, a beaded chain around his neck with a pendant, double-string girdle, and a beaded *upavita*. It also wears a single bangle in each wrist. He bears a high conical *Mukuṭa* with an ornate projection. At the apex of the *Mukuṭa* is a *stūpa*-shaped finial. On either side of the head is the fan-shaped end of a ribbon. This figure too was discovered in course of regular excavation. (Fig. 3)

4. *MAÑJUŚRĪ*

The figure is in a good state of preservation and it is 8 cm high with pedestal which is 1 cm. The modelling of the image with its well built physique can be dated to the 10th century A.D.

Dressed in an *antarīya* across both the hands and both the ends touch the thigh of the figure held by a solid girdle with a circular clasp. The two armed Mañjuśrī is bedecked with beaded anklets, *valayas*, solid armlets with a circle clasp, a solid *upavita*, ear-rings, necklace having a rectangular pendant and a crown with three triangular projections. The coiffure is arranged in three locks of hair and the ends of the ribbons are shown like fans on a circle on either side of the shoulders.

With the calm facial expression, the figure is seated in the *padmāsana* on an oval shaped pedestal (hollow within). In his raised right hand is a sword held aloft above the head. The left palm is near the chest holding a manuscript or book. The figure has come from the regular excavation. A similar figure is exhibited in the British Museum, London. There are slight differences between their arrangements specially in the form of pedestal, sword, ornaments and the flower *'Nāgakesara*. According to the authority of the British Museum, the icon was purchased from Peking. (Fig. 4)

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5. *BUDDHA (STANDING)*

The figure of a crowned Buddha standing on a double lotus circular pedestal (hollow within). It is 12 cm. high with pedestal which is 2 cm high and is in the round and the back side is flat. The palm of both the hands are broken and missing. The right hand is raised in *abhaya-mudrā*, the left holding the hem of the upper garment. The robe covers both the shoulders and ends on both the sides of the body in a fold in the shape of a swallow's tail. Procured from a villager. (Fig. 5)

6. *BUDDHA (SITTING)*

The icon is 8 cm high with pedestal which is 2 cm high is in the round and the back side is fairly well finished. The *uṣṇīśa* is conical and the rendering of the spiral curbs is stylised. The chest of the strongly built body is inflated in order to convey the idea of the controlling of the breadth. A faint smile plays on the placid face with half-closed eyes and somewhat meditative expression. In *bhūmisparśa mudrā* (the attitude of touching the earth), the figure is seated on a double lotus pedestal. The right shoulder is bare. The short flap on the left shoulder is indeed one of the most characteristic arrangement of the Buddha's robe in the Pāla period, showing only the usual line distinguishing the robe from the body. On the petals of the lotus pedestal in the back, there is an inscription in ten letters suggesting that the image belongs to the chief architect namely 'Vahakaya' in the early tenth century A.D. Purchased from a villager. (Fig. 6)

7. *BUDDHA (SITTING)*

Similar as above, but of smaller size and without any inscription. Procured from a villager. The icon is $5\frac{1}{2}$ cm high with pedestal which is 2 cm high. (Fig. 7)

8. *TĀRĀ*

Seated figure of Tara on double lotus base with abraded traces of a pearl border. it is of 8 cm high, 6 cm without pedastal. The goddess has one leg on the base while the other is pendant and supported on a lotus emerging out from the pedastal. Her right hand resting on the right knee, lies open, palm outwards in the gesture of charity, her left hand is raised and holds a stalk emerging from the base and bearing an open lotus flower above shoulder by a strut. The goddess wears a striated lower garment (dhoti), a girdle and series of long and short necklaces with a pendant between her breasts as well as the sacrificial thread. Her head is decorated with a tiara with three projections of floral design and her hair is gathered in a large curled bun above and to the proper left of the head. Infront of it is a pointed ornament of elaborate floral design. At the back of the head are two splayed ribbon ends joined by a tubalar metal strip. This figure was procured from a villager. (Fig. 8)

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9. *SINHANĀTHA AVALOKITEŚVARA* (?)

Figure of an unidentified Buddhist diety seated on a single-petal lotus raised platform in Lalitasana (right leg bent with the knee upward and the foot resting on the base of the pedastal, the left leg bent horizontally also resting on the base of the pedastal). The figure is 7½ cm high, 5 cm without pedastal. The diety is single faced (badly corroded) and four armed. The portion from the wrist of the upper right hand is missing, the lower right hand holds a jewel like object. Similarly the upper left hand hold a book whereas the lower left hand which touches the base of the pedastal where a noose like object is noticed. He wears a single string necklace, armlet and bangles. There is a jata mukuta on its head. The complete figure is very much worn out. The figure was also procured from a villager. (Fig. 9)

From the description so far available, the figure may be identified with the figure of Sinhanātha Lokeśvara, whose icon has not yet been found either in stone or in bronze. He is known from the paintings with inscription found in the Macchaudar vahal Vihara of Kathamandu, Nepal.

A sketch of the painting is published in the Bhattachary's Buddhist iconography. Here the figure is shown sitting in Bhadrasana or in the European fashion on a raised seat placed on the lotus. In his two right hands he carries the sword and the jewel while the two left hands hold the book and the noose.

We get a great similarity in the two figurines discussed above with the only difference in the style of sitting, otherwise their attributes are the same. On this basis the figure may safely be identified with that of Sinhanātha Lokeśvara and the deity has for the first time been found in bronze.

10. *BOAR*

It is an interesting figure of a boar accompanied by seven pigs—three on either sides and one below its neck. They all standing on a rectangular four footed pedastal. This indicates the important position the animal was given. It is 3 cm high without pedastal. A similar boar has been discovered from the village Bhelawar in Nalanda district and is at present in the possession of the state museum, Gaya. This figure must be of some religious significance otherwise there was no need of providing pedastal to the animal. In Hindu mythology Varaha is considered as one of the 'Avataras' of Vishnu. What is its significance in Buddhist religion is yet to be determined. Perhaps it may represent the idea of Marichi, a Buddhist female deity. (Fig. 10)

11. *DOG*

It is a tiny figure of a dog 3 cm high whose breed is not known in India. It has heavy head with broad mouth and raised hem and long neck and a short tail. It is sitting in the

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fashion of guarding with two front legs keeping straight and the rear leg half folded. At Vikramshila a fairly large number of terracotta dog figurines have been discovered from the excavation. It is being studied as why such a large number of dog figurines have found here. (Fig. 11)

CHRONOLOGY

Out of the eleven figures so far registered six are from regular excavation and the rest five have been either donated or purchased from some villagers of Antichak. The six include the two animals. So only four figurine such as Vajrapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara have been reported from the regular excavation. The animals have been found from the layer 4. Both of the figures have been discovered from the northern mound (slightly higher than the main mound) outside the main monastery complex. The rest four figure have come from the monastic area and they are from the layer 2 and 3. The layer 3 corresponding to layer 4 of northern mound and it has been dated to the 10th to 12th century A.D. on the basis of stratigraphy. One of the Buddha (Purchased) in sitting posture is inscribed and on palaeography it is dated to the same period. These layers have also yielded coins of Vigrahapala which are dated 10 to 11th century A D. and these also justify the age of the icons. These bronze have some similarity with those discovered from Nalanda and Kurkihar whose date is also taken to be of the 10th to 12th century A.D. In any case their date cann't be taken earlier or late.

So far the casting technique is concerned, they have been prepared in lost wax process. For details of this technique, Ruth Reeve's book "Cire perdue casting in India" may be consulted. This fact is further supported by one of the figure that of Vajrapāṇi Avalokiteśvara which has been discovered from an even found in the south-west corner of the courtyard of the monastery. Perhaps the figure was left in the oven in course of processing.

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23

Ganga and Yamuna in Art and Literature

— *U.C. Dwivedi*

Gaṅgā Yamunā, the two most important rivers of Northern India, also found favour with the ancient Indian artists and were represented not only by the northern Indian artists but also by southern Indian artists in the temples of south. These rivers were not taken as Goddesses in the time of Ṛg Veda and were just rivers. But in the time of the Epics and the Purāṇas, they were accorded the status of Goddesses. By that time Gaṅgā had become a great Mother Goddess. Yamunā was also a goddess but she had not acquired the status of Gaṅgā. Gaṅgā was undoubtedly more popular and sacredous among the two. She was worshipped by the people even in Buddha's time as is evident from the Jataka stories.[1]

The account of Gaṅgā's origin is quite interesting. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[2] and *Mahābhārata*[3], the two most important Epics of Hindus, give an almost identical account of her origin. According to them, Ganga was the eldest daughter of Himavat and she was brought down from Heaven by the austerities of Bhagīratha[4] and when she was to fall with great force on the earth, for saving people from the fury of Gaṅgā, Śiva took her into his jaṭāmukuṭa. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (line-31) gives a similar description, i.e., "Gaṅgā flowing quickly on being liberated from confinement in the thickest of matted hairs of (the God) Pasupati[5]". It is only due to this that Śiva is also called Gaṅgādhara. Gaṅgā is also called Jāhnavi because soon after Śiva released her from his coils of hairs Saint Jāhnu swallowed and allowed her to, go out of his ear only. She was yet another name Urvaśī because she sat on the Urū of Bhagiratha.[6] In the Gupta inscriptions also, she has been referred as Bhāgirathī[7], Jāhavī[8] and Mandākinī[9].

According to another version, the source of Gaṅgā, the celestical stream which washes away the sin, where nymphs of heaven only sported, resided in the left toes of Viṣṇu[10]. According to the Visnu Purāṇa ' falling from on high as she issues from the Moon, she alights on the summit of Meru and thence flows to the four quarters of the earth, for it's purification. The Sitā, Alakanandā, Cakshu and Bhadrā are four branches of but one river,

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divided aecording to the regions towards which it proceeds. The branch that is known as Alakanandā was borne affectionatly by Mahadeva, upon his head, for more than a hundred years and was the river which raised to heaven the sons of Sagara, by washing their ashes."[11]

The Ramayana and the Mahābhārata throw further light on the conception of this Goddess. According to Mahābhārata, Gaṅgā is the mother of Bhīṣma (in human form becoming the wife of Sāntanu)[12] and the therefore he is called Gāngeya also. She is also referred as a wife of Siva along with Umā and also the "wife of Ocean".[13] In fact, she is the most completely personified of all the rivers.[14] Again, she is also taken as the mother of Kārtikeya.[15]

The Yamunā, another river Goddess, has it's religious significance too. The Markandeya Purana[16] gives an interesting account of her origin. According to it, Yamunā is the daughter of Sajñā (who was the daughter of Viswakaramā) from the Sun, who cursed her that she would give birth to a fickle river, since she was shy and trembling in meeting him. Sajñā has been mentioned as Surenu, Rajñi, Dhau, Tvastrī, Prabhā and Prajñā also in various Puranas. Yamunā has two brothers namely Yama and Manu from her own mother and had few other step, brothers also. The festival Yama-dvitiya in the month of Kartika is celebrated in the memory of Yama's visit to her sister Yamuna's house on that day even now.

The Yamunā is revered by the Hindus due to her connections with Lord Krishna also. It is on the bank of the Yamunā, Krishna spent his childhood and performed his Rasalila.

Not only this, various authors have put the Yamunā at par with Gaṅgā in the life of Lord Siva also.[17]

We undoubtedly have a number of accounts of their origin but despite that the begining of their worship is shrouded in obscurity. It is lost in oblivion, and therefore, various theories have come forward to account for the conception and evolution of the image of Gaṅgā and Yamunā and their divinity.

About the origin of the cult of these goddesses some scholars look for their prototype in foreign lands. While describing the Nāga-Nāginī figures from Ajanta, Grunwedal observes that "this type may certainly be regarded as derived from West Asian prototypes. It is allied to the creatures with fish tails, that are represented with human bodies; apparently mostly of the female sex-the so called Matsyanaris—'fish girls'. From this type modern Brahman art has evolved the representation of the goddesses Gaṅgā and Jamunā.[18] A.K. Maitra does not accept such presumption which he thinks is baged upon the mere decorative elements in Indian temple architecture taken to be undoubted representations of Ganga and Yamuna. On the other hand, he points out that such a presumption is not supported by any text and

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except Visnu, no Brahman deity was ever conceived as a fish or combination of human being and fish[19]. Rather he suggests that possibly 'Gango-Yamuna' images might have been the outcome of a conception, which embraced a wider field and included in it the image of Varuna, the Lord of Ocean.[20] There is no doubt that in the Gupta period, the two river goddesses are represented in association with Varuna who was an important God in the Rig-veda[21] similar to Rudra, Indra, Pusan, Mitra etc. According to Visnu-dharmottra (III, CH. 52), the Ocean god Varuna should be sculptured as seated in a chariot borne by seven swans of foam like whiteness, bedecked with jewels and accompanied by Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Interestingly, in the Udayagiri cave, near Vidisa in Madhya Pradesh, belonging to the Gupta period, Varunadeva is shown with folded hands, at the same time Ganga and Yamuna are descending on their respective Vāhnas viz. Makara and Kurma. But this God, who is prominent in the Rigveda, could not evolve in to a popular cult and his special worship, as the Lord of waters came to be practically forgotten ; and from the Gupta period 'Varuna continued to occupy a niche on the outer face of the temple but his companion images (Ganga and Yamuna) could be given a more dignified position as guardians at the entrance to temples'.[22]

Such a degradation of a mighty Vedic God is quite interesting to enquire into. We know that Hindu temple architecture took its shape first of all in the post Kushana period or early Gupta period. Prior to this, we had Buddhist rock cut temples and stupas. The emergence of Hindu temple architecture required decoration, designs and motifs, since we find the stupas and chaityas all decorated with flower patterns and demi-gods like Yaksa and Yaksini. The idea of decorating the entrance with Varuna as dikpala and Ganga-Yamuna as guardians must have been taken from Yaksas and Yaksinis serving the same purpose in the stups gateways and elsewhere. It is also natural because Yaksas and Yaksinis are associated with water. They are guardians of lakes. The Yaksinis hang on both sides of the Sanchi gateways. Thus in the fitness of dvara-devtā tradition Gaṅgā and Yamunā were adopted to serve as the guardians of the entrance of the temples. The oldest available images of these goddesses belong to this form, and some critics have taken such representations as proof of the process of admission of a non-vedic Goddess to the orthodox panthion.[23]

According to Sivarammurti, the river Goddess on makara which typifies the Gaṅgā is represented on a slab at Amaravati as early as 2nd cent. A.D. The original slab is now in the British Museum, London.[24] She is very much similar to another figure of the Kushana period which is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan. However in the Kala Bhavan figure Makara is not represented.[25]

Following the description of Nadi-Devatā in the Visnu Dharmottara Purana, which records the traditional concept of river goddesses, there are carvings in Amaravati showing her carrying a Purnakumbha or a vessel brimming with water.[26] The pūrṇakumbha itself

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with lotuses and water is a symbol not only of plenty and *auspiciousness* but also of the river. Therefore instead of depicting river goddesses at certain places the pūrṇakumbhas have also been carved out at the doorways.

The female figure holding a jar in the raised hand appearing on the coin of Nāga King Virasena, has also been taken to represent the emblem of Gaṅgā by some scholars.[27] The emblem, further passed on the to Vakatakas and Pravarsena I issued a number of coins bearing this symbol.[28] The Guptas most probably adopted it from the Vakatakas and it appeared on the tiger slayer type of the coins of Samudragupta.[29] And soon this symbol began to make its appearance in the temples of the Guptas which can be seen at Bhumarā and at Deogarh.[30]

However in the early Gupta age, images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā appear just as guardian deities. The cave temples of Udaigiri hills (Madhya Pradesh) display fine examples of such figures. One of the flanking scene of the Varāha cave shows the descent of Gaṅgā and Yamunā from the heaven and their confluence at Prayāg and the final merging into the Ocean. This outline drawing is based on the relief carved on the left side of the Varaha cave. In the upper part, the celestial regions are represented by a flying Deva and Apsaras dancing and playing on musical instruments. On each side a river is portrayed by undulating lines descending from above. On leaving the heaven, the two streamms are seen in a personified form as two female figures, Gaṅgā standing on crocodiles and Yamuna on tortoise, which in Indian art are their usually accepted emblems. The two rivers then join together and enter the sea where they are received by the God of Ocean, Varuna, who is represented as male figure standing in water below his knees and holding a water vessel, in his hands. The composition of the right side of the niche is similar to this, but the heavens are represented by the Devas alone, the Apsaras being Omitted.[31] This is one of the very few charming symbolic representation in the ancient Indian art in which geography and mythology are blended in a happy and intelligent manner.[32] It is interesting to know that in one of the earliest representations the artist thought it proper to represent the birth of these river dieties ; Gaṅgā and Yamunā. According to V.S. Agrawala, "It is only in Gupta art as in literature of this period that the two rivers make their appearance for the first time in the scheme of the temple architecture and we can not but infer that Kalidasa making a pointed reference to them as attendents of the temple deity is referring to a principle feature of contemporary art."[33] But the place of these gaurdian images was not yet fixed and somewhere it was on the top and at the other on the bottom.[34] A.K. Maitra points out that the deification of Indian river did not stop with the Ganges and the representation of Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Saraswati on their respective vahanas ; makara, tortoise and lotus can be noticed in the sculptural shrine of the sacred rivers attached to the Kailas temple Ellora and Havell thinks that in the seven panels on the architrave above are seven figures probably representing the seven streams fertilising the land of Aryavarta.[35] River Narbadā of Central

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India was only other river which got personified and as at Ellora Saraswati is portrayed on her vehicle, the swan, Narbada as Narmada is represented in a similiar manner in Chedi sculpture from the Bundelkhand area.[36]

In the course of further development Gaṅgā, being supported by the sacred texts, attained independent status as a goddess, whereas Yamunā could not attain such hight. When and where independant worship of Ganga originated and developed is an interesting problem. In the early period, it is definite that for independant worship, she could not get favour either in literature or in art. It is only an outcome of the late medieval art, 'chiefly in the lower Gangetic Plain.'[37] Her worship was given a Tantric form although the legend on which it was based was Purana.[38]

In the Tantrasara, Ganga appears only as dvaradevata and no ritual about her worship is mentioned. The Purascharyārnava (Part III, P. 88) traces it to the Merutantram which lays down the ritual in detail. In the Puranas we have noticed that Ganga is associated with Visnu as well as Siva. Similiarly the mantra[39] calls Gaṅgā, Sivā as well as Nārāyani ; we came across a number of dhyanas of the later period. We do not get any special Yantra-diagram-invented for her worship, rather one already invogue for the worship of Saraswati was recommended to be utilised.[40] No doubt in the dhyānam stress is laid upon the "beauty of form and spirit and upon the recognition of the divinity of Gaṅgā by the Devas."[41] But here we do-not find the quality of Gaṅgā as the purifier of sins which only gets mention in the praṇām-mantra.[42] In this mantra she has been called Sukhadā (the bestower of happiness here) and Mokṣadā (of salvation hereafter) and also the best source of salvation (of Paramgatiḥ). In Gaṅgā people found a real goddess that resided in no imaginary heaven, to be invoked with mystic mantras, and realised only in the abstract.[43] She was on the other hand a "Divine Grace, flowing in a liquid form by the very *door* of the inhabitants-washing away all impurities, scattering abroad cast fertility and offering a natural high way of commerce."[44]

As already said, it was in the Gupta period the Gaṅgā and Yamunā were noticed on the doorways of the temples. The temples at Bhumrā, Nachnā Kuthārā and Deogarh have been provided with the figures of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their doorways. However, the best specimen of Gaṅgā and Yamunā representation of this period was discovered by Shri R.D. Banerji at Dah-Parbatiyā near the town of Tejpur in the Durrang District of Assam.[45] The stone of the gateway is grey sandstone.[46] The right side figure (from the onlooker's side) is Gaṅgā and the left one is Yamunā, standing in elegant dvibhaṅga pose upon their respective vahanas-makara (crocodile) and kurma (tortoise). Gaṅgā on makara and Yamunā on Kurma appear to have been given appropiate vahanas, in accordance with the dhyana of Agnipurana (Ch. 50, V. 16-17). Both Gaṅgā and Yamunā are holding a garland each with both hands in an artistic ease. They are flanked by a number of smaller

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figures evidently the attendants. One is standing with a cāmara in the right or behind Gaṅgā. The attendant to the right front of the Goddess is in half kneeling position with two hands holding an indistinct object. The left side attendant is holding a thing very like a flute in the right hand, while her left hand is in katihasta pose. A Nāgi is found at the right of the halo in a kneeling position. To the left of the halo we find two flying geese pecking at the halo of the Goddess towards the main figure. The image measures 95 cm. in the hight and 27 cm. in the width.[47] As for the image of Yamunā the anatomy of the Goddess is almost the same as that of Gaṅgā. The measurement is naturally identical with that of Gaṅgā discussed above. The attendants here are two as against in the case of Gaṅgā. The front attendant is holding some indistinct object and the back one's lower part is erroded. Here we find an image and two geese on the right and the left side of the Goddess respectively.[48] This door frame of Dah-Parbatiya is exactly of the same type as the early temple at Nachna-Kuthara.[49] But the anatomy of Gaṅgā and Yamunā together with their peculiar characteristics is best illustrated in Dah-Parbatiyā.[50] The Dah-Parbatiyā Gaṅgā-Yamunā must be of the later Gupta period because it is carved on the base of the door-post, where as in the early Gupta period, it is paced in the upper angle.[51] Shri R.D. Banerji places them in the 5th-6th cent. A.D.[52] Another very beautiful door-jambs representing Gaṅgā and Yamunā was discovered from Buxar in Bihar nowpreserved in Indian Museum, Calcutta. Goddess Gaṅgā in the doorjamb from Buxar has been represented standing with an exaggerated bend at the waist facing forwards the left, on her vahana the makara, the mythical monster provided with elephant like trunk raised up. The Goddess has her left hand placed on the waist where as the right hand somewhat raised up holds a fly whisk. A male attendant—a young spirited boy-hold the staff of a parasol over the head of the Goddess, having a nicely arranged coiffure adorned with an ornament on the forehead and a girdle around waist. She puts on a drapery placed over the shoulder and brought in front and then turned behind. There is also a female attendant behind her. A Gandharva is shown flying over with a garland in hand. Yamunā is also represented standing with similiar exaggerated bend at her waist as Gaṅgā. Facing towards the right, she has her left hand placed on the waist and her right hand holding a fly-whisk. She stands on her vahana the tortoise. She is also provided with a spirited boy holding the umbrella over her head. Whereas Gaṅgā from Buxar has a female attendant at her back, Yamuna has a male attendant.[55] A Gandharva figure with garland held in the hands is also shown flying above. The rendering of the Goddess Yamunā bears a striking similiarity with the figure of the Goddess Gaṅgā with the only difference in their vehicles. Had their vehicles been absent, it would have been impossible to suggest if the Goddess so represented could be identified as Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[56]

Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures have been discovered from Ahichhatra also.[57] However, these life-size figures from Ahichhatra are made of terracotta. Originally-these images were installed in niches flanking the main steps leading to the upper terrace of the Siva temple of

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the Gupta period.[58] Here Gaṅgā has been shown on makara as usual. However, unfortunately the crocodiles face is broken. She has been shown almost in moving posture with a pitcher in her upraised right hand. Her right hand which was hanging is broken from wrist. She has been shown in a drapery depicting several folds. This drapery which is saree also covers her breast and is shown intwined with her right hand. She is also bearing ornaments like necklace, bracelets etc. She is shown here with only one female attendant who is carrying the parasol over her head.[59] Unfortunately, the Yamunā figure discovered from this place is in a mutilated condition. Here Yamunā has been shown standing on tortoise as usual. Not only her head, but the hands too are in a broken condition and not intact. She has been provided an attendant like Gaṅgā but attendant's figure is also damaged and the legs are missing. There is no object left in his (?) slightly broken hands.[60]

We have a very nice representation of Gaṅgā on one of the two pillars of this period discovered at the Rahugarh mound of Rajaona, two miles north west of Lakhisarai in Monghyr District.[61] Today the pillars are preserved in the Indian museum, Calcutta. However the museum label mention a wrong find spot.[62] In view of Sri R.D. Banerjee, the figures represented on the pilla s were the nest sculptures of what he termed the Patliputra school of the Gupta art.[63]

In this representation Siva is being approached by the river Goddess Gaṅgā, who is on her Makra Vahana, with an attendent holding a parasol over her head. She is shown kneeling before Lord Siva with her hands in Anjali Mudra. Abovex is a bird bearing a necklace, common to depictions of the river goddess in eastern India but rarely seen outside this region.[64] To the left Śiva is seated in Sukhāsana, attended by three men, two standing and one kneeling The easy pose and elongated torse of the seated Śiva, and of the river Goddess are reminiscent of the elegant Viṣṇu reclining on the coils of Śeṣa illustrated on the south side of the late 5th century or early 6th cent. Deogarh temple. Also related to images of this time are Siva's three attendants, who do not stand passively but lean forward as if animated in the manner of the Ayudhapurusas who accompany the Maniārmath Viṣṇu, and their loosely knotted Śeṣa resemble that of the stucco Viṣṇu himself.[65]

Here Gaṅgā is shown approaching Lord Śiva who is shown seated on a rocky pedestal, as a bridewould timidly approach her newly wedded Lord. She is shown here in mermaid form, but in the pure and complete anthromorphic figure as she is shown on Gupta door-Jambs. She is shown as a nayika, lovingly approaching her beloved one and this is not merely Gaṅgāvataraṇa but Gaṅgāpariṇaya of Siva.[66]

This figure from Rajaona indicated that though the represention of Gaṅgā and Yamunā on the door way had become a characteristic feature of the Gupta Art,[67] it was not confined to the door-way only and she was not only a decorative piece or gaurdian of the

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door-way but was being given the status of a female deity also. She was a female Goddess in her own right now.

Gaṅgā and Yamunā not attracted only the sculptures of the Gupta age. They attracted even the poets and scholors of the age. The dark and silvery beauty of the rivers are greatly appreciated and the confluence of the sacred streams ; Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Prayag is described by Kalidasa in a striking series of metaphors. The rivers come together like a necklace of sapphires and a string of pearls, like a garland of white lotuses and one of the blue lilies. Their confluence brings to mind a row of white swans on the wing against a bank of dark clouds ; or sandal-smeared earth darkened here and there by streaks of sweet-smelling aloe smoke ; or a silvery moonlit land scape broken by dark shadows ; or white autamnal clouds with streaks of blue sky seen through them ; or the ash-smeared body of Siva, adorned with dark reptile ornaments.[68]

The Gaṅgā and Yamunā motif did not remain confined to northern India only. During that very period the Vākātakās adopted the motif in western India also. Gaṅgā who is noticed on their coins also got favour from the sculptors along with Yamunā. Again, they did not remain confined to the Hindus temple only but were also represented on the gateways of the Buddhist caves. Gaṅgā and Yamunā motif is noticed at the top while Nāga and Nāgini motif at the base of Aurangabad caves I and III carved during this period.[69] Again in the entrance hall of the cave no. 6 of Aurangabad (Maharashtra) there is small ante-chamber with two pillars and pilastar whose back walls shows Gaṅgā and Yamunā on either side with the treasured sankha and padma personified below them.[70]

Even in the Elephanta cave the panel of Gaṅgādhara is a very handsome one and is speciallynoteworthy for depicting several apects of Gaṅgā-pouring down on Siva's lock as the triple stream, as the river of celestalls, as the stream following Bhagiratha on earth and as purifying the ashes of sons of Sagara in the netherworld.[71] The three streams of Gaṅgā suggests the Triveni aspect of Gaṅgā confluence with Yamunā and Saraswatī at Prayāg.

At Ellora, on the exterior of Rameshwara temple which is datable in Vakataka age, the image of Goddess Gaṅgā with dwarf attendant is unsurpassed for its grace.[72]

This Gaṅgā-Yamunā motif was carried forward by the Rashtrakutas also in this region. In the cave nos. 6, 14, 16 of Ellora, which shows the Rashtrakuta workmanship of the age, Gaṅgā and Yamunā are noticed. In Kailashnath temple we noticed Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Saraswatī carved out under different niches. Here the rivers are standing on their respective Vahanas i.e. Makara, tortoise and swan and had undoubtedly acquired the status of female deities in their own right. The halo provided to these figures also suggests this indirectly. In the view of Sivarammurti, their presence here indicates that the Kailash temple is almost as holy as Prayag itself.[73]

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Ganga's descent to earth has also been high lighted in the sculptures of Ellora. Here Sage Jāhṇū is shown seated sipping the stream of the Gaṅgā coming out from Śiva's lock who has released her from his locks at the earnest request of Bhagiratha.[74]

One of the western Chalukyan panel of Pattadakal has nicely represented this event. Here the stream and the maiden, representing Gaṅgā, approach Śiva who receives her on his locks and imprisons her there. On the prayers of Bhagirath, who performs severe penance again, the stream of Gaṅgā, is releated once more[75] and she proceeds towards the mountain Himavan hence she flows down and past sage Jahnu's hermitage, where the enraged sage receives her in his Kamandalu and gulps her in a sip. Again on the request of Bhagiratha, she is released through the ear of sage. It is only after this, she could touch the earth.[76] Because Gaṅgā got rebirth from the ear of Jāhnu, she came to be styled Jāhnavi or Jāhnu-tanayā, the "daughter of Jāhnu".

Gaṅgā along with Yamunā is also noticed at Aihole, another important site of western Chalukyan architecture.[77]

Even the eastern Chalukyan used this motif in their temple at Bikkavolu, in modern Andhra Pradesh. In view of Sivaramamurti the Gaṅgā-Yamunā motif at Bikkavolu was used almost as a trophy victory of the Eastern Chalukyan ruler Vijayāditya III over Rastrakuta king Krishna I. The Gaṅgā here is very like that at Pattadakal.[78]

The Gurjara-Pratihara's also used this motif in their temples. In the Harihara temple at Osia in Rajasthan these female deities are noticed on the doorways along with Nāga-Nāgini motif[79] Again in the Ghataśvara temple at Baroli, Śiva is dancing as the principle deity in a niche with Gaṅgā and Yamunā—on either side of the doorway, both on respective vehicles, the makara and kachchapa. Here Ganga who is on right side of Siva, is carrying upwards a water-pet in her left hand and Yamuna, who is on the left side of Siva carries a water-pot on right hand. This 9th cent. representation is one of the best works of Gurjara-Pratihara craftmanship.[80]

The artists of Orissa also represented Gaṅgā and Yamunā on the doorways of their temples. Besides they represented both Gaṅgā and Yamunā seperatedly also. One of the best representations of Gaṅgā from Orissa is in Patna Museum presently.[81] Here Gaṅgā is shown standing on makara in dwibhang attitude. While her left upraised hand is broken, her right hand touches hand of one of the attending females who is shown standing behind her on another fish like animal. Another female who is holding umbrella over Gaṅgā's head is standing behind her on fish. Another female figure is standing on her left side with a lotus like flower upraised in her right hand. On the Ūmbrella, Nandi is shown seated (probably showing her relation with Śiva). In the water, an elephant and thunderbolt are

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noticed. In the sky three rishis, two on her right and one on her left side, has been represented. Two Rajhansas with garland are noticed. Gaṅgā is heavily decked.

In Pāla and Sena period also, we notice Gaṅgā and Yamunā being represented both at the doorways as well as presiding deities. One of the best specimen of this period, on the doorways, is from Masaurhi in the Patna District.[82] Both Gaṅgā and Yamunā can be noticed on the lower portion of the pillars. Here Gaṅgā has been shown standing on a makar a in tribhanga attitude. Her right upraised hand carries a lotus stalk while her left hand has been shown resting on her thigh There is an attendant on her left side. Yamunā, however, hold a pitcher with her both hands and is shown pouring water. Her attendant, carrying umbrella over her head, is on her right side. She is shown on tortoise as usual. Both the deities are shown with beautiful ornaments on their bodys.

We have another doorway pillar of this period from Belwa in Saran District.[83] In the lower portion of the pillars a temple design has been carved within which a big niche is noticed. In one of the pillars Gaṅgă is shown standing on a makara in the tribhanga attitude. Her left upraised hand carries some indistinct object while her right hand, which is shown hanging, carries a lotus-stalk No attendant is noticed with Gaṅgā here. Yamunā, who is also without any a attendant is shown standing over a tortoise. Her raised right hand carries a Kalasa while hanging left hand carries a lotus stalk.

One of the best representations of this period is from Bengal presently preserved in the National museum, New Delhi.[84] Here well ornamented Gaṅgā is shown standing under Kalpa-Vriksha or wish fulfilling tree which is the symbol of heaven. She is carrying a pot with both her hands. Here pitcher, as usual, indicates prosperity through abundance of water. This sculpture is dated in the 12th century A.D.

Another interesting image of Ganga is reported inside the temple of Jasoreśvari in Isvaripur of the Khulna district of old Bengal.[85] In this image, the standing Goddess, probably carrying a garland, with both her hands is attended by Nāga-Nāginis, while Nāga holds an umbrella over her head, Nāgini holds a vase (ghata). Gaṅgā is on Makara as usual. On the upper portion of stela the flying Gandharavas are noticed.

This image indicates Gaṅgā's relationship with Nāga-Nāgini, a theory put forward by Grunwedal. A Hoysala temple of Tri-purantaka, at Balagamve (Mysore) also indicates their attatchment[86] on the elaborate entrance there is an exquisitely carved Nāga couple, entwined in coils on the pierced screen. The Nāgas are flanked by the two Goddesses. One under a celestial tree and the other under a celestial creeper, obviously they are Gaṅgā and Yamunā without their veichles. Not only this, in a Śiva temple at Pali, near Sagar in M.P, belonging to the 10th-11th century A.D. Gaṅgā has been provided Nāga Chatra.

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Gaṅgā has been represented as a wife of Siva even in the Chola art. We have a nice representation of Gaṅgā along with Siva and Parvati in the Siva temple at Gangaikenda-cholapuram.[87] The central panel in the niche shows Siva appeasing Parvati, who is vexed with him, and consequently turned her face away, distressed at the prospect of a co-wife in the Gaṅgā, who had settled on the locks of Śiva. This event is also refferred by Visakhadatta in his famous play Mudrarakshasa.

Not only Gaṅgā, later on, Yamunā also became a co-wife of Śiva. We have a representation of this type of image discovered at the Dual at Churain, about three miles south of Rampal. (?) Unfortunately the upper portion of this image is broken. According to Bhattasali, the image must not have been less than the six feet in height when entire.[88] The portion that remains, measure 4 ft. in breadth and contain the bull and the vehicles of the two wives of Siva with a pair of feet on the back of each, and some other minor figures below them. It should be noted that dolphin, the vehicle of Gaṅgā, is depicted to the proper right of the bull. This shows that the right side of the God was occupied by Gaṅgā on her dolphin and not by Gauri on her Lion, as in foregoing images of Natraja. The Goddess that stood, on the proper left of Natraja had a tortoise as her vehicle. This must be a representation of Yamuna, though earth Goddess is also reffered with tortoise as her vehicle.

Ratnakara also has dealt this event in his work Harivijaya. Rathakara describes the tinge of the blue throat of Siva as the embrace of the blue stream of Yamunā on the neck, as if to assert her right to an equal place in the Lord's affection like Gaṅgā herself, bringing in the jealousy of another co-wife to disturb the already disturbed domestic peace : ('Yasyānurāgavaśatas sphupakālakūtachhāyāchhalena kṛitakeliakāchāvamardam irsyānu-bandhakulasam prasamikshya gaṅgām ālingi to yamunayeva bibhāti kāṇṭhaḥ."[89]

Shankara also attributes it only to the kindness of Siva that He almost accedes to the request of Yamunā to accept her a also, on his locks, like Gaṅgā. This is a fancy. Śiva's jata, half off which is a dark braid in his Ardhanarishwara form, creates an illusion as to whether kind-hearted, he had granted the prayer of Yamunā to hold her up also, like Gaṅgā, on his locks. Again it is interesting to note that in a Combodian representation of Nataraja's dance, Gaṅgā is shown spurting up and sporting her way down in two streams as if to represent Gaṅgā and Yamunā in spate.[90] We have two representations of Gaṅgā and Yamunā from Mithila region of Bihar also. The representation of Gaṅgā and Yamunā on the door-jambs of the ruined temple of Surya at Kamaladityashana, Andhara-Tharhi, district Madhubani [91] The moulding of the feminine beauty in the bodies is sensitive as well as sesueus. On both the faces seductive smile can be seen, which is characteristic of the art of Mithila in the later periods Here the figure of Yamunā is shown standing on a Kurma within trefoiled arch. The figure of Dandi is adjacent to it, whereas the figure of Gaṅgā is shown with two figures viz. a Ghauribearer and Pingala with beards,

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We have another Gaṅgā, Yamunā representations of this very style from a Visnu temple built by King Nanyadeva's minister Shridhara in Circa 10th-11th cent. A.D.[92]

Representation of Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, who are connected with Lord Surya, with Gaṅgā and Yamunā in the art of Mithila, makes these representations unique. Most probably, the artists of this region wanted to show Yamunā's relationship with Surya and therefore Daṇḍi and Piṅgala, who are originally attendants of Lord Surya, are represented with his daughter Yamunā. However, in the view of some, the person who is generally called Dandi is a representation of Yama, one of the sons of the Sun-God.[93] Not only this Yamunā herself has been called Pingala in certain texts.[94] Thus we see that both Daṇḍa and Pingala are connected with Yamunā.

However, according to another view, the person who is identified as Daṇḍa or Daṇḍi is Skanda or Kartikeya himself and the person who is identified as Pingala is Agni, engaged in recording the good and the evil deeds of people and called Pingala because of his pingala or tawny colour.[95] If we identify those figures with Skanda and Agni, they may have been represented here due to their relationship with Gaṅgā.[96]

Thus we see that representations of Gaṅgā-Yamunā which started in the early centuries continued almost in whole India till the 12th cent. A.D. Not only this, even today Gaṅgā is taken as a mother-Goddess and Sangam of Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Saraswatī attracts lakhs of people. Not only this, a temple of Gaṅgā has been constructed at the Dasashvamedha Ghat of Varanasi few years age clearly indicating its popularity.

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24

A Controversial Buddhist Tantrik deity : Trailokya-Vijaya vis-a-vis Saṁbara

—*Shashi Asthana*

Buddhist art, which flourished during the early centuries of the Christian era, was mainly the contribution of the Mahāyāna It was a very simple affair where Buddha and his associates were depicted in normal human form. However, with the development of Vajrayāna, some six hundred years later, the Buddhist art turned into a very complicated affair. This Tantrik sect contributed to the evolution of a multiplicity of iconographic types A number of deities with multiheads and multiarms carrying a variety of attributes, creating a lot of rituals around them, were made associated with the Dhyānī Buddhas and thus added to the Buddhist pantheon. It is now common knowledge that the Buddhists adopted several concepts and iconographical features from the existing Hindu gods and goddesses. The Buddhist goddess 'Mārichi', the goddess of dawn, was, for example, inspired by the Sun god of the Hindus, Sūrya, while the idea of Trailokya-Vijaya came probably from Tripurāṅtaka, a form of lord Śiva. Some of them were evolved to show the superiority and dominance of Buddhism over Hinduism as a number of Hindu gods and goddesses were shown being trempled under the feet of Buddhist deities, e.g., Gaṇeśa under the feet of Aparājita, Pārvatī and Śiva under the feet of Trailokya-Vijaya, Bhairava and Kālarātri under the feet of Saṁbara.

This Tantrayāna form of Buddhism flourished in Eastern India in Medieval period which resulted in the origin of a large number of stone and bronze Tantrtk images. From the middle of the 8th to the 12th century A.D , during the reign of the Palas, who were the staunch follower of Tantrik Buddhism, Bengal, Bihar, and parts of Orissa were flooded with these images forming a group of Eastern Medieval School.

The *Sādhanamālā* text is the most valuable source to the Buddhist iconography of the Vajryāna sect. It contains description of numerous Buddhist deities. Besides this, *Dharma-koṣasaṅgraha* of Amṛtānanda and *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Mahaṛandita Abhayakar Gupta of

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Vikramśilā monastery are the two works which throw a great deal of light on this obscure path of Buddhism.

Normally the sculptors used the prescribed textual material for the iconography of the particular images. But sometime he slightly changed the features due to the regional variations, introduced in the local literature.

All the Dhyani Buddhas have a number of emanations around them. Here we are concerned with two specific emanations of Dhyani Buddha Akshobhya : Trailokya Vijaya and Saṁbara.

The National Museum has two unique images, one in stone and the other in bronze, related to these deities.

1. The stone image (Fig. 1), of three faced and twelve armed male Buddhist deity, is standing in *ālīḍha*. He is trampling with his right foot on a two armed emaciated female deity holding skull cup in left hand and kartarī in right hand and also on a four armed pot-bellied male deity holding the trident, rosary and *damarū*, lying under his left foot on the double lotus pedestal. The main image is in *vajra-huṁkāra mudrā*, holding bell (*ghaṇṭā*) and thunderbolt (*vajra*) crossing each other against the chest. His first pair of hands is holding the elephant hide over the head. In the remaining four right hands he holds the *ḍamarū*, *triśūla kartri* and *paraśu*. The four left hands show the *pāśa* (noose), three *naramuṇḍa*, a skull cup and *khaṭwānga* resting against the shoulder. He is wearing a *muṇḍamālā* and a girdle with chained bells around the waist, ear rings, necklace, bangles, anklets, etc. The main face is, however, chopped off. The two side faces have the third eye on the forehead. Two garland bearers stand on either side, on the top. Below the lotus pedestal, the floral scroll is flanked by two devotees on right and two votive stupas on left. Flames are spreading all over. The sculpture comes from Orissa and is dated to 11th century A.D. It measures 92 × 50 cms. (Acc. No. 60.1142).

2. This bronze image (Fig. 2) is four faced and twelve armed standing in *ālīḍha* posture with consort in yab-yum posture. The main pair of hands is in *vajra-huṁkāra mudrā*, holding the bell and thunderbolt, crossing at the back of the consort. The upper pair of hands holds the elephant hide. The elephant is shown at the back. In remaining four right hands, he carries *ḍamarū*, *battle axe*, *kartrī* and *triśūla* and in left hands he holds the *khaṭwāṅga*, skull cup, *naramuṇḍa* and *pāśa*. The third eye adorns all the four faces. The crescent is at the top left of the head. A *viśva-vajra* rests on the headdress He is clad in tiger skin. He is wearing a *muṇḍamālā* and trampling on the breast of two armed female goddesses holding *kartri* in right and skul cup in the left and on the back of a two armed male god holding skull cup and some indistinct object. They are lying on the double lotus pedestal. His two armed naked consort is in tight embrace with her consort.

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Her right leg, around his waist, rests on his left thigh while the left leg firmly placed at the back of the male deity. Her hands are around his neck, the right hand, partly broken, holds the skull cup and the left hand is broken and lost. She is wearing a necklace of skulls. A lion figure is engraved on the back of the elephant. This image also comes from Orissa and is datable to 13th-14th century. Its size is 12 × 8.4 cms. (Acc. No. 82.221).

Before we enter into the discussion related to the identification of the deity, it is worth comparing both the images. The two images are very similar except for a major difference and a few minor ones. Both are twelve armed carrying the same attributes, standing in *ālīḍha* posture, trampling on Bhairava and Kālarātri. Both are in *vajra-huṁkāra* mudrā. The major difference lies in the fact that the stone image does not have consort alongwith him while the bronze image has. The minor differences include the lack of *viśva-vajra* on head, crescent on head, tiger skin and the change in attributes, of the male deity under the feet of Buddhist god in stone image. The bronze image is four headed while the stone image is three headed. It may be observed that as the stone image is carved against a stele, it was not possible for the sculptor to carve the back head while the bronze image is in round. Secondly, as the main face with headdress is damaged we cannot ascertain wheather the crescent *viśva-vajra* existed there or not. By and large, these images belong to the same deity.

Both these images have so far been identified as Trailokya-Vijaya, an emanation of Dhyani Buddha Akshobhaya. He is the subduer of the three worlds. The similar concept exists in the form of Tripurāṅtaka in Śaivism. According to Sādhanamālā. Trailokya-Vijaya images should be fashioned in the following manner : Trailokya-Vijaya of blue colour, four and eight armed. His first face displays the sentiment of wrathful passion, the right rage, the left disgust and the face behind the sentiment of heroism. He is in *'vajra-huṁkāra mudrā* with two hands holding bell and thunderbolt against the chest. He carries in his three right hands the *khaṭwāṅga*, the goad and the arrow and in the three left the bow, the noose, and the *vajra*. He stands in the *pratyālīḍha* posture, tramples upon the head of Maheśwara with his left leg, while the right presses upon the bosom of Gaurī. He wears garment of variegated colours and many ornaments and garlands assigned to the Buddhas.

On comparison our images do not tally with this textual reference. Let us compare them in detail with the Trailokya-Vijaya iconography.

Similar features :

1. *Vajra huṁkāra mudrā*, holding bell and thunderbolt in the hands.
2. *Khaṭwāṅga* and *pāśa* (noose) holding in the hands as attributes.
3. Having four heads.
4. Trampling on Śaivite deities.
5. Flames spreading all over.

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Dissimilar features :

1. These images have twelve arms while Trailokya-Vijaya is mentioned as eight armed.
2. They stand in *ālīḍha* posture while Trailikya-Vijaya stands in *Pratyālīḍha*.
3. They hold the elephant skin in their upper pair of hands which Trailokya-Vijaya never does.
4. *Ḍamarū, triśūla, paraśu kartri, naramuṇḍa* and skull cup, which they carry in their hands have never been the attributes of Trailokya-Vijaya.
5. They wear garland of skulls while Trailokya-Vijaya wears the garland of Buddha images.
6. The deity on which they are trampling are not the Maheśvara and Pārvatī which are the *vahānas* of Trailokya-Vijaya : they are Bhairava and Kālarātri.
7. The bronze image is with the consort in *yab-yum* pose which is not the case with Trailokya-Vijaya.
8. The bronze image wears the crescent and *viśva vajra* on the head. These are not the characteristic attributes of Trailokya-Vijaya.

On detailed study it is concluded that these images do not fall under the category of Buddhist deity Trailokya-Vijaya. There is not a single reference where this god holds the elephant skin and the attributes mentioned above in the twelve hands. No twelve armed Trailokya-Vijaya is mentioned so far. Probably their *vajra-huṁkāra mudrā* holding bell and thunderbolt and their trampling on Śaivite deities made scholars identify these images as Trailokya-Vijaya. Here it may be mentioned that a number of Buddhist deities are in *vajra huṁkāra mudrā* like *vajra huṁkāra* itself. Thus these images are not the images of Trailokya-Vijaya. These are closer to another Buddhist deity known as Saṁbara, a form of Heruka. It was also a very popular deity of the Buddhist pantheon and a regular Tantra, titled as Heruka Tantra is devoted to his worship. He is also an emanation of Dhyānī Buddha Akshobhya when he is *yab-yum* pose, with the prañjā, he is generally known as Hevajra but sometimes as Saṁbara also. There is not any clear cut demarcation between these two. Saṁbara is well known in Nepal and Tibet but in India his representation is very rare. Many of his forms are described in the *Sādhanamāla* and in the *Niṣpannāyogavalī* text.

One *Sādhana* only in the *Sādhanamālā* describes the procedure for the worship of one faced and two armed Saṁbara.

In the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* another form of Saṁbara with four faces and twelve arms, is mentioned. This form of Saṁbara is more relevant to our study. He is the principal god of the Saṁbara Maṇḍala of the Niṣpannāyogavalī. The śakti of Saṁbara is Vajra Vārāhī.

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"Bhagavan.....Bhairavakalaratrya validhacarana bhyām ākrāntaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ Kṛṣṇaharitaraktapita pūrvottarādi caturmukhah.....vyāghracharmambaro, Dvāduśa-bhujaḥ savajra vajrahgaṇtabhujayugmalingita.....Vajravarahiko bhujābhyam..... Saraktaprasrtag ıjacarmadharah tadaparih damaru paraśu kartri trisulani, vibhrat, vāmair, vajranikita khaṭvanga raktapuritakapalam vajrapāśam, Brahmasiraśca.....vamavarti-tordhachandra visvavajrakranta Krishna jata mukuto navanat yarasarāsih."

Niṣpannayogāvali

"God (Saṁbara) stands in Ālīḍha posture on the prostrate forms of Bhairava and Kālarātri. He is blue in colour and his four faces on the east, south, west and north are blue, green, red and yellow in colour.....clad in tiger skin. He is twelve armed. With the two principal hands carrying the vajra and vajra marked bell he embraces his śakti Vajravārāhī. With the second pair he carries the elephant skin from which the blood trickless down. In the remaining four right hands he holds the *ḍamarū*, the axe, the *kartri* and the trident. The four left hands show the *vajra* marked *khaṭwāṅga*, the skull cup full of flood, the *vajra* marked noose and the severed head of Brahmā crescent and viśvavajra on head ....He displays in full the nine dramatic sentiments."

While going through this text and looking at our images we could make out that the sculptors had used this text for making these images. The bronze image fully tallys with this textual reference of *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. He is four faced, each one with third eye, twelve armed, carrying *vajra* and bell in main hands, elephant hide in the upper pair of hands *ḍamarū*, battle axe, *kartri* and trident in right hands and *khaṭwāṅga*, skull cup, *naramuṇḍa* and noose in left hands. He is in the tight embrace of naked Vajravārāhī holding skull cup. He stands in *ālīḍha* pose, trampling on Bhairave and Kālarātri. He has creseent and *viśvavajra* on head. He is clad in tiger skin. All these details of bronze image are according to the text of *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Thus, there is not a single feature in this bronze which is not related to Saṁbara. A similar Nepalese bronze of Saṁbara ii published by Pal (1974 : pl. 283) in *The Art of Nepal*.

The stone image creates some confusion in indentification, as there the consort *vajravārāhī* is missing which is the main feature of Saṁbara. However, as all the features are common to this deity, we are sure that he is not Trailokya-Vijaya at least, and that he belongs to the Saṁbara group. A similar Kashmiri bronze is published by Pal (1975 : Pl. 64 a-b) also. A similar image in bronze is housed in Indian Museum, Calcutta (I.M. No. 4552) and is published by R.D. Banerji (1981 : 93, pl. XXXVIIC). He keeps it in the group of Trailokya-Vijaya and Mahākāla. Because of its *vajra-huṁkāra mudrā* and trampling on Śaivite deities he classifies it under the category of Trailokyā-Vijaya. But as he holds the elephant hide and wears elephant hide and muṇḍamālā. Banerji keeps it in the group of Mahākāla. However, the iconographic features of this image also reveal the identity of this image as Saṁbara as he holds the elephants hide, wheel (?), battle axe, skull cup, snake, human head, *khaṭwāṅga*,

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thunderbolt, probably the bell also, in left hands. He is four faced and twelve armed. As all the attributes are same and tally with the Saṁbara of *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, undoubtedly this image also belongs to Saṁbara group. Another stone image of the same god, similar to the National Museum scultpture, comes from Nalanda, which belongs to 9th century. It is housed in the Indian Museum and published by N.N. Bhattacharya, (1979 : 90). It has three heads and twelve arms of which two are crossed on the chest, holding a thunderbolt and bell in *vajra huṁkāra* mudrā. He is standing in ālīḍha pose, his heads bear matted hair. The front head has three eyes. He holds *khaṭwānga*, skull cap, Brahma's head, etc. The unique feature includes the representation of a female figure, identified as Vajravārāhī, on the top of the head which is repeated thrice below, between the legs of the central figure. This clearly shows that the regional variations did occur and therefore, we do not get the images which fully tally with textual references. Thus the stone image of the National Museum may also be a form of Saṁbara. As the images of Saṁbara are rarely found in India, these are the valuable additions to the National Museum collection.

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25

"Bihar's Contributions in the Development of the Buddhist Art and Architecture."

—Ajit Kumar Prasad

Although Lord *Buddha* was born at *Lumbinivana* in Nepal, he got enlightenment at Bodh Gaya. The ancient towns of *Vaiśālī*, Pāṭaliputra, Rājagṛha and Champā are closely associated with the Lord. The Master had spent many valuable years of his life in different places of Bihar. The head of the Lichchhavī clan and the kings of Magadha namely Bimbisāra and Ajātśatru were great devotees of the Tathāgata. There was a quarrel for the ashes of the Lord among his devotee-principalities. Peace by made by dividing the portion of ashes of the Lord into eight parts, for each of the contestants. These eight principalities are said to have constructed *stūpas* to contain the relics of the Master in their respective localities.

The archaeological excavations at Vaiśālī (district of Vaishali) have brought to light the remains of one of these eight *stūpas*. It is a mud *stūpa*. The probable height of the *stūpa* is about 1.32 m. including its *harmikā*. The diameter of the *stūpa* is 8.08 m. The relic casket of soapstone containing the relic (ashes) of the Master has been discovered from the core of the *stūpa*. It is known from the Chinese pilgrim that the *stūpa* was opened atleast twice, by Aśoka and later by Kaṅishka. The cash coin the casket may have belonged to the time of Kanishka. The *stūpa* contains four holy platforms at all the four cardinal points like the *stūpas* of the Andhra region (during the Ist or 2nd century A.D.). This is regarded as the main characteristic feature of the South Indian *stūpas*. The above evidence of Vaiśālī clearly indicates that the architect of South India had derived the idea of constructing platform on all the four cardinal points of *stūpas* most probably from Vaiśālī.

The remains of Sāririka and Pāribhogika *stūpas* of the pre-Christian era have been brought to light in course of archaeological diggings at Vaiśālī. These two are the earliest examples of such varieties of *stūpas*.

In 1915-16 Mr. Spooner took excavation works at Badi Pahari, in Patna. He exposed the remains of the spoked-wheel *stūpa*. The inner circular wall of the *stūpa* was made like

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the central hub, around which the other short walls were arranged like spokes of a wheel. The association of stone pieces which contained Mauryan polish, with the spoked wheel *stūpa* indicates that the *stūpa* in question was constructed during the Mauryan period. The origin of the South Indian spoked wheel *stūpa* may be traced from here. It may be regarded as a valuable contribution of Bihar in the development of the Buddhist *stūpa* architecture of the succeeding periods.

The excavations of Nandan Garh (West Champaran district) have brought to light the remains of the stepped brick *stūpa*. On plan, it is star shaped. Its height in the ruined condition is 2 | 38 m There are platforms, one upon other. The first step is the largest whereas the fifth step is the smallest. Thus, the width of the *stūpa* diminishes with its rise in the height. The date of the *stūpa* was assigned by its excavator (Mazumdar) to the 2nd-Ist century B C. Thus, it is the first example of the terraced *stūpa* in the world. We find the culmination of such a type of stupas at Vikramaśīla in Bihar, Paharpur in Bangladesh and Borobudur in Java in the 8th century A.D. The art of constructing terraced *stūpa* may be regarded as one of the main important contributions of Bihar in the development of *stūpa* architecture.

The stone railings were constructed at Bodh Gaya, Sāñchī and Bhārhut during the Śuṅga period. A few pieces of stone railings were also discovered at Pāṭaliputra by Mr. Waddell. These are now housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. These are primitive in appearance. The cross-bars of the railing are rectangular and the upright pillars have very small morticed sockets, like an ordinary wood. On the other hand, the upright pillars of stone railings at Bodh Gaya, Sāñchī and Bhārhut have large sockets. It shows definite advancement of the art from the stone railings of Pāṭaliputra. The stone railings of Pāṭaliputra are sculptured on the front side only whereas the backs are rough and plain. The stone railings of Sāñchī, Bhārhut and Bodh Gaya are finished on both the sides It definitely demonstrates the evolution in the art of making stone railings from Pāṭaliputra. The sculptures represented on the railings of Pāṭaliputra are more closer to the Mauryan art pieces. On the basis of the present evidences it can be said that Pāṭaliputra had witnessed the earliest Buddhist stone-railing making activity in India.

The excavations at Kumrahar has yielded the earliest remains of burnt brick monastery in India. It belongs to the Śuṅga period. It consists of two or three small rooms with a *varandah* in front of rooms. The monastery is further enlarged and improved during the Kuṣāṇa period.

Bihar has also witnessed the earliest activities of making rock cut caves. The examples of rock cut caves have been found at Barabar and Nagarjuni and Sitamarhi in Gaya and Nawadah districts respectively. They belong to the Mauryan period because all caves bear typical Mauryan polish on their interior walls. The Sudāmā cave of Barabar is apsidal in

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plan. The excavators of the gigantic rock cut caves of Bhājā, Ajanta, Ellora Koṇḍane, Bāgh, Kārle, etc. might have got inspiration from the rock cut caves of Bihar. Thus it can be said that Bihar has made a definite contribution in the development of rock-cut cave architecture in the succeeding periods.

In 1897 Mr. P.C. Mukherji found the earliest remains of ourn brick *Chaitya-gṛha* like structure of the Mauryan period at Navaratanapur (in Patna town). In plan the structure is rectangular in the outside and oval in the inside. It might have paved the way for the evolution of *Chaityagṛhas* of the later periods.

Śālabhañjikā is represented on the stone railings at Bhārhut, Sāñchī and Bodh Gaya and a few independent images of Śālabhañjikā have been found from several places and are housed in different museums. Two images of Śālabhañjikā have been found at Patna, one from Naya Tola and another from Rajendra Nagara. Though the image of Śālabhañjikā discovered at Rajendra Nagara does not bear the Mauryan lustre, it definitely bears smoothness and faint traces of the Mauryan polish. Stylistically it is nearer to the Mauryan sculptures than to the Śuṅga period. It is high a relief sculptural piece, whereas the Śālabhañjikās of Bhārhut and Sāñchī are shallow and flat. The Rajendra Nagara Śālabhañjikā is a bifacial figure. The young lady having bulging breasts, hip and narrow waist, is holding a branch of a *Śāla* tree with her upraised hand while the other hand is placed around the trunk of the tree. She is wearing ear-rings, necklace (of beads), bangles etc. on her body. This image seems to be the earliest representation of Śālabhañjikā in the art of India. Thus, the Śālabhañjikā image was carved in ancient Pāṭaliputra for the first time. This fact is further corroborated by the *Aṣṭādhyāyi* of Pāṇini who mentions about the festival of Śālabhañjikā during the life time of Gautama Buddha in the city of Pāṭaliputra.

On the basis of the above mentioned evidences, it can be said that the architects and sculptors of Bihar made valuable contributions in the development of the Buddhist art and architecture of the succeeding periods.

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26

Terracotta Sealings and Stupas from Village Dharāwat, Dist., Gayā

—Hari Kishore Prasad

'Dharāwat' is a village in the district of Gayā in Bihār and is at a distance of about 8 Killometers North-West to the Barābar Hills. It is a Budhist site whose ruins were first noticed by Major Kittoe in 1847. Later, Mr. Cunningham visited this site in 1862 and again in 1880. Mr. Begler also appears to have visited this site, as early as, in the year 1872-73. Mr. Grierson also speaks about this Buddhist site in about 1900 A.D.[1]

This village Dharâwat[2] had big mounds all around it. Major Kittoe had noticed a high mound of bricks and rubbish close to the south and south-east to that village. This might perhaps be the ruins of a monastery, known to the local legends as 'Guṇamati'—monastery of the Buddhist tradition and Cunningham finally had identified this high mound with that of the above Guṇamati-monastery. As the tradition goes, Mādhava was a well known exponent of Śānkhya-philosophy; but he had been defeated here at this Buddhist site by Guṇamati, the famous Buddhist teacher from South India. It is said that Rājā Chandrasena, the local king had built a monastery at Dharāwat in honour of this victory of Guṇamati over Mādhava, the Shankhya Philosopher. This monastery, as the legend goes, belonged to the 5th-6th Century A.D., but the present finds discovered by the author in the year 1954 from the mound may also place the mound to much later date, as late as that of the Pāla-period.

The above monastery, forming the shape of a big mound, was laying burried very terribly under the impact of Earth and bricks of the later building structure as ruins.

The village people had gradually and slowly started robbing this site by taking away Earth and bricks for their domestic purposes and for laying their building structures and, during the course of these robbings, it is said that some terracotta votive stupas and terracotta sealings had been discovered. According to Cunningham,[3] near the afore-said mound, had been found two interesting terracotta-seals beside a damaged clay-stupa, discovered from the

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same mound. Of them, a larger one contained a representation of a stupa, with an inscription below, reading "Tathāgatasya Buddhasya" (i.e. of Tathagata Buddha). The other smaller seal is almost similar, but the words of the inscription on it, are reversed and read only "Buddha." From the character of the inscription on these seals, Cunningham had assigned the above-mentioned clay-stupa to C 4th. Century A.D. These two seals probably are now in the Indian Museum, Calcuttā.[4]

No scientific excavation work, however, was done on this mound and it was left to be disturbed and ruined by the diggings of the villagers in the subsequent years also. The villagers continued looting away Earth and the bricks of the later period structure over this mound, for their own domestic use.

As late as in the year 1954, Sri S.A. Shere, the then Curator of the Patna Museum, on getting information that quite a good many terracotta-objects were being discovered by the village-folk near a mound of that village (Dharāwat) and that the same were being destroyed by those villagers on account of their ignorance about the importance of such finds, I was asked by him to proceed to Dharāwat to make a spot-study of the above site and also to do a trial digging of the mound there. I immediately rushed on to the site and, after studying the various mounds all over the village, I selected one big mound to make a trial digging there. When a small part of the said mound was exposed partially with the help of the local labourers over there, I started getting in large numbers of terracotta-stupas (which are votive stupas) and also quite a large numbe of terracotta-sealings, besides two bricks and in all they totalled 188 (most of them were broken and damaged), which I collected and brought them to Patnā Museum. After minute examination and study of these finds, only 18 out of 188 were selected for being retained in the Patnā Museum and the rest were discarded. Those which are kept in the Patnā Museum may be classified in the following categories :

(1) Terracotta-Sealings showing figure of Buddha, Bodhisattva and Tārā and containing Buddhist creed-inscriptions.

(2) Terracotta-Sealings showing votive stupas and Buddhist creed-inscriptions engraved just below the stupas.

(3) Terracotta votive stupas[5] (in intact condition) which are supposed to contain inside, the Buddhist creed-inscriptions engraved on a small terracotta-seal-tablet and affixed to each of them.

(4) Terracotta votive stupas (broken parts), each containing inside a small terracotta-seal-tablet, having the Buddhist creed-inscriptions.

(5) A few are just terracotta-seal-tablets, containing the Buddhist creed-inscriptions.

Now, some of the important objects of the above category of finds are being described below for the general information to the world of scholars :—

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(1) *Arch. No. 10784 :*—Terracotta elliptical sealing (having a small handle like projection below for holding the sealing), showing figure of Buddha seated in Vajrāsana-pose on a lotus-pedestal and reclining against a high-backed throne, depicting figure of two lions (one on either side) below with his hands displayed in Dharmachakra Pravartana-mudrā; Buddhist creed-inscriptions are seen engraved around the sealing; Size : 8.4 cm ×5 cm. (vide : Plate I).

(2) *Arch. No. 10796 :*—Terracotta rectangular sealing, showing figure of Buddha seated inside the niche in Vajrāsana pose on a lotus pedestal and reclining against a high backed throw depicting figures of two lions (one on either side) below with his hands displayed in Dharmachakra Pravartana Mudrā. Inscriptions (Buddhist-creed) are seen carved around the sealing : Size : 9 cm. × 7.3 cm. (vide Plate II).

(3) *Arch. No. 10802 :*—Terracotta elliptical sealing, showing the figure of a Bodhisattva (probably Manju Sri) seated on a double -petalled-lotus in Lalitāsana-pose with his right leg (which is partly damaged near the knee) dangling down with foot resting on a small lotus; his right hand is shown in varada-mudrā and the left hand is holding a Scpetre-like object to which a fillet (?) is seen tied and a book (*!*) is seen placed of its top; oval halo is seen round his head; inscriptions (Buddhist-creed) are also seen engraved around the sealing : Size : 6½ cm. × 5 cm. (vide Plate III).

(4) *Arch. No. 10797 :*—Terracotta elliptical sealing (some parts broken and damaged and some portions also missing) showing Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara seated on a double-petalled lotus in Lalitāsana-pose with his left leg dangling down and foot resting on a small lotus; his left hand is holding the stem of a flower and the right hand is broken from the elbow (but there are traces of the fingers and the palm of the right hand displayed in Varada mudrā); wearing ornaments; portions round about the abdomen are broken and some of the portions are missing and the left hand near the elbow is also damaged; his head is slightly bent towards his right side; inscriptions (Buddhist-cre d) are also seen engraved on the sealing; Size : 9 cm. × 6 cm. (vide Plate IV).

5. *Arch. No. 10800 :*—Terracotta elliptical sealing (top-portion broken), having curved wavy designs made on its edge-portions and showing figure of four-handed Bodhisattva (probably Vajrasattva Bodhisattva[6]), standing in the Pratyālidha-attitude, with his right leg slightly outstretched and bent from the knee; in his upper right hand, he holds a Vajra and in the lower right hand, he is holding a Sword, which is raised upwards; his upper left hands holds a noose hanging low and his lower left hand is placed near his chest with his fore-finger raised upwards; the Buddhist creed-inscriptions are seen engraved around the sealing : Size ; 8.7 cm. × 6 cm. (vide; Plate V).

6. *Arch. No. 10786 :*—Terracotta elliptical sealing (with handle-like projection below for holding the sealing), showing the standing figure of 'Tārā' in Tribhanga-attitude, with her

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right hand displayed in Varada-mudrā in an artistic manner and the left hand hold the stalk of a flower going upwards; some flowery designs having some inscriptions at its top-part appear on her right side; on her right side below is seen a pot-bellied male-figure, holding a sword in his right hand and the left hand is placed near his chest and on her left side below is seen a standing female-figure with her left hand akimbo and her right hand is displayed in an artistic manner : Size : 10 cm. × 5½ cm. (vide Plate VI).

7. *Arch. No. 10808* :—Terracotta elliptical sealing showing a votive stupa with umbrella-type Hermikā at upper portion and inscriptions (Buddhist creed) in four lines are seen engraved just below the stupa : Size : 6½ cm. × 4.3 cm. (vide Plate VII).

8. *Arch. No. 10807* ;—Terracotta votive stupa (Broken, half portion only) inside which can be seen affixed a small terracotta seal-tablet, consisting of five-lined inscriptions (the Buddhist creed); Size : 6.2 cm. × 5 cm. (vide : Plate VIII).

9. *Arch. No. 10787* :—Terracotta votive stupa (intact) Height : 6½ cm. Base : Dia : 3½ cm. (vide : Plate IX).

10. *Arch. No. 10812 & 10810* :—Two terracotta round sealing, showing five-lined inscriptions (Buddhist creed) in one and six lined inscriptions (Buddhist creed) in the other : Size : (1) Dia 2 cm. and (2) 2.3 cm. (vide Plate X).

The above terracotta sealings and stupas from village Dharāwat, Dist. Gayā of Bihār may be placed in the Pāla-period (9th-10th cent. A.D.) on the basis of the pala-eographical traits and character of the inscriptions, which appear on these finds as-well-as on the basis of the artistic excellence of the images which are depicted on the sealings.

What was the purpose of issuing such terracotta sealings and stupas is not clear. To my mind, these might have been made as votive objects; because the inscriptions, which appear on them, are just the Buddhist creed and this definitely explains them as being votive objects connected with Lord Buddha.

REFERENCES

1. Cf. "*The Antiquarian remains in Bihar*" by DR. D.R. Patil 1963, pp. 115 & 119.

2. This place 'Dharāwat' was probably also known in the ancient times as 'Dharmapura' or 'Dharmapuri', 'Kanchanapura' and 'Dharmavar' (Vide : Ibid, p. 115).

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3. Vide : "*The Antiquarian Remains in Bihār*" by Dr. D. R. Patil 1963; p. 118.

4. Cf. Anderson, Catalogue II, p. 97.

5. Just to find out, as-to whether the terracotta votive stupas contain inside the terracotta-seal-tablet, having the well-known Buddhist creed-inscriptions, I got some of these broken (as described in Serial 4 of the classified catagory of finds above) and from inside, I found one small terracotta-seal-tablet, containing the Buddhist creed-inscriptions affixed to each stupa and so, it is presumed that the remaining votive stupa of the serial 3 of the classified category of finds above may also contain inside them such types of terracotta-seal-tablets with the Buddhist creed-inscriptions engraved on them also.

6. This Bodhisattva image of Vajrasattva is an unique image as the depiction of this image of Vajrasattva is not a conventional one, based on Samhitas (Treatises) so it may also suggest that it may not be an image of Vajrasattva due to the fact that that it has four hands holding some uncommon symbols as-well in his remaining three hads.

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27

Some Literary References to Terracotta Art

—*Chitta Ranjan Pd. Sinha*

The word "Terracotta" denotes baked clay, but the product more frequently relates to human or animal figures, or statuettes, which either represent gods or goddesses or ritual objects with mythological themes woven round them or represent dolls or toys and other objects of visual interest. Terracotta art widely spread in India from the remote past and has continued unabated till today. The rich literature contains numerous references to terracotta art. Not, only this, the literature supplies us about the potter, his status in society and the importance of his profession. By the sixth century B.C. we see the existence of the potters village.[1] These potters usually prepared clay images and earthen wares. In the *Yajurveda* we get the word *Kautāla*[2] which might have been a generic term for all kinds of pottery makers while *Cikitsara* mentioned in the *Athavraveda*[3] may have denoted the class of potters especially engaged in making figurines and fine pottery

In the *Āśvatāyana Gṛhya Parisista* five hooded terracotta Naga meant for worship is mentioned.[4] The Harivaṁśa[5] mentions two terracotta figurines of the two demous Madhu and Kaitabha sepposed to be made by Brahma we know the famous story of the *Mahāvarata* about Droṇa and Ekalavya. When Guru Droṇa refused to teach Ekalavya the science of archary, he went back to the forest and made a terracotta statue of Droṇa and in the presence of that image started practising the art with his own efforts.[6]

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1. *Jātaka*, III, pp. 376, 508.
2. *Yajurveda*, XXX-7.
3. *Atharvaveda*, XI-25.
4. Commarswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 42.
5. *Harivaṁsa* (Gita press), 52, 21 p. 195.
6. सतु द्रोणस्य शिरसा पादौ गृहय परन्तपः ।
   अरण्यमनुसंप्राप्म कृत्या द्रोणं महीमयम ।।
   तस्मिन्नचार्यवृत्तिं चे परमामास्थितस्तदा ।
   इस्वस्ये योगमातस्ये परमनियामास्थितः
   Mahabharat, Adi Ed. by P.P. Santi P. 827 Madras.

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We get reference to *Kṛtyās* in the *Yajurveda*[1] and the *Atharvavedas*[2] which were in all probablity figurenes made of clay. From the *Atharvaveda* it appears that the *Kṛtyas* were made by hand which looked like brids by *Cikitsava*, the potter. These hand made figurines were also bejewelled as mentioned in another hymn.[3] The presence of art of making clay figurines is also att:s'ed by *Aitarey Brāhmana* [4]

The use of clay for making images has been described in the Indian treatises on Iconography and Silpaśāstra [5] These texts furnishes informations regarding the technique of manufacturing, various methods of preparing the clay for making figurees etc. Massive and hallow clay figures are mentioned in the Viṣṇuaharmottar, which s ates that the rules valid for painting are also applied to clay modelling. This holds good for a large number of terracotta of various periods. According to *Silp. ratna*[6] prescribing the method of preparing clay for terracotta liṅga (pakva linga) the good earth fit for use should be procured and well grounded, then it shou'd be left over for a month in *Panchagavya*[7] and afterwards burnt in fire.

The various Puranas give important information about the clay sculptures. The *Narada Purana*[8] describes the terracotta figure of Ganesa.[9] The *Ganesa Purana*[10] makes the point more clear and states that an image of Ganesa with four hands and complete in all respects shoul be made of different materials such as crystal, jewels, gold *Kasmira pasana mandarawood* and clay (mittkā). The *Vāmana Purana*[11] tells us that when Pārvatī was practising penance to please Śiva, her friends prepared a terracotta figure of Śiva to amuse her. The *Brahma Purāna* also describes the terracotta figure of a lion.

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1. .....यमसजातो निचखनोत्कृत्यान्कियामि V-23
2. यं कल्पयन्ति बहतौ वधूमिव विश्वरूपम्
   हस्तकृतं चिकित्सवः सारादेत्वयनुदानेनाम् ।
   AV., XI
3. अभ्यक्ताक्ता स्वर्णकृता सर्व भरन्ती दुरितं परेहि ।
   जानीति कृत्ये कर्तारं द्रुहितेव पित्रं स्वम् ।। AV. XI. 25
4. A.B.-IV-7.
5. *Matsya Purana* Chs. 258-263, *Bhavishya Purana*, 1.331, *Sukranitisara*, IV. 4.72.
6. *Silparatna* (T. Ganapati Sastri) edition part II, p. 6 Verse 49-50.
7. Milk, Curd, Clerified butter, cow urine and cowdung.
8. *Narada Purāna* Purva Chaturtha Pada 113, also 65-56.
9. *Ganesa Purāna* Mor Ed. Purva II, 3.12.
10. *Vamana Purāna*, 2-3, 13.2, 14-4; 16-5.
11. *Brahma Purāna*, Mor ed. 3.8.50-51, p. 405.

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There is sufficient reference in our ancient literature which refers to the kinds of toys that should be given to the children of different age groups. *Kashyapa Samhita* tells us that a variety of terracotta toys, such as birds, animals Chariots, vehicles, boats etc. should be placed in a circle and whatever toy the child picks up first from this lot, that toy should be taken to indicate the taste of the child and the profession which he would follow in future.[1] It is also mentioned that the toys should be well polished, handy, shoft, smooth, fairly straight, not very new, easy to carry. It should be charming and sound producing.[2]

Nāradīya Samhita furnishes us with very interesting information regarding the fashioning of the terracotta figurines.[3] It prescribes that the clay required for figures should be collected from river banks and such other places, keeping in mind the special qualities of the clay. It should then be placed in a piece of cloth in some dry places and oeseived through the cloth. It should be mixed with metal powder, sand, sugar and finally with an adequate quantity of water. It should then be properly levigated by mixing vegetable matter. It appears from the description in the text that the technique was followed probably for making large images.

Kalidas has referred to different branches of artistic development in his writings. We get picturesque description of terracotta figurines in *Abijñāna Śakuntalam*. Coloured terracotta pecock figureines are reffered to.[4]

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2. *Kashyapa Samhita*, Kangodi, 1935, ch. 12, Jata Karmottardhaya in Khilasthana, p. 312.

3. Joshi, N.P, *Vaishanava Iconography in* the *Naradiya Samhita*, *Bull of Museum and Archaeology in U P.* Nos. 11-12 p. 8.

4. तापसी—सव्वदमर्ण, सउन्दलावण्णं पेक्ख ।

(सर्वदमन, शकुन्तलावण्यं प्रेक्षस्व ।)

बालः—सदृष्टिक्षेपम् । (कसि वा में अज्जु ।)(कुत्र वा मम माता ।)

उभे—णामसादिस्सेण वंचि दो माउवच्छलो ।

(नाम्सादृश्येन वंचितो मातृवत्सलः ।)

द्वितीया—बच्छ इमस्स मित्ति आमोरअस्स रम्मत्तर्तं देक्खति भणिदोसि ।

वत्स अस्म मृत्तिकामयरस्य रम्यत्वं पश्येति भणितोऽसि ।

Sakuntala VII

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Bana has graphically described in the contest of the marriage of princess Rājyaśrī about a group of terracotta toy artist who made different terracotta figurine on the occassion.[1] There are several references to the terracotta figurines in *Kathāsarit Sagar*. At one place princess Vāsavadatta compares the Vidusaka Vasantasena with a laughing toy.[2] At another place the author mentions white terracotta elephent toy.[3]

Thousands of terracottas unearth from different archaeological sites corroborate the literary references so much so that they prove the activities of the clay artists and their skill in moulding beautiful pieces of terracottas.

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1. चतुचित्रकर चक्रवाललिख्यमान मंगल्यालेख्यम्
   लेप्यकार दादम्कब क्रियमाण मृण्यममीन कुर्ममकर नारि केल कदली पूग वृक्षम् ।
   Harshacharita.
2. *Kathasarita Sagar*, 11. 4. 74. 74. p. 180.
3. *Ibid.*, VII. 2 Verse 120, p. 40.

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28

A Critical Study of Terracottas from Bihar

—*Birendra Nath*

The Indian Terracotta-art has a very long history, starting from the prehistoric time to the present day. It also occupies an important place in the history of plastic-art of ancient India. They generally serve to satisfy creative impulse of ordinary man, as much for a esthetic expression as for domestic and ritualistic heeds. Even for individual self expression of the artists or craftsman, no material affords. So much scope as does the terracottas. It is, thus, an excellent embodiment of their sense of beauty. Beginning from the Harrapan down to the Pālā period, the terracotta-art is found spread as a rich and significant brocade on the composite Textile of India's artistic achievements. Hence, it is the "Superb document of the history of art". The terracotta-art took its origin from clay, one of the cheapest and easily available materials, and as such, man from the very threshhold of the civilization started making household utensils, toys and figurines of gods and goddess from it.

The history of terracotta in Bihar, as a matter of fact begins from the Neolithic-chalcholithic period of man's settlement followed in the different period such as Maurya, Śungā, Guptā and the Pālās. Numerous sites of Bihar have yielded a large number of terracotta figurines, e.g., Pātliputra, Bulandībagh, Vaishali, Kumrahār, Sonepur, Balirājgarh, Chirând, Buxar, Katrā, Chechar, Antichak and lastly Nālandā during excavations.

Bihar is one of the important Indian States which have yielded various types of terracottas. But the frequency of the terracotta-objects is however greater in the earlier periods as compared to that in the later periods. From the Kushana-period onwards, the frequency diminished, yielding place to artistic representation in stone. The technique of the terracotta-art followed a progressive course in different periods of history. Some traditional type terracotta figurines have also been found in Bihar. They are entirely hand-modelled and crude having pinched nose it eyes, ears and mouth indicated by incised-lines. Terracotta of a pre-historic date have not been found from Bihar, Though terracottas possessing similar features have been found. These terracottas may therefore be described as traditional-type. The recent excavations at Oriup in the district of Bhāgalpur has however, yielded a terracotta female-figurine of mother-Goddesses which posses all the characteristic features of a

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pre-historic type. The figurine has been found from the earliest level in association with the black-and-red ware, bone objects an copper pieces This may go to suggest that pre-historic types of terracotta were continuing till a later date. Amongst animal-figurines belonging to this period are elephants horses, dogs and rams. These figurines are better in workmanship than the pre-Mauryan ones The site Chirand during the recent excavations has also yielded a few terracotta-figurines from the Neolithic-level. They are hand-modelled and are archaic in style. The anatomical features are not properly modelled. Hence, it indicates that they were not expert in making terracotta-figurines Apart from this, the terracotta-figurines of a nude females humped-bull, bird, snake (hooded asur as coiled) have also been discovered from the neolithic-level.

Best specimens of Mauryan-terracotta have been found from Kumrahār, Vaishalī, Buxur and Pātliputra. The terracotta-figurines include both human and animal figures. The terracotta of the Mauryan period show great advancement in their technique and style. The terracotta of the early phase of this period show the frequent use of applique-design. The terracottas of the late period are comparatively bigger in size. The Buxur terracottas of Mauryan period bears all those characteristics.

The terracottas of the Śunga periods have also been found from Bulandibagh, Patna, Buxur, Sonepur and Kumrahār and Vaishālī The terracotta human figurines of this period appear to be sensitively modelled and are better regulated having more disciplined-lines. They wear heavy coiffures, elaborate jewellery and dress and are indianised in character. The nose is naturalistically moulded, the wrists and the fingers, while the legs show the representation of the knees, the ankles and the toes. They resembles with Bodh Gaya and the Bhārhut-Sculptures. Among the animal-figurines dogs, rams, elephants and bulls are noticed. Numerous bird figurines have also been found and they are parrots, cocks, gees etc. Besides this types figurines of fish and suirrel have also been found.

The Kushana terracottas have also been found from Kumrahār, Patna, Bihar, Vaishalī Sonepur and Chirand. They are well modelled, smooth and shows sensuous contoors. They have alround shaped eyes, feat and heavy nose, broad chest, and folds in the garment. Majority of the human figures are secular in nature Among the animal-figurines, elephants, horses, bears, tigers and rams are noticed. Birds and fish are also represented. These terracotta human-figurines have alround shaped eyes with deep holes in the circular eye-balls, flat nose, half opened mouth and unnatural ears indicative of Kushana-characteristics. Two terracotta heads from Kumrahār are very interesting as they were helmet-shaped cap which were worn by Indo-scythians. Besides this, numerous terracotta human figurines from Vaishalī, Sonepur and Chirānd are also equally interesting as they have typical foreign face and the Kushana influence is very clear upon them.

The next group comprises of the Guptā-terracottas which are more human and less

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sophisticated. They were mainly prepared with the help of moulds. The head of the Gupta-terracotta are generally massive but delicate and the body is hollow. The terracotta-art of this period have been reported from Kumrahār, Patna, Buxur, Vaishalī and Belwā and Bodh Gaya respectively. During this period, terracotta-plaques of large and small size having light-weight and light ochre colour were prepared. Actually, the terracottas of this period are mechanical reproductions from moulds. Numerous religious figurines have been found which include the figures of Buddhās, Bodhisattavās, and Saptamātrikas. The animal-figures include elephant, horses, monkeys and crocodiles Thus, various types of terracottā-figurines have been found and they are better in execution and workmanship, than the terracottas of the earlier-periods. Apart from this, a large number of torso and Nāiganwsh figures were also manufactures in this period. Thus, the artistis of the Gupta period throw sufficient light on the contemporary religious, customs, dress and ornaments etc. that prevailed in the society. But gradually, the art of terracotta went on disintegration and became unpopular due to the advent of stone-sculpture during the time of the Pālās.

The last group consists of the Pālā-terracottas which have been found mainly from Antichak District Bhagalpur, Dharawal-District Gaya and from the recent excavations at Nālandā. They are represented by brood chest, proportionately, thin waist, well formed hands and legs, big eyes, brood mouth, brood forehead and elaborate ornaments. The terracottas from Antichak are not only religious in character, but also show that they were used as architectural decoration. The Pālā terracotta also includes human, animal and bird figurines. They are all in secular in nature. But in style and technique, the figure has close resemblance with the stone sculpture of this period. Various types of animal figurines are also represented on terracotta-plaques from Antichak showing elephants, horses, rams, deer, bears etc. The representation of birds have also been given due importance.

It would be therefore be apt to conclude that Bihar has produced numerous terracotta-figurines belong to different periods and as such it had important centres of terracotta-art. Further, they present the story of the people, their life, thought, culture, beliefs, aesthetic qualities, love of beauty and refinement besides their social and economic conditions. These terracottas figurines, thus, play a vital role in reorgunising the Cultural history of Bihar.

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29

Raja Apurab Singh of Mankot

—*Suwarcha Paul*

The beginning of 19th century saw Raja Apurab Singh (1809-1849) ascend the throne of a small principality of mere 150 Sq. miles in the Punjab hills, known then as Monkot. Monkot, later to be known as Ramkot, owed its name to the founder of this Principality, Raja Manak Dev. Situated in Kathua District, it was surrounded by Bandrata in the north, Bhadu and Balor (Bilaur) in the east, Karaidhar mountain range, Jasrota and Samba in the south and Bhoti in the west. Although it was the smallest and least significant of principalities in the region at that period, the art that flourished herewith a combination of the artist and patron gained prominence and significance, second only perhaps to those of Basohli. Unfortunately little is known of the ruling house of the early era are except barely for names of the Rajas from the end of 16th century onwards till that of Raja Purab (Apurab) Singh in the early 19th centu y; and of the family of artists, even less is known either from inscriptional evidence or from the records of priests. Through stylistic study of the Mankot paintings, we, however, can form some indea about the possible relationship of the Mankot paintings with the works from neighbouring seats, such as Basohli, Chamba, Bandralta, Jammu etc.

Painters of Mankot apparently took keen interest in individuals as can be judged from the series of portraits not only of Rajas but of priests, grooms and soldiers of Mankot lying in the Chandigarh museum's collection. In addition to that, one finds portraits of contemporary rulers of Basohli and Jammu also. The scope of this article, however, is only to discuss a few portraits from Mankot, specifically those of Raja Apurab Singh, the last known ruler before Mankot seems to have lost its entity as an independently ruled state. The portraits mentioned below form part of Chandigarh Museum's collection consisting of 250 paintings obtained from *tikkā* Inder Vijay Singh, a descendant of the Mankot rulers.

Apurab Singh, son of Chhatar Singh, was still a minor when he ascended the throne. This is shown through one of Apurab Singh's portraits as a child. Mankot was annexed in 1834 by Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Punjab. Apurab Singh was exiled from Mankot and was granted *jāgir*, first in Gular (1838) and later in Kahlur (Bilaspur).

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Plate No. 1 : APURAB SINGH AS A CHILD ON HORSEBACK

size : 280 mm × 190 with borders
255 mm × 160 mm.

Inscribed in Nāgrī,[1] *Raj Kumar Apurab Singh Sher Karan ja Rahe Hai*, it has a brown background. The horse astride on which the child Apurab is sitting is bluish grey in colour (the same horse will be seen in plate 4 indicating perhaps his fondness for the animal). The two retainers behind the horse hold a *chaurī* and a cloth fan respectively. There is a young boy, servant and perhaps playmate, leading this small procession. Backgroud suggests the presence of a hillock surrounded by vegetation. Stylistically inferior and closer to plate No. 3, it may well have been a copy.

Plate No. 2 : APURAB SINGH HOLDING COURT (c. 1815)

size : 222 × 266 mm. with borders 262 × 307 mm.

This is inscribed in Takri to read, '*Sri Raja Apurab Singh Ji.*' The Raja sits holding a hawk with his younger brother Sahib Singh seated a little behind. In the foreground, five courtiers and two musicians sit and three servants stand to the right. Young Apurab, having merely a trace of beard, is sitting on a grey floral rug with yellow borders. His apparel consist of a maroon shawl over a white *jāmā* with red and greed floral pattern. Atop the red turban, he sports a crown and a *kalghī*. Sahib Singh is shown wearing a white *jāmā* with pink shawl and a red turban. The white walls in the rear have five archways each containing rolled up blinds in green and orange. This painting reminds one of a painting done about half a century earlier at Jammu for Raja Balwant Singh by Nainsukh.[2] The Durbar scene in the two is similar yet the handling is unmistakably individual.

Plate No. 3 : APURAB SINGH BEING ENTERTAINED[3]

Size : 200 × 250 mm. with borders 252 × 308 mm. (c. 1820-25).

This portrait is uninscribed but is identified by comparison with others. The Raja, seated on an orange rug over a yellow and grey carpet, is being entertained by the female singers who are sitting on a pink coloured rug with brown stripes. Resting against an orange bolster, the Raja dons a white *jāmā* with stole. He is shown smoking a *Hookah*. Sahib Singh, who is present in almost all the paintings, is conspicuous by his absence. Behind Apurab Singh, a guard stands in attendance. The walls are plain grey. The colour is added in the form of green and orange blinds. The overall effect of this painting is similar to that in plate 2, though degeneration seems to have set in, specially in the faces[4] of women. The artist has gone backwards from the female form devised earlier in Kangra as and Guler. The style and handling of this painting are comparable with those of plate 1.

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Plate 4. RAJA APURAB SINGH HORSE-RIDING ALONGWITH SONS. (c. 1830-35)
Size : 208×226 mm. with borders 250×308 mm.

The inscription, in Takri, is given above various riders. Beginning from left to right it reads "*Sh. Mian Sahib Singh, Nika Mian, Upadar Singh* (child rider),[5] *Sri Sahib pru ji* (the priest), *Alakh Da* (Alakh Dev, the child rider in the middle), *Sri Maha Sri Raja Apurab Singh* (the main rider), *Sri Yog Dhyan Ji Sahai.*" The last pertains to an invocation of the Vaiṣṇava image for aid. Raja Apurab Singh, accompanied by his two minor sons, is riding through the courtyard. Sahib Singh and the group of servants are in accompaniment. The priest is standing by the entourage with the image of the deity close by. The architecture is grey with a pink floor. The Śiva Liṅga to the left shows a face. Apurab Singh rides a bluish grey horse while the children dressed in navy blue and white have b own coloured mounts. In the left foreground, there is a small pond having water-lilies in it. In this painting, the Raja sports a Sikh style beard and is sho vn considerably older comparatively. This painting shows that Raja Apurab Singh has a religious bent of mind. Here he seems to be seeking the blessings of the deity even as he prepares to ride past his courtyard.

Plate 5 : APURAB SINGH WORSHIPPING (c. 1880-35)
size : 280×180 mm. with borders 310×220 mm.

This painting is not inscribed. The background is grey with a red border. To the right is the image of the deity which could be Manasā Devi.[6] Suspended in air are the eight *chawris*. The deity has eight hands and eight faces each hand holding a different weapon, such as *chakra*, lance, noose, *pharsā*, sword, arrow, Conch and lotus. An eight-headed snake is suspended to the right. The deity is shown sitting on a throne in silver decorated with pink and green floral design. Crowns consist of a lotus each. Sahib Singh sits to the left with folded hands holding a lotus while Apurab Singh is standing in front, his feet overlapping the boundary. A touch of green is shown in the foreground. Apurab Singh, wearing only a *dhotī*, rosary and a little jewellery, sports a moustache and beard. Sahib Singh, however, is shown fully clothed. The eight gold *Chhatras* above the deity have pearls hanging from them. The crowns are studded with pearls, rubies and emeralds. The square bolster in silver grey with pink and green floral pattern seems to be the common feature[7] of Mankot paintings. The style (conveyed in) of this painting seems still in its (immature form), formative stage, the maturity of which can be seen in the next picture.

Plate 6 : APURAB SINGH WORSHIPPING (c. 1830-35)
size : 350×250 with borders 250×210.

The inscription is in Takri character Though illegible, the painting brings out two principal figures worshipping, what is probably the family deity (*Iṣta Deva*). It reads,

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'*Sri Alakh Purush je da* (Probably means glorification of the God) *Sri Raja Apuraba Singh ji Mankotia Mian Sahib Singh chhota*, (on Dhota-could be the name of a place or *jāgir* given to Sahib Singh). The inscription after this gets illegible and is added to, by another hand. '*Parat Keshava Chand*'. (This reference is perhaps to the priest or some courtier. Another painting mentions '*pru*' for the priest which may mean Purohit. So, it would lead to the fair assumption that his actual name may be Keshav Chand).

The temple with minutely carved balcony having red, green and blue floral motif has plain white pillars, the upper extremity of which has a lotus-shaped design in pink and blue. On the top rest four deities including Kṛṣṇa at extreme right resting against a bolster, out of which one deity has been brought down for worship. Iconographically, this too is lord Kṛṣṇa, close to the deity, the articles for warship, like *tulsī*, flowers, conchshell and bell are lying. Apurab Singh is sitting on a cream *āsana* performing Pūjā. The priest sits to the right reciting from the holy scripture. The person sitting behind Apurab Singh is Sahib Singh. They all are dressed in white. It is quite possible that the young man behind the priest is Alakh Deva, son of Apurab Singh who finds mention in the previous painting. Like the previous painting, this too finds a symbol associated with Lord Śiva ; in this case, the Triśūla. This painting differs in essence from the others in the red colour of the background with architectural niches and the yellow borders. An interesting painting, it throws light on the Raja's religiousness.

Plate 7 : APURAB SINGH WORSHIPPING.

Size : With borders

Without borders.

The painting portrays an out-door scene in which Raja Apurab is paying homage to Lord Kṛṣṇa. Yaśodā depicted as the central figure has on her lap baby Kṛṣṇa, whom she is about to nurse. Yaśodā in a pink *ghāgrā*, orange *oṛhnī* and a pink blouse is seen sitting on a *dīvāna* of silver with a yellow, red and green floral pattern. She reclines against a silver coloured rectangular bolster ; close behind her stands a maid dressed in pink and orange with a yellow *oṛhnī*, holding a lotus in her hand. The setting in the foreground has three colourfully dressed women, each with a lotus in her hand. The first of these is clothed in an orange *ghāgrā* with a pink blouse and yollow *oṛhnī*, the second is attired in a green *ghāgrā*, orange blouse and pink *oṛhnī*, each of them having their arms, necks and foreheads bedecked with pretty jewellery ; in front of these women are shown five little boys, identically dressed in orange *jāmās*, four in standing position and one of them is seen kneeling. All of them have their right hands extended as though asking for something. Except for the ambiguity in the meaning of the frontal scene of the picture comprising of three women and five boys the painting is undoubtedly intrigning. To the left of the *dīvāna*, are discerned two male figures each holding a lotus standing as though in supplication. The younger of the

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two and dressed in green, is Raja Apurab. The older person is wearing a yellow (mango) *jāmā* could be former's father, Chatter Singh. The head-dress of the two is similar. A little behind the two is the *Kalaśa* with *kuṣa* grass, traditionally the symbol of the birth of a child. All the human figures are shown bare footed. The green ground at their feet conveys the presence of grass and behind them can be observed rocks, flowering shrubs, and green trees on both the sides. The far background shows a white structure, a palace or fort. The dull ochre and green background is similar to that in other pictures found from Mankot. Curiously, the flower lotus too is a common feature with most paintings.[8]

To conclude, this note brings out, with the help of the paintings, some of the characteristics of the ruler. It is hoped that it will do its bit in adding to the understanding of what the Rajas indulged in, what they were like and thus would help fill in some of the gaps in the practically non existent history, or the knowledge of their ways and deeds. More than the conclusion, it is perhaps an invitation for a fresh look at the Mankot Raj paintings.

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4. For facial types see Guler and Kangra paintings in Archer (vol. II) Pages, 108-205, plate 38, 33 (i).
5. See Archer (vol. I) page 381 plate 48 where he has not read the inscription and left Nika Mian.
6. Dr. Bhattacharya (Reader, Punjab University, Department of Fine Arts) on discussion said this is probably a syncratic deity 'mausader' and could be the "Kuladevi" of the Mankot ruler.
7. A common feature in the Mankot paintings, including the portraits in Chandigarh Museum collection, cf. Archer (ii) page 298, plate 38-39.
8. See Archer (II) page 295, Plate 40.

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Resonance and Reference in Relation to Aesthetic Experience

—*Balram Srivastava*
Reader, History of Art
Banaras Hindu University

Resonance is literal translation of dhvani, which is not mere the sound of word (svaranāda) but the suggested meaning. Normally the aesthetic experience is derived of three elements—*vastu* (object of art as a physical fact), *alaṁkāra* (embellishment) and *rasa* (the outcome of tasting –*āsvādana*). Ānandavardana, the master mind of aesthetic thinking, considered all these elements as constituted in *dhvani*. The aesthetics is fundamentally dependent on the experience through senses. In worldly life or day to day experiences the senses play the vital role. One looks and percives the object of art through senses ; just as his senses feel the other objects and emotions of daily life. But the experience derived through the same senses fundamentally differ from sensual feeling from dialy life and the sensuous feeling of art object. The later feeling is extra-ordinary. One example will clear. If the senses feel the touch of fire, the feeling is worldly and it is direct or usual and ordinary. But when the senses feel entity of fire painted, the senses do not feel the same and usual experiences which they feel from the physical fact of fire which is real. The fire painted is unreal. Therefore the sense of the entity of fire in painting though unreal of ideated reality, it gives an extra-ordinary experience. The aesthetic experience is always unreal, hence it provides scope for unworldly experience (alaukika anubhūti).

Ānandavardhana describes experiences into three catagories—*uttama, madhyama* and *adhama*. Thus he says *vyañjanā* is *uttama*, *lakshaṇā* is *madhyama* and *abhidā* is *adhama* in a poetic creation. Resonance or *dhvani* is extra-ordinary meaning by way of suggestion. It is a third catagory of meaning which is neither derect, nor indicated, nor even implied, nor inference from expressed meaning. It is through and through a suggestive meaning. *Dhvani* is that evocation which combining all the factors presents a wholly new sense, a sense nor given by any single element, referential, emotive or imaginative, or even symbolic but all of them

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together. The sense is unified and all pervading. It rises like an organic entity of *shabda* and *artha* (Dhvanyāloka, 5) suggesting to the extra-ordinary faculty of consciousness. This new suggested entity is to be perceived different from any other, which transcendents all the perceptable factors of art. It subordinates all intellectual meanings. This suggested entity is the beauty itself of a work of art. *Dhvani* is compared to the grace and charm of a women (lāvaṇyābhiveva aṅgānasu, Dhvanyāloka, 1.4), while the words to her body. (Dhvanyāloka-lochana 1.4-5, 1.4). By this it is indicated that beauty of art object is in the suggested sense. Ānandavardhana has described this sense as suggestive reflection (pratīyamanachāyā. Dhvanyāloka III. 38). *Pratīyamāna* is reflection which is not *prātīti* or whole truth, but something nearer to truth or truth in appreance and suggestion. It represents the inner most core of meaning reflected (chāyā) from an object of art. It is felt through intuitivefaculty (pratibhāchakshaṇā) hence it is more or less the meaning in *dhvani* or reference is an intuitive appearence. Set forth from the innermost experience and contemplation art object with reference to meaning in term of *dhvani* transmits more or less a transcendental meaning and value, which is not ordinary expressive by mere appearence in art (which may be in nature of meaning abhidhā or lakshaṇā).

Abraham Kaplan, in the middle of the present century, gave a new meaning to the art criticism (The Journal of Aesthetics and Art criticism vol. XVI No. 4 pages 457-474). Refering to two problematic art principles i.e. 'Unity of arts' and 'aesthetic relevance' he considered the former as not absolutely essential in aesthetic consideration, but the other as the fundamental of aesthetic criticism. It refers to the significance of the referential meaning of an art object and its aesthetic effect. The key point he has suggested that where reference occurs in the art, it is the suggestive expression which is significant. Considering the duality and interdependence of emotive meaning and cognitive meaning he has shown the limitation of literalism of formalists (comparable with *abhidhā* or *vāchyārtha* of Indian poetics) as highly irrelevent to both the value and the meaning of an art object. Whether the work of art presents a set of belief or specifies a set of action or event the emphasis should be on referencial context (for, in aesthetic experience, content plays a vital role) the rest is decoration (alaṁkāra). It literalism *vāchāyartha* and *lakshyārtha* which is 'mantioning', is significant only if it conveys an emotion from an artist to the respondent. Emotion and sensibility with skill to convey the inherent reference (vyañgyārtha) is significant in aesthetic experience. At this point he clearly indicates that the dilemma of literalism and emotivism is not very significant as the 'reference'. It is an alternative to expression. Expression establishes a physical connection with the actual art object. Therefore the possibility arises of a conventional meaning also. It is one of the qualities of reference in representation. It has also almost fixed connotation though the meaning is sometimes different. An icon is a representational object with fixed meaning and fixed beliefs. But it has also a sort of conventional meaning. Reference is indication and implication (vyañgyārtha). In this sense icon or any other art object is more or less a vehicle of conventional meaning with

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fixed and stylized form, it may be motif. Conventional meaning is also an iconic metaphor called symbols, which may be used also in the referencial sense, Iconic emblems have the same significance. But an image, which is not mere icon is embibed with a suggested meaning leading to the God Hood—which is an extra-ordinary meaning or suggested meaning of an image, which is certainly different than the icon or an idol. An icon may be intellectually conceived but an image is always the product of experience depend on the content or emotive content in referencial theory which almost the same as organic entity or the suggestive entity based on *shabda* and *artha* or the other attributes and embelishments of art object. There is a sort of causal relationship or reference between the work or art as a physical fact and the expression as a *vyāpāra* or *kriyā* and experience as an effect in the manner *bhāva* is a kind of relationship between the *shabda* (material), *artha* (meaning), *guṇa* (attributes or qualities poetic or artistic qualities), and *alaṁkāra* (embellishment). Like *dhvani*, the reference, is a third situatuin in relation to the meaning of word and sound. However, the meaning and the charm lies in the unity of sound and sense. To this A.C. Bradley calls resonant meaning as it is suggested and yet it is not anything apart from the poem-art object (Oxford lectures on poetry, 1909, page no. 13-15). It is the 'fussed' associations as Santayana says which clings in the form of a suggestion to the work of art. (Sense of Beauty, 1936, pages 145-146). Tulsidāsa contributes to the same view, suggesting vyañgyārtha as 'kahiyata bhinna na bhinna'. Thus the theory of *dhvani* as well as the referencial theory of Meaning, do agree with each other with refence to meaning and evaluate correctly the significance of suggestion and reference, and indicate that though these refer to extra-ordinary meaning they are not obscure, but meaningful in relation to matter and content.

When Dhvanikāra (the originator of Dhvani theory) and Ānandavardhana considered the significance of vyañjanā in term of aesthetic experience, they appear to be the conscious of the power of *abhidhā* in *lakshanā* also Therefore Ānandavardhana gave a comprehensive setting to *dhvani* in relation to experience. He devides *dhvani* into two expression-catagory—one *avivkshita vāchya* in which the expressed sense is not meant and the suggested sense is all in all and the other *vivashita apara vāchya* in which the expressed sense is meant but only as the agent to the suggested sense. The former incorporates *rasa* (aesthetic experience) and *bhāva* (emotion) and the latter *vastu* (suggestiveness of subject—as in the case of mere icon) and *alaṁkāra* (suggestiveness of embellishment). He makes it clear that all these elemental composition of art object leave the aeshtetic mood of taster (āsvadaka or sahridaya) to experience of his own self (sva eva svadate) which gives pleasure out of created beauty of art object through aesthetic experience. In such cases *rasa* is not a seperate entity but it is a type of *dhvani* as *rasadhvani*, in the same way as he calls *vastudhvani* (the subject matter or idea) and *alaṁkāra dhvani* (the extraordinary effect in meaning). In such cases the suggestion is of secondary status than the former in *rasadhvani* is to his theory the *guṇībhūtavyañga*.

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But in relation to the aesthetic experience these catagories do not signify much. The beauty (chārutva) of expression is still a subjective matter and related to the receptibility and sensibility of a conscious man, who is experiencing or *sahridaya*. Therefore Vishvanātha in his 'Sāhityadarpaṇa' states that the perfection of expression and beauty of expression, whether through suggestion or otherwise, depends on the sensibility of *sahridaya*. He is the sole critereon of expression of beauty and suggestion. Sachetamanas anubhava pramanyam tatva kevalam, (Sahitya darpan 3/4).

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Observations on the Languages of the Inscriptions of Asoka Including Notes on the Bharhut-Inscriptions

—*Gustav Roth*

In continuation of my article, entitled "Notes on the Inscriptions of Asoka" in : Prajnā-Bhāratī II, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute : Patna, 1982, pp. 32-55, I present this paper in honour of Dr. B.P. Sinha, my revered teacher, under whom I studied Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstram, I also dedicate it to the memory of the late Dr. Basudev Upadhyay, under whom I read Inscriptions of Asoka, when I joined the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of Patna University in November 1952, as a Government of India scholar, under the unforgettable, late Dr. A.S. Altekar, the then Head of the Department, under whose learned guidance and inspiration each member of this Institute was enabled to have a sense of fulfilment according to his gifts and efforts.

1. The Inscriptions of Asoka (ca. 256-238 B.C.), which have come down to us in Old-Prākrit dialects, ed. and transl. in "Inscriptions of Asoka", New Edition by E. Hultzsch, Oxford 1925 (Reprint : Indological Book House, Delhi—Varanasi 1969), can be grouped regarding their specific language features as follows :

1. (1) The ten Rock-Edicts at Dhauli, the two Separate REs at Dhauli; the ten REs at Jaugada, the two separate REs at Jaugada ; the Pillar Edicts, and the Minor Rock-Edicts, which bear the characteristic features of the Old-Ardha-Māgadhī Prākrit (Old-AMg), which was the language, used in the office of Asoka's court at Pāṭaliputra. They are all written in the ancient type of the Brāhmī script.

1. (2) The fourteen REs at Kalsi. They also have the characteristics of Old-Amg, and are inscribed in the same Brāhmī script.

1. (3) The fourteen REs at Shabhazgarhi. In them, the dominant features belong to a western type of Old-Pkt. There are also traces of AMg forms, so-called Magadhisms, which

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indicate that the Shahb. version is based on a Māgadha original. Apart from that, we also find a few words of ancient Persian origin, to which I refer in § 5 of this paper. They are inscribed in Kharoshthi letters.

1. (4) The fourteen Rock-Edicts at Mansehra. Their language is close to the language of the Shahb. Edicts. But they contain more AMg forms. They are also inscribed in Khar. script.

The languages of both the Shahb. and the Mans. Edicts, in which, forms of the eastern Old-AMg and of western Old-Prākrit are used side by side, anticipate the composite language of the Shvet. Jaina Canon, where next to AMg forms, forms of the western Mahāraṣṭrī Jaina Prākrit are included.

1. (5) The thirteen Rock-Edicts at Girner. The dominant features of their language belong to the western type of Old-Prākrit, close to the characteristics of Pāli. As in Pāli, so-called Magadhisms, can also be traced in the Girnar Rock-Edicts, indicating that they are based on an original Māgadha issue. The REs of Girnar are written in Brāhmī script.

1. (6) The three Minor Rock-Inscriptions in the Mysore State, now Karnataka: Brahmagiri, Siddhapura, Jatinga-Ramesvara.

The Maski Minor Rock-Edict about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur of the Nizam's Dominions, now Andhrapradesh.

This particular group of inscriptions deserves special attention, as they also bear the characteristic features of the Old-Ardhamāgadhī, though they are situated in the south of India, in an area, where Old-Dravidian dialects, and perhaps other non-aryan vernaculars, must have been spoken. About the conclusions to be drawn, see my remaks § 6 of this paper.

2. *Specific Features of Old-Ardha-Māgadhī (Old-AMg)*

2. (1) The common Old-AMg characteristics of the group of inscriptions mentioned in § *1*, (1), (2), (6) are: : Nom. sg. case ending of *-a* stems reads *-e* instead of *-aḥ*, e. g. *jane* = Sk. *janaḥ*, *devānaṃpiye* = *devānāṃpriyaḥ*, Not also the case ending *-e* in the neuter gender, e.g, *dāne* = *dānaṃ*. Nom. pl. of the a-stems has case endings in *-ā*, and *-āni*, e.g. *pulisā* and *pulisāni* = Sk. *puruṣāḥ*.

The ending *-e* instead of *-aḥ* is also used in *ne* for Sk. *naḥ*, *se* for Sk. *saḥ*, *ye* and *e* for Sk. *yaḥ*, *pure* = Sk. *puraḥ*.

Typical for Old-Ardha-Māgadhī and Māgadhī is the consequent use of *l* instead of *r*, e. g. *lājā* for *rājā*.

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Specially noteworthy is *athā*=Sk. *yathā*, where initial *ya* or *ja* is dropped. *Athā* (=*yathā*) is exclusively used in the Old-AMg context of the Asoka Inscriptions. Occasionally *athā*=*yathā* also occurs in the Āyāranga-sutta of the Jaina Canon, not recorded by Pischel, to which L. Alsdorf has drawn our attention in "Les Études jaina. État present et taches futurs." Paris, 1965.

Typical for the Old-AMg are the Absolutives which end in *-tu* or *tū*, e.g. *anuśāsitu*, *kaṭu* and kaṭū=Sk. *kṛtvā*, which corresponds with AMg *kaṭṭu*, noted by R. Pischel, § 289, p. 235, § 577, p. 459 (See R. Pischel, A Grammar of the Prākrit Languages, Translated from German by Subhadra Jha, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi etc. 1981).

The Absolutive AMg *kaṭṭu*=Sk. *kṛtvā* is the correct reading. We should remember that the Asoka-Inscriptions do not use double-consonant. E. Hultzsch edited these Edicts exactly as they are incised, while J. Bloch, Les inscriptions d' Asoka, Paris 1950, re-edited the Asoka Edicts from a linguistic point of view, writing double consonant where it is needed. Bloch also translated the Edicts into French in this publication.

2. (2) The *Calcutta-Bairat* Minor Rock-Inscription (see Hultzsch, pp. 172-174) has the Absolutive form *abhivādetūnaṃ* in *Piyadasi lājā Māgadhe* (!) *saṃghaṃ abhivādetūnaṃ* 'The Māgadha king Priyadarśin having saluted the Saṃgha," which is unique in the Asoka Edicts Later this type of absolutive is the most usual form in Mahārāṣtrī and Jaina-Prākrit, where the ending is -ūṇa, e.g. *hoūṇa*, *hasiūṇa*, *vandiūṇa* (Pischel § 586), and AMg, JM kāūṇaṃ (Pischel § 585). Thus, Asokan *abhivādetūṇaṃ* is the oldest evidence of this particular form.

Of special interest is the treatment of final *m* before enclitic *eva* in the beginning of the eighth line of the Calcutta-Bairat Edict, where we read *hevaṃmevā* (Sk. *evam eva*). I checked this reading on the original which is kept in the second floor of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, on the occasion of their Bicentenary Celebrations, Jan. 11-15, 1984. This form explains *evām eva* for Sk *evam eva*, which frequently occurs in the Jaina Canon (Pischel § 68), exclusively used in the AMg passages, which cannot be traced in any other Prākit dialect.

In *evām eva*, simply a substitute lenghthening has taken place. Thus, the reading of this Asoka Edict is the predeccessor of later *evām eva*.

There are many more examples for lenghthening of preceding *a* before enclitic *eva* in the AMg of the Jaina Canon : *khippām eva*, in Pāli always *khippam eva*=Sk. *kṣipram evā*, *jeṇām eva cāu-gghaṇṭe āsa-rahe* (!) *teṇām eva uvāgacchai*=*yenaiva catur-ghaṇṭo 'śva-rathas tenaivôpāgacchati* and many more examples noted by Pischel § 68.

At the end of § 336, Pischel also refers to *heṃ eva* and *hevaṃ meva* of the Asoka Inscriptions. *Hevaṃ meva*, not *hevaṃ-mevā*, is also recorded in Dhauli, Sep. I.13, Jaugada, Sep. II.4, and Allahabad VI.2 (see Hultzsch p. 94, p. 115, p. 158).

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In initial *h* of *hevaṃ-meva*, I see the emphatic *h*, which occurs in many languages. One of my friends explained *hevaṃ* as *hy-evaṃ=hi-evaṃ*, which is less likely.

2. (3) The Calcutta-Bairat Minor Rock Edict (M R E) which was discovered in 1840 by Captain Burt in Bairāṭ, near Jaipur in Rajasthan, whose copy was used for its first edition by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 710 ff.), is important for the early history of Buddhism, because in it, Asoka recommends regarding the Expositions of the Dharma seven titles. We read : *imāni bhaṃte Dhaṃma-paliyāyāni : Vinaya-samukase, Aliya-vasāṇi, Anāgata-bhayāni, Muni-gāthā, Moneya-sūte, Upatisa-pasine e cā Laghulôvāde musā-vādaṃ adhigicya.*

For their identification see É. Lamotte, Histoire du bouddhisme indien, Louvain 1958, p. 256 ff.

The question arises : Were they made available to Asoka in a written form ? We only read in the Calcutta-Bairat M R E, that monks and nuns, and also laymen and laywomen should constantly listen (!) and reflect on them—*abhikkhiṇaṃ suneyu cā upadhāaeyŭ cā.*

The Inscriptions of Asoka do not refer to any Buddhist Canon, or to any written sacred traditions. We also do not find any particular Buddhist school mentioned in them. Reference is made to them only later, for the first time, in the Mathurā inscriptions : Five references to the Mahāsāṃghikas, while the Dharmaguptakas, Sārvāstivādins, Sthaviras, and Vātsīputrīyas are only mentioned once each. Thus, these different schools are at least well attested for the first cent. A.D. who have their own Vinaya—and Abhidharma-piṭakas. This shows that Buddhist activities had established themselves in western regions, which also had its effect on the formation of a Buddhist Prākrit which came under the influence of western Prākrits, leading to a transitional type of language a Prākrit-cum-quasi-Sanskrit, also called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, which the Mathurā inscriptions (ca. 1st cent. A.D.) with the scriptures of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins share.

Codifications of Buddhist Canons of different schools, based on written records, seem to have started at the time of Asoka, or more likely even after it in the west, north-west, and south of India, not in the Magadha region. During Lord Buddha's time, the disciples close to him did not find it necessary to commit the Buddha Word to writing, which they learned by heart. The accounts of the Councils, held at Rājagṛha (ca. 5th cent. B.C.) and at Vaiśālī (ca. 380 B.C.) do not say anything about written records of Lord Buddha's Dharma. Apparently the need, to put the sacred teachings of the Lord to writing, based on an established Canon, was felt by those monks, who were operating far away from Magadha, the cradle of Buddhism.

The above mentioned seven titles of our Calcutta-Bairat Edict merely refer to text portions, which, a monk might have casually recommended to the king. Thus, *Vinaya-samukase (-samukkasse-samutkarṣaḥ)* may not necessarily refer to the Prātimokṣa or to parts

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of it. There are other "prominent" parts included in the Vinaya : The twelve Interdependent Progressive Products *paṭicca-samuppāda* in the Pāli Vinaya Mahāvagga, p. 1 (Oldenberg edition), the Eightfold Noble Path *-ariyo aṭṭh' -angiko maggo*, in Mahāvagga, p. 10 (ib.), the Four Noble Truths *-ariya-saccaṃ* in Mahāvagga, pp. 10-11 (ib.), which belong to the outstanding essentials of Buddhist Doctrines, included in the Vinayas also of other schools, as in the parallel of Mahāvastu, Vol. III, pp. 331-333 (Senart-ed.), which is a part of the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins.

3. (1) Let us return to the language of the Calcutta-Bairat Minor Rock Edict, particularly to its passage with the titles of Buddhist texts, recommended by Asoka for the attention of Buddhist monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen, quoted in **2** (3) of this article.

This inscription clearly bears the features of the so-called Old-Ardha-Māgadhī. Why so, and not Māgadhī, as Hultzsch suggests ? Because the Sanskrit sibilants *śa, ṣa, sa* are represented here predominantly in the Asoka Inscriptions by dental *sa*, not by *śa*, as we would expect for Māgadhī. Of course, in Magadha, and in the eastern regions of India written dental *sa* might have been pronounced palatal *śa*, as it is the case in present-day Bengali. Only the Kalsi, Shabhazgarhi, and Mansehra edicts of Asoka distinguish the sibilants *śa, ṣa* and *sa*. So you find in our list of **2**. (3) *-samukase=samukkasse*=Sk. *samutkarṣaḥ*, *-vasāṇi*=Sk. *vaṃśāḥ*, *-pasine*=Sk. *praśnaḥ*

Characteristic of Old-AMg is also *bhaṃte*, voc. pl., in which I see a contraction of AMg *bhadante=bhadantaḥ* Others connect it with Sk. *bhadraṃ te*. *Bhante* frequently occurs in the AMg. passages of the Jaina Canon (see Pischel, §§ 349, 366b), also in the Pāli Tipiṭaka, where it belongs to the rare remains of Old-AMg-Mg, as it is the case with Pāli *bhikkhave* (voc. plur. ending in *-e* (!)), which reads in Buddhist Sanskrit *bhikṣavo* (!) and *bhikṣavaḥ*.

Typical for Old-AMg is the nom. plur. ending *-āni* for nouns of masculine gender which is usually used for nom. and acc. plur. of the neuter gender, e g. : *Dhaṃma-paliyāyāni=*, Sk. *Dharma-pariyāyāḥ*, *Aliya-vasāni*=Sk. *Ārya-vaṃśāḥ*, while *Anāgata-bhayāni* is in line with Sanskrit, as *bhaya* is of Neuter gender in Sanskrit.

To this particular phenomenon, H. Lueders has drawn our attention since long (see his remarks on the Old-AMg in the Asoka Inscriptions in Philologica Indica, Goettingen 1940).

For further references see H. Lueders, Bruchstuecke buddhistischer Dramen (Fragments of Buddhist Dramas), Berlin 1911. (Reprint : Heinrich Lueders, Hrsg. : Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft I : Bruchstuecke buddhistischer Dramen/Heft II : Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumarālāta, Leipzig 1926 (in one volume, ed. by H. Haertel) Wiesbaden 1979).

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H. Lueders, Beobachtungen ueber die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons, Berlin 1954 (Observations on the language of the original Buddhist Canon, ed. by E. Waldschmidt).

G. Roth, Particular Features of the Language of the Ārya-Mahāsāmghika-Lokottaravādins and their Importance for Early Buddhist Tradition, in: The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition, ed. by H. Bechert, Goettingen 1980.

3. (2) We noticed that in our Calcutta-Bairat Edict the typical features of Old-AMg can be traced, though the place of its finding is located in the west, near Jaipur in Rajasthan ! We have so far no records of the local conditions, where the Asokan inscriptions were issued. Therefore, we cannot explain, why at a particular place in the western regions of Ancient India, as well as in the north-west, and particularly in the south, distinct language features of Old-Amg can be found in the Asokan inscriptions of these regions. We should, however, remember that Old-AMg had become the language of administration under the Mauryas, particularly through Asoka, and of non-brahmanic religious movements in Magadha, like those of the Bauddhas, Jainas and Ājīvikas, on supra-regional standards, as Magadha was the basis of the expanding power of mighty rulers during the sixth till the third centuries B.C. Thus, it is not at all surprising to find Old-AMg spread far beyond the regions of Magadha. It is only after Asoka that we find Old-Māgadhī and Old-Ardha-Māgadhī to be on the decline.

4. Evidence for a stronghold of a western type of Old-Prākrit is well furnished by the fourteen Rock-Edicts of Asoka at Girnar, about a mile to the east of Junāgaṛh in the Kāṭhiavār Penin ula, at present in the State of Gujarat Here, we meet with the distinct features of a western representation of Old-Prākrit, which is very close to these of Pāli. The main characteristics of it are as follows : Employment of the case-ending *-o* for Sk. *-aḥ* instead of the Old AMg case-ending *-e*, noted above. Besides, we find the regular use of *r*. which seldom becomes *l*, as in Old-AMg, e. g. : *Devānaṃpiyo piyadasi rājā* Girnar RE 3, 7; *Devānaṃpriyo piyadasi rājā* Girnar RE 5, 8, 11, *Devānaṃpiyo priyadasi rājā* Girnar R E 9, 10, but *Devānaṃpiye* (!) *piyadasi rājā* Girnar R E 12, and in the same Edict *Devānaṃpriyo* (line 2).

There are a few so-called Magadhisms regarding the Māgadhī termination *-e* in nom. sg. of masculines, e. g. : *parisave, prādesike, bhāge, rājuke, sakale, sayame*; and even neuters e. g. : *kaṃme, caraṇe, tārise, d saṇe*, etc. *dāne* etc. (see Hultzsch, Introduction, p. lxii).

These are clear Old-Māgadhī forms, which remained, though the Girnar Edicts had been explicity transmitted in a western type of Old-Prākrit. This state of affairs shows, that also the Girnar Edicts are based on the Māgadha originals.

There are some more remains of the Old-Māgadhī in our Girnar version, in which *l* is used instead of *r*, for instance in Girnar 4.12 : *locetavyā = rocetavyā = rocayitavyā* ; in

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Girn. 14.6 : *alocetpā*=*ārocetvā*=Sk. *ārocayitvā* ; cf. in Shahbazgarhi 14.4 : *a-loceti*=*āroceti*= Sk. *ārocayati* ; in kalsi : *locetu*=*rocetu*=Sk. *rocayatu.*

These examples further confirm that the western version of Girnar, and the north-western versions of the Shahbazgarhi and Kalsi Edicts are translations of the original Magadhan issues, which were adjusted to the particular local linguistic conditions.

This is of great historical significance, because this shows that at the time of Asoka in Girnar a distinct western type of Old-Prakrit, which we may call the *o*-dialect in contrast with the *e*-dialect of Magadha, was already well-established. This made the king issue his Edicts according to the particular language use in the Girnar region. I see here the starting point of a linguistic development, which soon, after Asoka, replaced the dominant position, which Old-Māgadhī, and Old-Ardhamāgadhī held during the Maurya period. We find this development well represented in the Bhārhut and Sānhī inscriptions (2nd cent. B.C. till 1st cent. A.D.), and also in the eastern region, in the famous Hāthigumphā Cave Inscription of Khāravela (ca. 1st cent. B.C.) on the Udayagiri Hills, neer Bhubaneshwara, in the Purī district of Orissa, where we don't find any traces of Old-Mg. or Old-AMg ! The language of this inscription belongs to the group of the western Prākrits, and is close to the Pāli language. In the verb forms the influence of Sanskrit, as later in Mathurā, can be noted. Since the Girnar edicts of Asoka, we can study the formation of a western type of Prākrit, out of which Pāli, Jaina Prākrit, Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī emerged, which had its impact on the rise of Indian language of our present days.

5. Ajustment to the prevailing language conditions of a particular place, can also be noted in the Shahbazgarhi and the Mansehrs Edicts, where the Semitic Kharosthi, written from right to left, is used. Besides, we find at Shahbazgarhi the participles *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita* replaced by *nipista*, *nipesita*, *nipesāpita*, which are to be connected with the Ancient Persian *ni pish* "to write" (see Hultzsch, Introduction, p. xlii). They are recorded in Shahb. 5.13, 6.16, 13.11 : *nipista* ; 4.10 : *nipistaṃ*, *nipesitaṃ* ; 14.13 : *nipesapitaṃ.*

This attitude of Asoka—to take into account the peculiar features of local language conditions—is clearly evidenced by the existence of the Greek version of Asoka's Edict, which was discovered in 1957 near Kandahar in Afghanistan, to which I referred in my article, pp. 49-51, mentioned at the beginning of this paper. This Edict was placed at the entrance of the city Shar-i-Kuna of Kandahar on a trade road that linked Upper Asia with Persia and the Mediterranean, where many people moved who could see this inscription. It is the same road, by which, earlier, the Persian king Cyrus and Alexander the Great marched with their troups. Another Greek inscription of Asoka was discovered near Kandahar in 1964.

B.N. Mukherjee, "Two Aramaic Edicts of Priyadarśi (Aśoka) from Laghman," in : Indian Museum Bulletin, XV, Nos. 1-2, Calcutta 1980, pp. 9-22, has drawn our attention to

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Asoka's Aramaeic Edicts, which were discovered in 1973 in the province of Laghman in Afghanistan.

In this way, the king made himself understood to the borderers of his empire, and demonstrated his presence to the people who spoke Ancient Greek and Aramaeic, the two languages which had attained supra-regional, widely accepted universal literary standards, since long, in the Ancient World.

6. This attitude of the king towards specific language conditions, prevailing in specific regions, cannot be observed regarding those inscriptions issued by him in the southern regions, where Dravidian languages are spoken by the majority of the people. In all these Edicts, mentioned in 1. (6) of this article, as well as in Asoka's Rock-Edicts at Erragudi, situated in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh, which were edited and translated much later after Hultzsch by D.C. Sircar in E I and again republished in his book, entitled : Aśokan Studies, Indian Museum, Calcutta 1979, not a single Dravidian word, with the exception of the name of the Coḷas, can be detected. All these Edicts are taken down in a language which bear the distinct features of Old-AMg, described in 2. (1)—(3) of this paper.

Thus, they belong to the so-called *e*-dialect of the Megadha region !

This state of affairs shows that the Dravidian languages had not yet won the recognition, to be considered in the South Indian issues of Asoka's edicts.

We do not possess any written records of Old-Tamil, as early as the inscriptions of Asoka. The ancient Dravidians might have developed their own distinct oral traditions, about which we have no informations of their own.

From ancient Indian sources we only learn that the customs and habits of the Dravidians were not shared by other groups in Ancient India. In the Vinaya text entitled *Ābhisamācārikā*, belonging to the school of the Mahāsāmghika Lokottaravādins, Buddhist monks are instructed not to behave like Dravidians, while attending to nature's calls : *nāpi dāni draviḍena viya prasrāva-karaṇaṃ grhṇitvā varca-kuṭikāṃ gantavyaṃ* / and *na kṣamati nivāsanaṃ oguhiya vāmena hastena angajātaṃ gṛhṇiya draviḍena yathā udaka-samīpe gantuṃ* /

Take note of the Prākritic type of this language. For reference, see B. Jinananda (editor), *Abhisamācārikā*, Patna, 1969 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series Volume IX) p. 70.2-3, p. 77.2-3.

In Girnar R E 2, Aśoka refers to the *Coḍā* and *Pā(ṃ)ḍā* together with the tribes od the *Satiya, Ketala* (kerala) upto *Tambapaṃṇī* (ancient name for Śrī-Lankā), and *Aṃtiyako Yona-rājā*. They all are listed as the borderers,—*pracaṃtesu*=*praccantesu*=Sk. *pratyanteṣu*—, among whom the Coḍas and Pāṇḍyas were well known Tamil dynasties.

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In Girnar RE 13.9, also the Andhras and Pārindas are mentioned who conform to Devānaṃpriya's Dharma, Andhra is an old name of the Telugu people, to whom Pliny (c. 23-79 A.D.) depending on Megasthenes (middle of 4th cent. B.C.), refers as a great and powerful race. He calls them *Andarae*.

7. The question may now well be asked : Why had Asoka issued his edicts through the medium of Old-Ardhamāgadhī, the so-called *e*-dialect, in the middle of areas, where since ancient times Dravidian people lived, who must have spoken their ancient Dravidian dialects, entirely different from the Magadhan speech ? In the first place, we may assume, that Magadhan officials, appointed by Asoka, operated in these areas, supported by Magadhan forces, who, in course of time settled down in these areas with their families, forming a Magadhan community. They, of course, were able to understand the word of their king, and their high officials might have been able to read the Brāhmī script of his edicts.

From Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭaparva 9.55 f. (a work on the oldest history of the Jaina community, composed samv. 1216-1229), which is based on ancient traditions, we learn that Jaina monks had to leave Magadha due to a drought of twelve years, who went to the cost. They would not have gone alone, they may have taken as many lay-followers with them, as they could take. Otherwise, who would have maintained them in new envirements ?

In the same way, Buddhist monks will have been affected, more than once by calamities, being compelled to leave Magadha, accompanied by their lay-followers. In this way, Magadhan communities could have come into existence outside the Magadhan region in the west and the south of India.

Five years ago, I met a group of Buddhist monks from the Chittagong hill-tracts at Calcutta, who accompanied their learned head-monk Aggavansa Mahathera. In a function near Calcutta, at Chitpura, Buddhist laymen and laywomen from Chittagong had assembled, who followed their monks into exile. In this case also, India, as in so many earlier instances, gave shelter to those, who had to leave their homes for the sake of their faith and convictions.

8. India was not always a paradise on earth. Due to many bacterial diseases in the past, internal wars, and other reasons, large groups of people became decimated, and whole areas became deserted, into which other groups of people moved. Apart from this religious disagreements were not always settled peacefully. At the end of Fa-hsien's Chinese translation (416-418 A.D.) of the Mahāsāṃghika-Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya, the translator's additional note reads as follows : "Once, a bad king reigned over a country in the central part of India. The *śramaṇas* all fled from the country, and those learned in the Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma were scattered like stars. When the bad king died, a good one succeeded him. He invited the *śramaṇas* back to the land, and made offerings to them. Now five hundred are gathered in *Pāṭaliputra*..."

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To this Akira Hirakawa comments : "The good king was Aśoka. According to Fa-hsien, the Second Council (or Council of 500) was held during Asoka's reign, but the *Dīpavaṃsa* states that the Third Council was held during his reign."

For reference, see : A. Hirakawa, Monastic Discipline for the Buddhist Nuns,—An English translation of the Chinese text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya—, Patna : K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1982, p. 414.

To Hirakawa's note, I may add that Asoka's Edicts do not refer to any Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputra.

At any rate, frequent disturbances would have caused *śramaṇas* of different shades and their followers, already before Asoka, to leave their places in the northern parts of India and to seek shelter in the south. Like Asoka's officers from Magadha, they would have been able to understand the words of Asoka's Edicts, and to convey them to their Dravidian brethren, who embraced Buddhism, and to others.

Aśoka's Edicts in the south of India, particularly the Maski, Brahmagiri, Siddhapura MREs (Hultzsch, pp. 174-179), the MREs I-II and REs I-XIV at Erragudi (D.C. Sircar, Asokan Studies, Calcutta 1979, pp. 7-41), in which we find the so-called Magadhan *e*-dialect, employed, apparently exercised their influence on the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Srī Lankā. Take e.g. *leṇe*=Sk. *layanaṃ* in the Ceylonese Brahmi inscription No. 2 : *Devenapiya-maharajhaha bariyaya bahiniya upaśika Varuṇadataya leṇe* (!).

For more examples see : S. Paranavitana, Inscriptions of Ceylon, Volume I : Containing Cave Inscriptions from 3rd cent. B.C. to 1st cent. A.D. Department of Archaeology, Ceylon, 1970. See here inscr. nos. 193, 236, 424, 792, 896A, 1051, 1059, 1060.

The features of the so-called *e*-dialect, which we find here, is not characteristic of the Pāli language, which came from India to Srī Lankā. One of its main features is the nom. sg. *o*-ending of *a*-stems. There are, however, a number of Magadhisms, to which H. Lueders called our attention in his "Beobachtungen" referred to in 3. (1) of this paper.

Pāli is close to the linguistic features of the western Old-Prākrit of Asoka's Girnar Edicts and the language of the Bhārhut inscriptions (c. 2nd cent. B.C.), representing a more recent and advanced state from the linguistic and morphological point of view than the Old-Prākrits of the Asokan Edicts. Due to the highly composite nature of the Pāli language, we cannot precisely locate it. The above noted inscriptional linguistic evidences may lead us to search the home of the Pāli language in an area near Kathiawar with an extension to the areas of Avanti, Sāncī, Vidisā, and Bhārhut. It is at Bhārhut, where we find the first reference to the group of the five Nikāyas. In the Bhārhut inscription No. 867, a certain Budharakhita is mentioned, who is called *paca-nekāyika* "an expert in the Five Nikāyas". This is a clear reference to the five sections of the Suttapiṭaka of the Pāli Canon, because it

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is only in this Canon that a division into Nikāyas has taken place. In the canons of other Buddhist schools the word *āgama*, instead of *nikāya*, is used. The inscriptional evidence of *paca-nekāyika* confirms that the Pāli Canon already existed in the second century before Christ in the western regions of India ! To this important fact, attention has been drawn, since long, by H. Lueders, Bhārhut and die buddhistische Literatur, Leipzig, 1941 (Reprint : Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1966) pp. 175-176.

In this study, Lueders has shown that the representations of legends, both canonical and non-canonical, particularly regarding Jātaka-scenes, depicted on the stone-railings at Bhārhut, in most cases, are in full accord with their respective Pāli versions !

The originals of the Bhārhut stone-railings can be conveniently studied in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

Concluding, I may observe that Asoka's south-Indian Edicts, which distinctly bear the characteristics of the Old-Ardha-Māgadhī, had their impact on the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Srī Lankā, while Asoka's Rock-Edicts at Girnar, and later the Brāhmī inscriptions at Bhārhut, and the representations there, may be called the parents and brothers-and-sisters of the Pāli language and its literature respectively.

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32

Kumargupta I and His Feudatory Bandhuvarman

—D.C. Sircar

The Mandasor (now called Mandsaur) inscription[1] of the silk-weavers, bearing the dates 436 and 472 A.D, led scholars to believe that the Aulikara king Bandhuvarman of Daśapura (Mandasor on the western fringe of Madhya Pradesh) was feudatory of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D) This interpretation tallies with the facts that Kumāra's father Candragupta II 376-414 A.D.) extirpated Śaka rule from Malwa and Gujarat, while his son Skandagupta (455-67 A D.) had one of his viceroys stationed at Girinagara (modern Junagarh in coastal Gujarat). However, our attention has recently been drawn to the views of a distinguished epigraphist who holds that Bandhuvarman was an independent monarch and not a feudatory of the Gupta emperor. Thus, we are told, "They (i.e. the Aulikara kings) maintained their independence in the heyday of Gupta supremacy. They ruled for a long time from Daśapura (modern Mandasor) and did not submit to the Guptas even after the latter made Ujjain, not far from Mandasor, their second capital during the reign of Candragupta II. They dated their records in the Mālava (Vikrama) Saṁvat. In the Mandasor inscription of M.S. 529, it is the silk-weavers who mention Kumāragupta I not as suzerain but as a well-known contemporary of the Aulikara king Bandhuvarman.[2] "As a student of Gupta inscriptions, I am sorry to regard the above suggestion as impossible because it goes totally against well-known Gupta archival style.

The said Mandasor inscription says how, when the earth, bounded by the four seas, was under the rule of Kumāragupta (verse 23) and when Bandhuvarman was ruling over the city of Daśapura (verse 29), a group of silk-weavers built there a temple of the Sun-god (verse 29) during the Mālava year 493, i.e. 436 A.D. (verse 34). Cf. *Kumāragupte pṛthivīm praśāsti . .....Bandhuvarmaṇi.....Daśapuram-idaṁ pālayati paṭṭavāyaiḥ.....bhavanaṁ..... Kārītaṁ Dīptaseesmeḥ.* Even without comparing the language of the stanzas with the style of other inscriptions, it is not easy to escape the conclusion that Bandhuvarman was the petty ruler of Daśapura within the Gupta empire conventionally described as the earth bounded

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by the four[3] seas ; if, however, anybody entertains any doubt about it, his attention may be drawn to the following Gupta records.

The fragmentary Tumain inscription[4] recording the construction of a temple in the Gupta year 116 (435 A.D.) when the local ruler was Ghaṭotkachagupta and the emperor was Kumāragupta. Cf. *Kumāragupte nṛpatu pṛthivyām.* Both the Dāmodarpur copper-plate grants[5] of the time of Kumāragupta, dated in the Gupta years 124 (443 A.D.) and 128 (447 A.D.), record the sale of state land lying in the jurisdiction of the *Adhiṣṭhān-ādhikaraṇa* (i.e. the board of the chief city's administration) of the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya when the earth was under the rule of *Parama bhaṭṭāraka Maharajadhirāja Parameśvara* Kumāragupta, when *uparika* Chirātadatta meditating on the emperor's feet was governing the Puṇḍravar-dhana-bhukti and when *Kumārāmātya* Vatsavarman was the ruler of the *viṣaya.* Cf. *Kumāragupte pṛthivīpatau.* It should be noticed that these records are written in prose unlike the Mandasor and Tumain inscriptions in verse.

Likewise the two Dāmodarpur inscriptions 'of Budhagupta's reign represent the emperor as the *Parama bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* ruling over the earth while the governor of the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti was *Uparika Mahārāja* Brahmadatta in the Gupta year 163 (483 A.D.) in one record, the other giving the governor's name as *Uparika Mahārāja* Jayadatta, the ruler of the Koṭi-varṣa-viṣaya being *Āyuktaka* Śaṇḍaka in the second epigraph. Cf. *Budhagupte pṛthivīpatau.*

The Eran inscription[7] of the local chief Mātṛviṣṇu and his younger brother Dhanyaviṣṇu records the erection of a *dhvajastambha* when the emperor was Budhagupta and the territory lying between the kālindī (Yamunā) and the Narmadā was under the viceroyalty of *Mahārāja* Suraśmichandra. Cf. *bhūpatau Budhagupte* (verse 2) and *Kalendī-Narmadayor-madhyaṁ pālayati Mahārāja.....Suraśmichandre* (verse 3). It may be noted that the word *pālayati* is used here as well as in the Mandasor inscription in respect of the subordinate ruler, while the emperor is called *bhūpati* in the present record and *pṛthivīpati* in the other epigraph.

It will be seen that, when the Gupta emperor is mentioned together with a subordinate, the former is represented usually as the ruler of the earth and the latter as governing a territory of moderate size and that this style has been followed in the Mandasor inscription.

It is indedd strange that Kumāragupta is believed to be mentioned in the Mandasor inscription without any reason excepting the Gupta emperor being 'a well-known contemporary' of the ruler of Mandasor because there is no such case in the whole range of Indian epigraphy. Moreover, it was certainly not the silk-weavers who represented Kumāragupta merely as a distinguished contemporary of Bandhuvarman ; but it was the poet

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Vatsabhaṭṭi who was quite well-acquainted with the Gupta archival and literary styles and very clearly represented Bandhuvarman as a feudatory of the Gupta emperor.

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33

Some Observations on the Veal Kantel Inscription of Bhavavarman I

—R.K. Dwivedi
And
Anamika Roy

There is no doubt about the fact that the inscriptions of Kambuja are unique relics of ancient South-East-Asia. For the reconstruction of history and culture, their importance was realized as early as 1879, when most of these records were deciphered by H. Kern and their corpus was prepared under the competent supervision of Aymonier. M.A. Barth and M.A. Bergaigne edited the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja, while the inscriptions written in the local Khmer language were edited by Aymonier himself. In these collections, however, a good number of Kambuja inscriptions had been left unnoticed, and this task was accomplished by G. Ccedes. His monumental work entitled 'Collection De Textes et Documents Sur L'Indochine' embodies both Sanskrit as well as Khmer inscriptions of Kambuja, and is known for its authoritative character in more than one respect. To the Indian researchers and the students, however, these Kambuja inscriptions were introduced in the real sense of the term when R.C. Majumdar's work 'Inscriptions of Kambuja' saw the first light of the day in 1953. Of the various inscriptions edited and foreworded in this volume we take for the purpose of historical interpretation Inscription No. 13.

The said inscription is published under the caption 'Veal Kantel Inscription of Bhavavarmma I'. It was originally edited by Barth in 'Inscriptions Sancrites du Cambodge', which formed Vol. 27 of the series entitled 'Notices et Extraits De Manuscrits De La Bibliotheque Par L 'Instut National De France'. The inscription was discovered from Veal Kantel, which is situated to the west of the Menkong river near Stung Treng. The find—spot of the inscription is no doubt a sacred place of ancient Cambodia, in as much as the said river has played an important role in the cultural and economic life of the people. The river is as sacred to Cambodia as the Nile to Egypt and the Gaṅgā to

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Northern India. According to Majumdar and many others the name Menkong is derived from Ma—Gaṅgā (i.e. mother Ganga).[1]

The inscription is written in Sanskrit and contains seven verses in Anuṣṭubh metre. Except the second lines of the 5th, 6th and 7th verses, the record on the whole is in one excellent state of preservation. It does not mention any date. On the basis of palaeography, however, B. Ch. Chhabra has placed it in the 6th century A.D.[2] In respect of orthography the only point which calls for special notice is the following 'Ra', e.g. in the words Vīravarmma, Bhavavarmma, Hiraṇyavarmma, and Somaśarmma occurring in lines one, two, and three respectively. The inscription alludes to the installation[3] of an image of Tribhuvaneśvara along with that of Sun by Somaśarma(n) whose wife was the daughter Vīravarma(n) and sister of Bhavavarma(n). Apart from religious history, the inscription is quite significant for the study of growth of Sanskrit literature in the Kambujadeśa in the 6th century A D. Verse No. 4 the inscription refers to the gift of the texts Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇa, and their regular recitation without any kind of interruption. Since we are intending to analyse this verse in a correct historical perspective as far as possible, we may reproduce its original form as under :

Rāmayaṇa-Pnrāṇābhyamaśeṣam Bharatamdadat /
Akṛitānvahamachhedyam Sa Catadvācanāsthim //

The verse has been analysed by the present day scholars from various angles. According to R.C. Majumdar the verse throws light on the religious practice of the ancient Cambodians, who considered it 'a pious act to present copies of these texts to temples'.[4] To the suggestion of Majumdar we may add that this practice was borrowed by the ancient Cambodians from their ancestral home i.e. India. Matsya Purāṇa, for example, enjoins that a person who makes donation of the written text of Brahma Purāṇa on Vaiśākhī Pūrṇimā is honoured in the heavenly world.[5]

A close analysis of the verse under examination would show that the intended Purāṇa—text is not specified by name. Hence the query is quite natural as to which of the Purāṇa—texts the verse has its reference. It is noteworthy that so far only Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa has been discovered from Jāvā, the neighbouring country of Cambodia. It has been suggested on very logical ground that the Purāṇa referred to in the inscription was perhaps the Brahmāṇḍa. The inference has also been drawn that originally it was in Sanskrit and round obout 6th century A.D. it was recited alongwith Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata and that the Kawi adaptation of the original Sanskrit version was made in the 10th century A.D.[6]

It may be noted here that the Javanese version of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa differs in many respects from its Indian counterpart. For example the Indian Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa is characterized by its division into Prakṛiāpāda, Anuṣaṅgapāda, Upodghātapāda and

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Upasaṁhārapāda. But no such sectional arrangement is available in case of the Javanese version. The description of Agni-Sarga which is an important section of the Indian Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa is likewise not available in the Javanese version. The most notable feature of the Javanese Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa is the fact that some of its important passages bear close resemblence to other Purāṇa—texts than the text of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. Among such passages mention can be made of the cosmological account and the description of Daksha Prajāpati, the former being more akin to the Matsya Purāṇa and the latter to the Kūrma Purāṇa.[7]

The problem which has been excercising the minds of the scholars eversince the beginning of the researches in South-East-Asian studies is the priority given to selection of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa in face of other important texts of the same class. We may quote the comments of R.C. Majumdar and J. Gonda, the two well-known scholars of South-East-Asian studies in modern times. Majumdar proceeds to argue "Why of all Indian Purāṇas, this one obtained a special celebrity is difficult to say."[8] Gonda remarks "This Purāṇa confronts us also with serious difficulties. Why.....has it been this representative of its class that has attracted the attention of Indonesian scholars and not those related works which in India proper enjoyed more general popularity."[9] The publicity of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa in South-East-Asia is further brought out by the vast number of its manuscripts discovered from Jāvā, and by the regard which the people of Bali island attach even today. The discovery of Pṛituvijaya Kakvin (composed by Ashṭaguṇa), a versified recension of the prose-form of the Javanese Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa is the most concrete proof of the wide publicity of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa in that country.

In the present note we may venture to emphasize that the scholars have totally ignored the word 'Aśeṣam' which is associated with the word Purāṇa in the verse of the inscription under review. The word Purāṇa in association with the word 'Aśeṣa, would imply that the reference of the inscription is not to one single Purāṇa but to the body of the Purāṇas without any exception. This would mean that round about the 6th century A.D. all the available copies of the Purāṇa—texts had been carried over to South-East-Asia and had been deposited in the said temple alongwith Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata under the care and custody of the ākhyāna – reciters of Cambodia. One has reason to believe that the Indian version of Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa had not at all been prepared in the 6th century A.D. At least its separation had not taken place from the parent text, the Vāyu—prokta Vāyavīya Purāṇa. We would like to draw the attention of the scholars to a line occurring in the Harshacarita, which alludes to the recitation of the Purāṇa proclaimed by Pavamāna (Vāyu) in the native village of Bāṇabhaṭṭa who flourished in the 7th century A.D.[10] The noteworthy point is that the celebrated poet does not specify the name of the Purāṇa, the recitation of which he attended in his village. It is called neither Vāyu Purāṇa nor Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, which in their extant forms of these texts claims to have been proclaimed by Vāyu. This

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analysis may indicate that the Javanese version of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa was modelled independently of its Indian counterpart. The Indonesian author used all the Purāṇa—texts which had been brought from India as early as the 6th century A.D., when the Indian Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa was yet to be compiled. It is for this reason that its passage seem to have been influenced by other Purāṇa—texts like Matsya and Kūrma in more than one respect.

It is also noteworthy that the basic similarity between the Indian and Indonesian texts of Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa is only in respect of the creation of the cosmic egg. This description is available in the very beginning the two texts with minor variation in the word used for the cosmic egg. In the Indian text it is spoken as "Hiraṇmayamaṇḍam', whereas the Indonesian text calls it 'Aṇḍabhuvana'. It appears that the nomenclature Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa ones itself to the central conception of the creation of the world in egg-form by Brahmā, the well-known creator god of the traditional Hindu pantheon. Who took the initiative in selecting this title, the Indian or the Indonesian author is a question, which can not be decided in the present state of our knowledge. Probably the incentive issued forth from a common parental source to which the nomenclature Brahmā Purāṇa, Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa besides Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa seems to be due. It may further be noted that the similarity between the Indian and the Indonesian texts is only in respect of the preamble portion, and consequently the remark[11] that the Indonesian version has followed the Indian model is not applicable to the general structure of the two texts. As a matter of fact the Indian Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa was modelled upon the Vāyu Purāṇa, as a result of which both these texts tally with each other in most of their passages.[12] On the other hand the Indonesian Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa seems to have been designed on a number of Purāṇa—manuscripts, which had been prepared in India before the 6th century A.D. The Veal Kantel Inscription makes it very much evident that the Purāṇa—tradition was popularized in Indonesia with the help of these manuscripts, and all of them were summed up in the formation of the Indonesian Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

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1. This river flows across Cambodia from north to south and is as mighty as the Nile, Sindhu, Saraswatī (of the Vedic Aryans) and Gaṅgā. It covers almost the whole of Cambodia by its ramifications. To the west of this river stands the great Lake—Tonle Sap—with which it is connected by a wide sheet of water. The Meknong river and the Great Lake no doubt form an integral part of the physical features of Cambodia,

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which is well illustrated by R.C. Majumdar in '*Inscriptions of Kambuja*', p. IX and the map at the end of the book.

2. B. Dutta, The Javanese Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa—article contributed in *India's contribution to World Thought And Culture*, pp. 533-34. Originally the palaeography of the present inscription was analysed by B. Ch. Chhabra, who placed it in the 6th century A.D. ("Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava rule, as evidenced by inscriptions")—article contributed in *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 1, p. 1 ff.

3. The writer of the inscription seems to have followed the style of the Indian inscriptions, which are characterized by similar orthographical features. For example see '*bhujavikkr. ma*' (line 30), '*parisarppaṇa*' (line 31) of Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 6 ff); '*Kuryyāt*' (line 15) of Mathura Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II, (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, p. 8); *deyadharmma*' (line 2) of Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 25); '*amrakārddava*' (line 5) of Sāñchī Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, pp. 31 f.) etc.

4. R.C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies In the Far East*, p. 208.

5. *likhitvā tatcha yo dadyāt brahmaloke mahīyate*, *Matsya Purāṇa*, LIII. 13. According to Hazra this chapter is considerably late, since it refers to all the eighteen Purāṇas (*Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*). The kernel of the text belongs to an early period But there is no doubt about the fact that Matsya Purāṇa has suffered through repeated additions and losses. No one date is sufficient for it. Consequently one has to observe care and caution in utilizing the evidence of the *Matsya*-text in respect of the social and cultural trends of ancient times.

6. B. Dutta, *ibid.*, p. 533.

7. For details see R.C. Majumdar, *Indo—Javanese Literature* (article contributed in *Indian Culture*, Vol. 1, July 1934—April 1945, Nos. 1-4, p. 41), B. Dutta, *ibid.*, pp. 533-34, J. Gonda, The Presence of Hinduism in Indonesia : Aspects and Problems, (Article contributed in India's Contribution to *World Thought and Culture*, pp. 535-36), The Javanese Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa (article contributed in *Puranam*, Vol. II, p. 254).

8. R.C. Majumdar, *Indian Culture*, Vol. 1, p. 41.

9. J. Gonda, *India's Contributions to World Thought and Culture*, p. 545.

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10. *pavamānaproktam purāṇam papāṭh* ; *Harsacaritā*, *Parichheda* III ; *Anuvāk* IV ; the same inference can be drawn from a sentence of *Kādambarī* (*Pūrvabhāga* ; description of the hermitage of sage Jābāli) which refers to the *Vāyu-pralipita Purāṇa*, i.e. Purāṇa which was proclaimed by Vāyu.

11. R.C. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 41.

12. The original unity of *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* was for the first pointed out by M. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, p. X ff. Hazra has shown that the separation between the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vāyu* must have taken place after 400 A D. (*ibid*, p. 18). S.N. Roy argues that the process of the separation of *Brahmāṇḍa* from *Vāyu* started somewhat after A.D. 400 and continued for many centuries till the Purāṇa assumed its extant from about A.D. 1000 ; *Historical and Cultural Stud es in the Purāṇas*, p. 192.

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34

Palaeographic Features of the Evolution of Kannada Script

—*A.V. Narasimha Murthy*

On the grounds of palaeography, Aśokan Brahmi has been divided into Northern and Southern varieties, each having some distinct features. The Southern Brahmi as found in the inscriptions discovered at Brahmagiri, Maski, Jatinga Rameśvara, Koppal, Nittur etc. is more evolved and shows a tendancy towards roundish signs. This is an important factor that has to be borne in mind while dealing with the origin and development of Kannada script for the latter has a pronounced tendancy to show a preference for roundish letters. In fact the history of the evolution involves recognising more roundish forms in a progressive way till the Kannada script came to be standarised in the post Vijayanagara period. This script came to be used by the Sātavāhanas, Kadambas, Bādāmi Chalukyas, Gangas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Kalyāṇi, Chālukyas, Hoysaḷas, Sēvuṇas, the Vijayanagara rulers and later the Nāyakas and the Woḍeyars of Mysore in the eighteenth century. Each one of these dynasties used according to the century in which they lived, a type of script which is easily recognisable by its palaeographic features.

The Sātavāhanas who ruled many parts Karnataka before becoming important in Āndhradēśa, issued many inscriptions in Karnataka. The same script developed into ornamental characters in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa mostly used by the Ikshvāku rulers of Vijayapuri. The former is more evolved than Aśokan Brahmi and has roundish letters. Arc becomes a prominent sign. The serif is not found. But the top of the letters have a triangular formation known familiarly as the nail-head. Thus this nail headed script was used by the Sātavahanas in Karnataka.

The Kadamba script which is the next stage of development occupies a prominient position in the development of Kannada script. It can safely be regarded as the earliest as stage of Kannada script. This was the period in which the inscriptions in Kannada language began to appear though Sanskrit continued for the purpose. In fact the earliest Kannada

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inscription assigned to the middle of the fifth century A.D. belongs to this dynasty.[1] The Kadambas being the contemporaries of the Guptas, could not escape the influence of the latter in respect of the script used for their inscriptions. The Chandravaḷḷi inscription of Mayūraśarman,[2] Halmiḍi inscriptions of Kākusthavarman,[3] Tāḷagunda inscription[4], and the Banavāsi inscription of Mrigēshavarman[5] show a variety of palaeographical features during this period. Mayūraśarman's inscription resembles the Sātavāhana script and is nearer to the last phase of the cave characters. Serif in its most primitive form is visible. In the Halmiḍi inscription the serif could be recognised with difficulty. The length of the letters *ka*, *ra* and *u* is reduced as a first step in becoming round. Letters like *pa*, *ba* and *ha* show a tendancy to become broad. Neither of these two inscriptions has either the nail or the box headed characters. But on a closer scruitiny one can easily observe that almost all the letters have a tendancy to become round.

In the inscriptions of the Gangas of Talkāḍ, neither the nail nor the box headed characters are seen. The letters have a tendancy to become broad. Sqaurish letters are almost nil. But the bottom of letters *a*, *ka*, *ra* and *ya* become longish in addition to the broadish tendancy. Letters *ma*, *la*, *ja*, *sa* and *va* are found in more than one form. This becomes clearer when we examine the Kūḍalūr inscriptions of Mārasimha and Harivarma[6] and the Keregōḍi inscription of Rāchamalla II.[7] Though these three inscriptions are not contemporary to each other, the writing in them shows more variety than normally one expects in that time span.

The Bādāmi chalukya script is more evolved than the Ganga script. Serif can be recognised witho t much difficulty. It is straight and shows a tendancy to acquire a new line. The bredth of the letters become more vivid. Some letters like *ya*, *ra*, *sa*, *ha* and *da* show a tendancy towards standardisation. The inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas though spread over a wider area, their script shows a maturity than the script used by the Bādāmi Chalukyas. Almost all the letters are now round. The letter *ka* is still in its archaic form while *ra*, *e* and *kha* become almost nearer the standard variety. The serif is further evolved and shows a tendancy to become an arc.

The script of the Kalyāṇi Chālukyan inscriptions can be termed as old Kannada characters because each letter now has a form similar to the standard type or the classical type of Kannada script. One can also notice the standardisation of most of the letters of the Kannada alphabet. Kannada language now becomes most commonly used one for writing inscriptions though Sanskrit continues. This also contributed for the quicker development of the Kannada script. Even the Sanskrit inscriptions came to be written in Kannada script. Letters like *i*, *ga*, *gha*, *la*, *ya* and *va* assumed the standard shape during the period. The serif now assumed the shape of a full fledged arc. Letters na and bha got altogether new forms. Considering all these developments we can easily say that this phase marks a definite stage in the evolution of the Kannada script. Hence we justifiably call this as the old Kannada script.

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The Hoysaḷas and the Sēvuṇas were contemporaries and used Sanskrit and Kannada languages and script for their inscriptions. In addition to that the Sēvuṇas used Marāṭhi for their inscriptions towards the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century in the Marāṭhi speaking areas of their kingdom.[8] The Kannada script used by both these dynasties was similar. The letters assumed definite round shape and they are highly artistic. In this connection it is worth mentioning that the inscriptions of the Hoysaḷas are as beautiful as their sculptures. Generally they are carved aon soft soapstone of black or greyish green colour and even the writing surface was first polished giving a glossy look for which the Hoysaḷa artists were famous. On the basis of the similar lillars found in temples, it can be surmised that they were polished on lathes.[9] The letters became completely round and lines of the inscriptions, spacing of the letters, decoration and uniform size of the letters were given greater care than that was the practice all these years. The engravers snatched every opportunity to make the script more beautiful by adding ornamentation deliberately. For example, the letters *ba* and *cha* are written in the form of a bird or a peacock. Palaeographically, most of the letters assumed the standard type. The arc type serif now becomes more pronounced. Thus the Kannada script of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can be regarded as the most beautiful and even ornate of the scripts used in Karnataka. The part played by the writing materials in this development should not be ignored.

The Vijayanagara period marks a new dimension in mere number of inscriptions. It can be surmised that the use of inscriptions suddenly became fourfold or even more. Every village in South India has an inscription of the Vijayanagara period. But unfortunately from the point of view of script, it has to be characterised as a period of decline.[10] This is particularly true of the Kannada script. However, it is difficult to know the influence of other scripts on this aspect for sheer lack of data. One can see a sharp contrast between the Hoysaḷa and Vijayanagara inscriptions. The former is not only artistic and elegant but very carefully written without mistakes whereas the latter is bereft of any artistic quality and invariably contains mistakes of very elementary nature. This is perhaps due to the fact that proper control over the department of writting inscriptions could not be efficiently maintained because of the wide empire. Every small village now issued a private grant and solemnised it with an inscription. From the palaeographical point of view one has to notice that letters *tha, dha, pha, bha* are now written by adding a small vertical stroke at the bottom of these respective letters in *alpaprāṇa*. This is a new tendancy which was not prevelent in the earlier period. In fact this practice became popular and was retained in the latter periods. Letters *ṇa* and *sa* became standardised during this period.

The post Vijayagara period is marked by the rule of a large number of petty kingdoms, popularly known as Pāḷegārs, Nāyakas and Woḍeyars who ruled different parts of the former Vijayanagara kingdom. Though inscriptions no longer important for these rulers as a matter of record, it was considered a fashion and a traditional custom to install inscriptions

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particularly at the temples proclaiming their own gifts. In this respect the Wodeyars of Mysore imitated the Vijayanagara rulers. Not only they rennovated the old Vijayanagara temples but also built new temples and invariably set up inscriptions commemorating their contributions. Even the land grants to temples were engraved on copper plates From these inscriptions one can easily understand the evolution of the Kannada script during the post Vijayanagara period. Standard forms are seen in most of the letters during this period. However, some archaic forms are still seen. For example, the letter *bha* is found in two forms; one in which the Vijayanagara form continues and the other a new form. The letter *na* though appears nearer the present form, it is yet to assume the standard form. The serif has almost become a small vertical line over a longer horizontal line. The *anusvāra* is now written by the side of the letter itself in the same line. Thus the Kannada script of the eighteenth century can be easily read by anyone who knows modern Kannada.

While speaking of the evolution of the Kannada script, it has to be borne in mind that the early stages of the evolution is called Kannada-Telugu because the development of both the scripts was more of less the same till the medieval period. However, a closer scruitiny shows that the inscriptions of the Kākatīyas and Hoysaḷas show slight variations in the script. The variations became more pronounced during the Vijayanagara period and leads to two different scripts, Kannada and Telugu.

Though the scripts are named after the dynasties like Kadamba. Chalukya, Hoysaḷa, Vijayanagara etc. it has to be borne in mind that changes in the script is more chronological than dynastic. Dynasties being contemporary their scripts are also common and this factor has to be taken into consideration while studying the evolution. Lastly the writing materials also have contributed in no small measure to the evolution of the Kannada script which unfortunately can not be studied in greater deapth. This becomes clearer by a comparative study of the Hoysaḷa and Vijayanagara inscriptions. Thus the Kannada script evolved itself from the Brahmi of Aśokan period and assumed the standard form in the eighteenth century. The further evolution has been arrested because of the facility of printing which has made each letter a standard type.

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2. MAR, 1929, p. 30.
3. Ibid., 1936, p. 72.
4. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VII, sk. 179.

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5. *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 57.
6. MAR, 1921, p. 19.
7. Ibid., 1919, p. 24.
8. A.V. Narasimha Murthy; *The Sevunas of Devagiri*, p. 11.
9. Majority of the Hoysaḷa temples are built of soap stone and have lathe turned pillars. Setting up an inscription or inscriptions at the entrance of a temple was a common practice among the Hoysaḷas. Some of the sculptors who carved fine images like Dāsōja were good engravers of inscriptions too. This is one of the reasons why Hoysaḷa inscriptions are artistic specimens of writing. This is true of the copper plate inscriptions of the period also. Bēlūr copper plate inscription of Vishṇuvardhana is indeed an artistic excellence.
10. Vijayanagara rulers generally used hard granite for their architecture and sculpture and also for their inscriptions.

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35

A Note on Coinage and Culture of Ancient India

—S.K. Maity

Ancient India saw her golden age under the banner of the Guptas and the root of the Hindu civilisation took its strong hold in this period. "An impartial historian" said Havell, "might well consider that the greatest triumph of British administration would be to restore to India all that she enjoyed in the fifth century A.D."

In the realm of numismatics, conservatism was a very strong force in ancient times, the early gold issues of the Guptas, therefore, closely resembled those of the later Kuṣāṇas to whose imperial position they succeeded in the north. The obverse of the Kuṣāṇa prototype of gold coins,—the king standing and offering incense at the alter, is very common in the earlier stages of the Gupta coinage. The Hindu king is also to be seen wearing the Kuṣāṇa overcoat and trousers. His name is written perpendicularly under the arm as on the Kuṣāṇa prototype. There was, however, a definite move to Hinduise the type soon afterwards. The coins of the Archer type of Samudragupta and the Battle axe, Couch, Tiger-slayer and Aśvamedha types are quite original in their conception and show no foreign influence whatsoever. Their execution is generally very fine and the high water-mark of Hindu numismatic art may be seen in the Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta and the lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II which are by far the best specimens of coins struck in ancient India. The art, however, began to decline in the reign of Kumāragupta I. The latter no doubt introduced two new types,—the Peacock type and the Elephant rider type but his coins show a definite artistic deterioration which was later accentuated by the declining fortunes of the empire.

Chandragupta I is the earliest Hindu ruler whose inscribed gold coins have been handed down to us. No ruler either of the Mauryas or the Śuṅgas or the Sātavāhana dynasty issued any gold coins. The practice was started by the foreign Greek and Kuṣāṇa rulers and Chandragupta I was the first national king to adopt it. Probably he started his

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gold coinage at the time, when he assumed the Imperial title. This took place rather late in his reign, when his conquests had invested him with sufficient importance. On his gold coins we have the names and figures of the king and the queen on the obverse and the name of the Lichchhavis on the reverse. It is clear that in spite of the growing greatness of the Guptas the Lichchhavis might have insisted in maintaining their separate identity in the dual kingdoms. We have not yet got a single coin of Chandragupta I where the name of the Lichchhavi clain and princess does not appear on the reverse and obverse respectively. Samudragupta paid considerable attention to his coinage. He was not content to issue coins in a single type. He introduced a pleasing variety in his coin types and his example was emulated by his successors as a consequence of which we possess in Gupta gold issues the most artistic series of gold coins ever issued in ancient India. So far seven coin types of Samudragupta are known. Of these the Standard, the Archer and the Battle-axe types refer to his military activities and the Aśvamedha type commemorate their successful culmination. The other two types give us a glimpse into some of the hobbies of the great emperor. The Tiger slayer type shows that the emperor took keen interest in wild game and the Lyrist type discloses how he used to spend his rare leisure hours in his palace in playing on the lute. The statement of Harisena, that his patron excelled Tambaru in musical skill, was thus not without some foundation. Whether Samudragupta composed any poems we do not know. But there is no doubt that he is the first king in ancient Indian history to introduce metrical legends on coins.

The reign of Chandragupta II is remarkable for its numismatic novelty. Minting of gold coins was done more extensively during his rule than in any prior or later reign. Chandragupta II's silver coins are few. The silver currency was confined to the new provinces of the empire during the reign of Chandragupta II. This Emperor also started using copper coins. During the greater part of the reign of Kumāragupta I there was tranquility and prosperity in the empire which is reflected in his coinage. His gold coinage is extensive and shows as many as fourteen types. Their artistic merit is high and many of their metrical legends have considerable poetical merit as well. He extended the silver currency to the Gangetic plain and issued for his home province a new type of silver currency showing no traces of foreign influence. He, however, practically discontinued the issue of the copper currency. People were generally accustomed to the use of cowries for small daily transactions. Kumāragupta I probably thought that copper currency was hardly worth trouble and expense it involved. Gupta mints were fairly active during the reign of Skandagupta. His silver coinage is as copious as that of his father, he supplanted some of its types by introducing new ones like the Bull and the Altar types. But his gold coinage is much less copious and shows only three certain types. The financial strain of the Hūṇa war had also told upon the treasury, for many of his gold coins are heavily adulterated. Among the later Guptas, Kumāragupta II has left us a numerous gold coin. But they are all heavily adulterated, gold being only about 57%.

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So far Indologists have studied Gupta coins mainly for the sake of political history. But their value for the study of the life and culture of that period should not be ignored. One of the functions of money is that it serves as a store of value. In ancient India, when banking system was very crude and underdeveloped, hoarding was a common practice. As many as 16 hoards of Gupta coins have so far been discovered from different parts of the empire. The great majority of the obverse legends of the coins of the Guptas have not been hitherto satisfactorily explained. As a rule each specimen only contains a few words of the legends, it is rare to find legible vowel marks. While a number of legends must await decipherment until further specimens are available the majority cannot be read with certainty.

During the age of the Guptas usually the emperor resigned independently in his own right. But there were certain exceptions to this usage. Chandragupta I, the first sovereign of the Gupta dynasty ruled his kingdom giving due importance to his Lichchhavi queen Kumāradevī as their names and effigies appear on their coins probably as the result of a political compromise. This coin shows on the obverse Chandragupta I standing to the left wearing close fitting coat, trousers and head-dress, earrings and armelt holding in left hand a crescent-topped standard bound with fillet and with right hand offering an object which on some coins is clearly a ring to Kumāradevī who is wearing loose robe, earrings, necklace and armlets and high fitting head dress. Only in the Aśvamedha type of coins issued by Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I are found the image of his chief queen.

Chandragupta II, we all know, was a great devotee of Viṣṇu. But no one had ever thought that he might have issued a coin type showing himself as a direct recipient of *prasada* from Viṣṇu manifesting himself before his royal devotee for that purpose. And yet this is what we visualise on the single coin of the unique Chakra-Vikrama type for the first time disclosed in the Bayana hoard. The Bayana hoard also shows that Kumāragupta I was perhaps the greatest devotee of the science of Numismatics in the Gupta dynasty, for it discloses for the first time as many as 5 new types, such as the King and the Queen, the Chhatra type, the Lyrist type, the Rhinoceros slayer type and the Elephant-rider-lion slayer type. The people of this age had their own indoor as well as outdoor games Hunting was probably an aristocratic amusement.

An important feature of royal life at this age was the institution of umbrella bearers. At Ajantā along with this royal umbrella can also be seen the other attributes of royalty,—the fly-whisk and the foot-stool. A royal umbrella (or parasol) is the symbol of supremacy. This parasol which was the emblem of royalty can be seen on several Gupta coins which are styled as coins of the Chhatra type. On such coins of Chandragupta II the emperor is seen standing with his left hand resting on his sword-hilt, while behind him is a dwarf attendant holding the royal parasol over him. It is not unreasonable to assume that the king appeared and departed in public especially in an Assembly Hall in this manner.

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Gupta gold coins supply a rich material for the study of contemporary costumes, weapons, furniture and horse accoutrement. The Gupta period is not only distinguished for its political achievements but also for its art, architecture and other spheres of material culture. To take an instance the fashions in hair-dressing, costumes and ornaments in this period show an artistic trend of mind which delighted in elegant innovations. The artistic arrangement of pleats and folds of *dhoti* and *śarī*, the graceful way of wearing *dupāṭṭā* and the carefully arranged knots of *kamarbanda* testify that the people were not unaware of the aesthetics of dressing. For the study of Indian costume in the Gupta period there are a very large number of Gupta coins bearing the portraits of kings, queens and goddesses A very significant fact in the costume of the kings is that they wear tunics and trousers like the Kuṣāṇa kings, though goddesses and queens appear in purely national costume. The convenience and also the elegant art of sewn garments must have appealed to the highly artistic but practical common sense of the Guptas. The coarseness and heavy barbaric art of the Kuṣāṇa garments gave place to elegance and finish In this age the top boots of the Kuṣāṇas also lost their heaviness and were reduced to the shape of modern riding boots. The adoption of sewn garments by the horse riders and a section of soldiers of the Gupta period also reveal Śaka influence. The common articles of wear in Gupta costume are *dhotī*, *dupaṭṭā*, *sārī* and *kamarbanda*. The sewn garments of a woman is called *chola* and *kurpāsaka*. *Chola* seems to have been a tunic and *kurpāsaka* seems to have been a close fitting bodice. Both of them appear on Gupta coins. The costume of a Gupta king is described in the *Mudrārākṣasa* as *varabaṇa* decorated with the circles of pearls and jewels, *tiara* and the flower garland worn across the chest. There is little doubt that *varabaṇa* here is the same as the tunic with pointed ends appearing on Gupta coins The circles on them indicate the decoration of pearls and jewels. The method of wearing *dhotī* is common on the coin portraits. The *dhotī* had its one corner set it front a little below the navel, the pleated end was tucked behind and it was so girt up as to show a part of the thighs. Usually the kings on Gupta coins are shown wearing full boots decorated with buttons. On the authority of the *Bṛhat Kalpasūtra Bhāṣya* these boots could be identified with *khallaka*, *ardha-khallaka*, *khapusa* and *jaingha* types. Apparently these shoes had fasteners. An analysis of the costumes of the kings and queens and the goddesses reveal the following interesting details.

Chandragupta I wears a helmet or close-fitting cap which is usually beaded and tunic with pointed ends with embroidered front or neck. At one place traces of oblique lines perhaps indicate fastings. He either wears trousers on *dhotī* with a pleated corner dangling between the legs and boots reaching a little below the knees. His tunic was often secured with a *kamarbanda*. The dress of Samudragupta is more varied. In Archer type he either wears a beaded skull cap often decorated with streamer which was hemispherical, conical or peacked. He usually wears the tunic with pointed ends secured by a *kamarbanda* (or a belt). He wears trousers of *churidār* type, trousers with *pleats* and *shalwars*. He also wears *dhotī* in combination with the tunic and *dupattā*. The buttoned top boots are worn. In Lyrist

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type he merely wears a skull cap and a short *dhotī*. These are suitable clothes, when the king is in his private chamber. In the Archer type he wears a turban with a plaque, tight fitting tunic, *kamarbanda* and *dhotī*. In Lion slayer type the dress appropriate to the occasion is simple. The king wears a flowered cap, light turban with a plaque, head scarf, half sleeved tunic without pointed ends, shorts, *dhotī*, *laṅgoṭ* and *kamarbanda*.

Coins also give us a picture of the furnitures and weapons used during the Classical age. There are many kinds of stools with machine turned like legs. Their forms are either rectangular or oblong. Some of the *sofās* are provided with high backs and were probably cushioned. The bed resembles its modern prototype. It was at times provided with a back. The *moḍhā* or *asandi* seems to have been used very extensively. It was hour glass shaped or bell shaped. The *moḍhā* which was apparently made of cane was decorated with zig zag and leafy pattern. The umbrella was a simple affair without ribs. The Gupta coins also represent certain interesting types of weapons. The recurved bows are of many kinds. The battle axes, swords and knives have also been represented in different forms.

T.S. Eliot in his brilliant set of essays which he called the *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* says "no culture has appeared or developed except together with a religion; according to the point of view of the observer the culture will appear to be the product of the religion or the religion the product of the culture." So the primitive and ancient culture of a people are considerably reflected through their religious outlook and their religious history is very much indebted to science of Numismatics, since it enables us to trace the evolution of religious movements. Thus, in course of time through the evolution of social and cultural life many gods and goddesses had appeared in the religious fold in the Classical age. Elaborate rituals and ceremonies had also developed and found proper representation in contemporary coins and inscriptions.

Like other ancient rulers the Gupta emperors were highly religious in their daily life and in fact under their steady patronage Hinduism got a new lease of life. From innumerable epigraphic records, we learn that temples and Brāhmaṇas, and Buddhist and Jain monasteries were liberally endowed with land and money by the emperors, queens, ministers, royal officials, guilds and wealthy citizen for their own religious merit and for that of their predecessors and successors. Numerous Gupta coins throw light on the religious thinking and practice of the Gupta emperors. Our ancient thinkers have recommended four stages or *asramas* of life such as *brāhmacharya*, *gārhastha*, *vānaprastha* and *sannyās*. According to this system one should lead an austere life as a student at his teacher's residence, as a married householder, as a hermit and lastly as a wandering monk with all his earthly ties broken. The ultimate goal of life is, however, to attain *moksha* (or liberation). It was considered the ideal scheme of life. From time to time at least some of the emyerors tried to follow the above scheme of life which was reflected on their respective coins. In boyhood and in youth

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the education and training of the royal princes were very well taken care of by their fathers and grandfathers. Thus, we have an able set of rulers and conquerors among the early Gupta emperors. In later life they attached equal importance to their family life,—as an house-holder whose dutifulness was the source of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokshya*. Thus, a very happy married life is reflected on a good number of the Gupta coins. Besides, great political significance the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī tyye of gold coins has great social and religious value in the life of Chandragupta I.

The King-queen-on-couch type of gold coins may be grouped as the "family coins" of Chandragupta II. On the obverse of the coin the Garuḍa standard is visible and on the reverse the king is shown dressed in *dhotī* and not in his usual royal dress. The queen is dressed in *śārḍi* and *bodice* The couple are shown facing each other and sitting on the couch. Both of them are wearing jewelleries and are looking very graceful. Chandragupta II offers a *sinduradāni* to his beloved queen in a relaxed and homely atmosphere. Kumāragupta I was an ideal lover and husband. His coins bear a touch of romanticism. On the obverse of the King and the queen type of gold coins Kumāragupta I is seen offering a bunch of flowers to his queen.

The Gupta monarchs recognised the importance of the presence of their queen in their great religious ceremonies. Only the chief queen (Mahādevī) was allowed to play the part of *Hotṛi* (worshipper) along with her husband in the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The Aśvamedha type of gold coins of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I testify to the above facts. The queen of the emperor was also crowned with certain titles of honour.

Not only the queen, but also perhaps, the queen-mother had an important role to play in the family and public life of the prince and emperor. Some evidences in this respect is furnished which have been identified by A.S. Altekar as the King and Lakshmī type of gold coins issued by Skandagupta. Altekar's identification is not without doubts and Skandagupta possibly issued those coins to commemorate his victory over the Hūṇas and the Pushyamitras in the closing years of the reign of his father or the early year of his reign. The female figures on both the obverse and reverse of the above coins have been identified by Altekar as Lakshmī. The identification of Lakshmī on the reverse of the coins is quite reasonable. As usual the goddess, nimbate, is seated on a lotus and she holds a noose in her right hand and lotus in left. But on the obverse the female figures is not nimbate and she holds no noose or cornucopiae. She is standing before Skandagupta in usual dress with a lotus flower in one hand and in the other hand she holds "some other object" as a sort of blessing for her son who is about to start his march against the Hūṇas and the Pushyamitras. The Garuḍa standard in the centre, the bow and arrow in the king's hand and his military attire suggests his impending departure for the battle field. It is something unusual that on both the sides the female figures are the same (i.e. Lakshmī). According to the Hindu tradition it would

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be better to identify the figure on the obverse with the queen mother and this type of coins should be known as "the Queen-Mother and the King" type instead of king and Lakshmī. But a point arises here. Nowhere in the inscriptions of Skandagupta has the name of his mother been mentioned. This has led some scholars to think that he was probably an illegitimate child of Kumāragupta I. Keeping this view in mind, it should appear highly irregular that Skandagupta would allow the portrait of his mother to be stamped on his coins and not mention her when giving a detailed account of his genealogy.

The third stage of the ideal life was *vānaprastha*. Normally after fulfilling all his duties and responsibilities in private and public life and at the retiring age perhaps Kumarāgupta I preferred to renounce the world and the whole scene has been beautifully represented by his "Apratigha" type of gold coins. There are three figures on the coin. Although their significance is not yet fully solved, Prof. A.S. Altekar has given some tentative suggestions. The central figure is undoubtedly Kumāragupta I, since he is expressly described as such. The lady on the right may be his queen and the soldier on the left his general or the crown prince. Both of them are expostulating with him. Can it be that the emperor is contemplating renunciation and that his queen and general or crown prince are trying to dissuade him without success ? The folded hands on the chest of the emperor may indicate his inability to accept their arguments. He is firm in his resolution and is, therefore, described on the reverse as Apratigha (or invincible).

The "Summum-bonum" of Hindu life was also expressed by the emperors on their coins. After discharging the duties of a householder and performing penance and austerities in *vānaprastha* one likes to attain heaven. It is the blessed end of Hindu life and it was desired by every Gupta ruler. We can refer to a few instances from the Gupta coins. The obverse of the standard type of gold coins of Samudragupta runs thus—"*Samara-Sata-vitata-vijayo-jita-ripurajita-divam-jayati*"—'the invincible (king) who has won victories on a hundred battle fields and conquered enemies, wins the heaven'. Again, in the Kācha coin "*Kācho-gamavajitya-divam-karmabhir uttamair-jayati*"—'having conquered the earth Kācha wins the heaven by excellent deeds'. Considerable emphasis used to be laid on good deeds of men, thus, even the king who was a lion among men having conquered the earth wins heaven by good deeds,—"*Gamavajitya-Sucaritaih-divam-jayati*". The substance of some of the legends on coins express and confirm the well known Indian idea that by the merit acquired by sacrifice one may become equal to the gods or become an Indra and attain to heaven. According to the "*Satapatho Brāhmaṇa*", the world of heaven is said to be the reward of the sacrificer. The means by which heaven is attained are sometimes specifically expressed by such phrases as *karmabhiruttamaih* or *sucharitaih*.

The archievements of the Gupta emperors must be remembered for the great reformation of the Hindu society and religion. The conceptual evolution of gods and

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goddesses along with different religious practices can be studied from their coins. In this connection we must note that the importance of the kings is predominant as compared with that of their queens in the Gupta coins. But strangely enough the goddesses are more in number than their male counterpart. From a careful study of the coins, inscriptions and seals we come to know that Vishṇu and Lakshmī were their favourite god and goddess. Sri R.D. Banerjee, thus, remarks, "they are distinctly *Vaishṇavas*." In their large number of coins and inscriptions the Gupta emperors assumed the title of *Paramabhāgavata*. They also used Garuḍa seals, Garuḍa standard and Garuḍa in their coins. Garuḍa was the vehicle of Vishṇu and Lakshmī was the consort of Vishṇu. Specially Lakshmī the goddess of fortune with lotus flower in one hand or cornucopiae in another hand is very commonly visible on the coins from Samudragupta to Vishṇugupta. Thus, Lord Vishṇu was perhaps worshipped by the emperors for strength, vitality and energy and his consort Lakshmī was worshipped for wealth and fortune. A circular wheel apparently the Vishṇu-Chakra is also visible in some of their coins. In the Chakra-Vikrama gold coins Vishṇu himself offers three circular objects, most probably, sweet-meats to Chandragupta II who was a great devotee of Vishṇu. He also created *Garuḍa-dhvaja* at the famous *tirtha* of Vishṇpada somewhere on the Beas in the Punjab. He, thus, claimed to have received direct favour from his favourite deity and for this special favours he became invincible in warfare.

Lakshmī, the goddess of fortune, is seen sometimes seated on throne or on a lotus with a cornucopiae signifies the horn of plenty that is the Gupta empire would be "over flowed with flowers, fruits and corns". Sometimes, she simply holds a lotus flower in her left hand as a mark of her divine blessing on her devotee. But almost everywhere attached to her right can be seen a noose. Thus, the goddess of fortune, it will seem, wants to maintain a permanent tie with the Gupta rulers. Sometimes, Lakshmī is seen scattering wealth and fortune in the form of coins. She is also fond of feeding a peacock from a bunch of fruits. She always appears in a *sarḍi* and bodice which indicate a cordial and informal relationship between her and her devotee. Her figure appears graceful and her demeanor calm and mother-like from the reverse of the Standard, Archer, Battle-axe, Lyrist types of gold coins of Samudra gupta ; Kācha gold coins ; Archer, Horseman, Chhatra, Couch, Standard, Chakra-Vikrama type of gold coins of Chandragupta II ; Archer, Horseman, Swordsman, Elephant-rider, Elephant-rider-lion-slayer, Chhatra, Apratigha type of gold coins of Kumāragupta I ; Archer, King and Lakshmī (or Queen Mother), Chhatra, Horseman type of gold coins of Skandagupta and the gold coins of Narasiṃhagupta and Vishṇugupta.

Besides Vishṇu and Lakshmī, the emperors also worshipped many other gods and goddesses. The effigy of Ambikā (or Durgā) seated on a lion is also seen from the gold coins of Chandragupta Kumāradevi type, Lion slayer coins of Chandragupta II, Lion slayer and king-queen type of coins of Kumāragupta I. She is the same as *Siṃharathi* or *Siṃhavahini* of our Epic and Purāṇic literature. Another female deity worshipped by the

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Gupta emperors was the *Makaravahini Gaṅgā*. She is on the obverse of the Tiger-slayer coins of Samudragupta and Khinoceros slayer coins of Kumāragupta I. The river goddesses Gaṅgā and Jamunā were well known in the Gupta art. Śiva was also worshipped by the Gupta rulers. He is represented by his *Trisula* (Trident) on the reverse of the silver coins of Kumāragupta I and Nandi (Bull) on the reverse of the silver coins of Skandagupta. Kumāragupta I was named after Kumāra or Kārtikeya. The Kārtikeya and the peacock type of gold coins were intended to pay special homage to Kārtikeya. In some of his silver coins also, the peacock, the emblem of the deity is present.

The rituals and ceremonies as a part of their refined culture were expressed through their coins. After completing his conquests Samudragupta performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice which was long in abeyance after the reign of Pushyamitra Suṅga. A special type of Aśvamedha coins were issued by him to commemorate this event and for giving fees (or *dakshiṇā*) for participating priests and others. The ritualistic injunctions prescribe the distribution of fabulous sums of money on these occasions. His Aśvamedha type of gold coins prove beyond doubt that he had performed at least one sacrifice. The reverse legend is *Śrī-aśvamedhamahendra.*

Along with the social development the position of women had greatly improved. They had a fair share of culture and education. Some of them were even very good administrator. For instance, the Vākāṭaka queen Pravābatīguptā ruled the empire for nearly a quarter of a century. The marriage ceremony of Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta I and Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī is also represented by the Chandragupta. Kumāradevī type of gold coins. On the obverse of the coins Chandragupta I is offering an object presumably the marriage ring to his queen. His son Samudragupta was proud of his Lichchhavi relation and described himself as the Lichchhavi dauhitra. These give rise to the assumption that the matrimonial relation with the Lichchhavis materially contributed to the political greatness of the Guptas.

Many of the Gupta monarchs had more than one wife. But only the *Pradhānā Mahisī* (or the chief queen) of the emperor played a very significant role in the religious and social life of the emperor. On the reverse design of the Aśvamedha type of gold coins Dattadevi is holding a chowrie over her right shoulder and on the left field there is a sacrificial post. *Mahādevī* Anantadevī is also seen on the Aśvamedha type of gold coins of Kumāragupta I. On the obverse of Aśvamedha type of gold coins of Samudragupta and his grand son Kumāragupta I a horse is standing before a decorated yupa (sacrificial post) enclosed within a platform. There is *Srī* (or *Siddhaṃ*) beneath the horse. On the reverse of the coins the chief queen is holding a chowrie (*chāmara*) over her right shoulder and a piece of cloth in her hand. There is an object in front of her which resembles a spear. According to the *Kātayana Sauta sutra* the Mahādevī is required to fan and wash the horse and then clean the

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animal with towel. The spear like object is actually a needle (suchi). It is stated in the same Śāstra that there should be three needles of gold, silver and copper. After the horse is sacrificed the three queens of the king are to puncture its body by needles in order to facilitate the passage of the sword by the emperor into its body. The Mahādevī is to use the gold needle, the favourite one the silver and the discarded one the copper.

The Gupta emperors might have celebrated their special marriage anniversaries by minting coins. We may cite two such examples here. On one occasion Chandragupta II offers an object, apparently a *Sinduradāni* as identified by A.S. Altekar to his favourite queen. Both of them are in informal dress, sitting face to face on couch. It is beautifully presented in his King and queen type of gold coins. In the similar manner Kumāragupta I is shown offering Anantadevi a bunch of flowers. These coins also indicate a very peaceful family life of the Gupta emperors. The attachment of the royal couple is revealed through the lyrist type of coins of Kumāragupta I which shows the king deeply absorbed in playing with his lyre and his queen listening to the music sitting by his side with a flower in her hand.

The Gupta coins also reflect the material culture of the emperors. Some of them were interested in instrumental music. Samudragupta is seen on his gold coins paying a lyre. He is dressed only upto his waist. The other favourite pastime of the Gupta emperors was hunting and a great many hunting scenes were depicted on coins. They attacked the animals from horse back, elephant and on foot. The Archer type of coins depicts the scene of hunting excursions (or mrigayā) with bow and arrow. Some coins also express the royal love for birds. The peacock type of gold coins of Kumāragupta I shows the king feeding fruits to the peacock. The refined taste of the emperors is expressed through the fine selection of their furnitures and costumes. There are different varieties of the thrones, bed-stead, *morḍha*, umbrella, fly-whisk, stools, foot-tools and spittoon. Their decorative designs speak highly of the art of carpentry.

So far as the exchange valve of the Gupta currency was concerned, by spending 2, 3 or 4 *dīnāras* one could purchase one *kulyavāpa* of land which amounted to a large area. Moreover by deposting 10 and 12 *dīnāras* benefactors expected to maintain an almshouse as long as the sun, the moon and the stars endured out of the interests of the sum. All these references undoubtedly show that the gold coins had a very high purchasing power. They were not likely to be used in small transactions.

There was a remarkable development of Sanskrit in the Gupta age. The Gupta emperors were first to start the practice of giving the coin legends in beautiful material lines. Notable among them are the following :

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'Prithivītalāmbaraśaśi Kumāra Gupto jayatyajitah
Jayati nriposibhirajitah.
Prithivītalaśvarendrah Kumāragupto jayatyajitah
Bhartā Khadgatrātā Kumāragupto jayatyaniśam.'

These lines would show that the poets of the Gupta age were particularly fond of using figures of speech like *upamā*, *utpreksha*, *ślesha*, etc.

The splendid gold coinage of the Guptas with its many types and varieties are the finest examples of Indian art. Slight traces of Hellenic influence can be noticed from the effigies of the kings on almost all of the Gupta gold coins. Just like the Kushāṇas and Indo-Greeks everywhere the king wears a close fitting cap, coat and trousers. But in Indian manner they have earrings, necklace, ring, armlet, etc along with other India objects, such as, Garuḍa standard, peacock and so on. The figure of the queens of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī, the Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I and the different figures of goddesses on coins are purely Indian in origin and style. They are in loose robe, earrings, necklace, armlets etc. In most of the Gupta gold coins the king is exhibited with masculine figures with arms and ammunitions which are the predominant signs of ancient life and culture. On some coins they are about to kill a tiger, lion and rhinoceros. Only in certain types of coins such as the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī, Lyrist type of coins of Skandagupta, Chakravikrama coins of Chandragupta II, Peacock coins of Kumāragupta I the king has appeared before us in the most sober and fashionable colour. Again the high sounding title used by the kings on their coins also reflect the power and magnificance of the Gupta sovereigns to a certain extent.

The splendid Gupta coinage with its many types and infinite varieties and its inscription in Classical Sanskrit are the finest examples of ancient Indian art. As specimens of art they are the best and have hardly any parallel in any other numismatic series. A comparison is usually made of Gupta coins with the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coinage. But the latter series represents a tradition of numismatic art that was foreign to India. This foreign tradition was gradually absorbed and assimilated by the Indian mint masters.

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36

Three Empires and a Culture

—K.V. Soundararajan

The growth of Indian Culture is a story of cross-fertilization, adaptation and interaction among several evolving contexts of its long history. We are primarily underscoring here what India would have constituted already in the opening centuries of the Christian era. The most significant legacy of the land at that time was the great Indus Civilization, the Mauryan Imperialism and the Kushan empire. Each of them was evidently different from the other, owing to the chronological distinctions, but they were also different in their *ethos* and potentialities. What followed, therefore, from the early historic times, say, at the advent of the Gupta empire was a complicated picture of urban, aesthetic and commercial implications in such a net-work that the destinies of the entire nation were contingent upon their texture and matrix and from which all the subsequent enterprises, secular, religious and technological, were to be launched, nurtured and furthered. Each of these three major phases, in its annals, contributed special traits to its resultant stamina, of a universal character. Geography and ethnic movements, together, of course had been the primary and secondary forces that had shaped the character of this situation. This is all the more so, because, in India of the past, once the Baluchi *piedmont* had been left behind, a long and continuous stretch of the plains, fertilized by the Indus and the Ganga, together with its tributaries, had lain beyond up to north—east India, and the Himalayan wall and the Vindhyan high plateau, on the north and the south respectively, had contained the movements of people and their phases of colonial expansion and the Aravallis also had to some extent imposed a constraint on the pace of such expansionism. All the same, at the stage when the Indus plains were virtually colonised, the next stages had been further transformed by the vicissitudes that had overtaken the life span of the Indus Culture and had added a new approach, a new objective and a new composition to the attitudes and diversities of the communities, which within another millennium were to be impacted upon by not only further demographic changes in the population, but also by the new acquisition of Iron Age metallurgical equipment which, by then, had supplanted the mere residuary urban content of these communities. Then again, without obstruction, the Ganga valley was filled in, mingling with the antecedent peasant Neolithic strains there, to form a major agricultural population, scanning new horizons born out of the food surplus, of cultural

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improvements into viable, vocationally-based groups and a new socio-political *ethos*. Leadership first loomed large, in the form of *Mahājanapadas* in the plateau and hill topography of Rajasthan, Central India, Cis-Ganga fringes and sub-montane Himalayas, and were garnered into a firm, endogamous polity with power centres for orderly expansionism. Thus was the great Magadhan polity born in the central Ganga zone, from its south Bihar hilly nucleus, to organise and mould the entire stretch of riparian tracts all the way up to the north-west frontiers of the country, retracing the original sources and treks of the colonising hordes with whom it had miscegenated. Taxila and beyond was their northern border and in the southern peninsula, the Krishna valley, in their hey-day under Aśoka. This period was one of phenomenal activity on the Indo-Baluchi borderlands with the Achaemenid, Greek, Parthian and Central Asian communities being on the move for similar expansionist control, and political and cultural widening of their restricted kingdoms through unrestricted initiative and enterprise. Born out of this was the Tocharian movement located in the south-east Chinese uplands towards the west into Central Asia, between the Caspian and the Aral seas and the Indian north-west Karakoram and Hindukush, watered by the Syr-darya and the Amu-darya. This new force gathered its intrepidity to seek fresh pastures of annexation, helped by the trans-continental 'Silk route' arterial movements between China and West Asia. These, later identified in India as the Kushanas, were to be domiciled in the western Ganga-Yamuna zone, with much if not most of the Panjab plains under their sway, besides what lay beyond in Central Asia. These not only integrated the Iranian impulses and the Central Asian elements into the Indian fabrics, but also opened new vistas in religious and cultural motivations. In this Kushan period, for the first time, the halting earlier exotic strains and the basic Indian post-Vedic nucleus, fertilized by the fall-outs of the missionary leadership of the Budha and Mahāvīra, formed a new *ethos* which was destined to be woven firmly into the fabric of Indian culture, with multi-pronged interests in politics, religion and art. The areas of the erstwhile *Janapadas* had already been impacted upon in the pre-christian centuries by the Śuṅgas, and were to be further strengthened by the Kushana movement into a true upper Indian demographic synthesis. Thus, the texture of Indian Asia was the combined genius of the Indus culture, its post-Indus Ganga valley devolutions crystallised through the Magadhan Imperial sway, and the early historic Kushan empire, and it was not possible for any new ethnic force thereafter to change or vitiate these national strains, but only further enrich it. The hub of its activity was the Ganga-Yamuna doab, mainly because from there equidistance was achieved towards West Asian-Baluchi centres and Central Asia and within India towards the lower Ganga valley, on the one hand and Gujarat and Deccan and on the other. Material culture was uniformly diffused to such an extent that from Taxila to Central India through Vidisha, and from Saurashtra to Kalinga, the impacts of Kushan culture were as even as their socio-political influence. This was the period which heralded the best formative elements of Brahmanical Hindu religion, the era of the largest spread of Monastic Buddhism, the age of the Imperial commercial Rome and the advent of free movements of people from the west and the east all across the Ganga Plains. The finest concepts of socio-economic and socio-

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cultural doctrines were propounded for giving the people a temporal purpose. The Sātavāhana empire sprawling across the whole of the Deccan peninsula from sea to sea, was also a co-eval major partner in furthering like aims. Language was standardised, script was crystallized into profuse public use, and craft was oriented to urban optimum so that some of the greatest cities of India were consolidated only around this period. Chieftainship of a local strain was given fillip, and ethnic endogamy into regional facets resulted.

It is to be particularly noted that the Kushan cultural stream was so much identifiable with the pan-Indian main-stream that we do not have anywhere a purely or exclusively separate Kushan habitation or settlement but only a typically Kushan cultural slant to material remains in the early historic times in most of the zones. This will particularly highlight the absence of any ethnic parochialism and the well attuned fraternization with all sections of communities. This was seemingly different from the environmental context, however, of the Central Asian region, where too the Kushanas were one among the many communities, and were for a considerable time the political overlords. In the Chorasmian region there, the garrisons of the Kushana empire were stationed to guard its northern frontiers, as at Gyaur-kala on the right bank of Amu-darya. Probably built in the 2nd century A.D., it sealed the passage between the river and mountains. Only the northern part of this fortified garrison was standing to its max mum height and was suitable for excavations. The inner structures consisted of a large square hall, with painted walls carrying niches and perhaps gable roof supported on columns in the hall below and brackets on them. Portrait sculptures in clay of young males in sharp pointed hat of the Scythian type recovered from here had been outstanding discoveries, linking them with similar finds from India. In the early 3rd century, the region freed itself from the dependence on the Kushan empire, and the local Chorasmian rulers were issuing their own coins carrying the first Chorasmian inscriptions and the king on the obverse and a horseman on the reverse. Another such site was Toprak-kala—a desert site near the Aral sea—whose lower strata were of the same date as those of Janbas-kala (Kangyu culture), but which was most flourishing only during the Kushan times.

It could thus be seen that the Kushan art did not permeate as much into Central Asia, as in India, and was of a different category. In India, the Kushan art of Mathura justly became one of the sublimest formative episodes of Indian sculpture in modelling and virtuosity. It initiated trends which were to become the inspiration for the terracotta art of the subsequent period, and the Kushan kings themselves were great patrons of both Brahmanical Hinduism and Buddhism, and played a significant role in moulding and organising these religions and their functions, as in the notable case under king Kanishka. But when we consider what a purely Indian civilization, as of the Indus valley had bequeathed, or correspondingly what an eastern India—based Mauryan Empire under Aśoka had done for Indian art and religion, with finally in the early historic stage what the Kushan empire had cotributed, the palm will undoubtedly be carried away by the last, because it is the post-Mauryan period that spear-

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headed the synthesis of the best that was in Vedic Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, towards the most fulfilling channels of integration, helped in this regard by the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana-Kṣatrapa movements and components, resulting in a finite fusion of the genius of the multifarious trends in the entire country. The City-states of the Indus civilization in their trade and script were defunct already before the Mauryan times, and it is because of shifts in emphasis and the distinctions in the power centre concept of the Mauryan polity, the indigenous thrust and consolidation in the eastern part of the Ganga valley with a value-system which was part-exotic and part Indian in its *ethos*, that it laid the foundations for an Indian synthesis in aesthetics and temporal well-being. For this, it had to spread from the eastern nucleus again towards the west and fuse with all that was inherent in the post-Indus, post-Vedic cultural *melange* to create a new synthesis of great significance and a re-urbanisation of the Indian countryside and its temper and a new diversification of its potentialities, during the Śuṅga and the Kushan periods. If Ganga valley fathered a new wave of culture in the Iron age into a second urbanisation, through the Imperial Maurya power and polity, it was the post-Mauryan *denoument* that sublimated it into a main stream of national cultural *ethos*.

Thus, the three major land marks of early Indian developements—the Indus valley civilization, the Maurya Imperial consolidation and the Śuṅga—Kushan integration, was able to crystallise, in the Imperial Gupta times, into a national mainstream—bipartite in its Brahmanical and Buddhist—Jaina constituents—and set the tempo for the best efflorescence of Indian creative fellowship in culture; and it was no wonder that it was also, once again, moored in the eastern Ganga valley—where the Magadhan Imperial panorama was well rooted earlier, serenely. The Kushan chapter of the story however had this special virtue that it was, in a further oscillation, centred in the western Gaṅga zone, and served as a facile bridge between the past and the future, and was a balance of temporal power and cultural vigour. From the Panjab to the Ganga plains, a new impregnation of Indian, exotic and antecedent legacy was achieved meaningfully. Literary, artistic, commercial, temporal and technical skills found their full play only in this period, between the Ist century and 4th century A.D., and whatever transpired afterwards in the whole of India had a consanguinity and commonality which we now proudly call the Indian *CULTURE*.

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37

Material Progress, Taxation and State Formation in the Age of the Buddha

—*R.S. Sharma*

Whether the state is symbolised by a monarch or an oligarchy, its overarching authority and the final verdict in vital matters becomes ultimately effective because of its capacity to compel the people to abide by its decisions. The decisions are enforced by officials recruited on account of their abilities or nearness to the seat of power. But in spite of a long, well-established tradition of allegiance and obedience to the clan, tribal or family chief, in the ultimate analysis the state has to invoke the help of some coercive authority such as army or police to implement its decisions. In many tribal societies all able-bodied men are mobilised for animal hunting; the same thing applies to man hunting, which is another name for war. And since war is an important and legitimate source of livelihood in archaic and primitive societies, some anthropologists call it a source of booty production. The chief and elders enjoy judicial authority, but do not require any elaborate mechanism to enforce it. This is so because tribesmen willingly submit to whosoever represents the judicial power.

As pointed out elsewhere, a full-fledged state maintains a taxation system, a professional army, and a cadrē of officials.[1] All these elements are listed and explained by ancient Indian thinkers whose ideas are strongly similar to those of Engels.[2] Some people add the law enforcing or law maintaining authority represented by the judicial organ to the list. As an organ manifesting the final and supreme authority the judicial and law-keeping organisation may be considered indispensable. The ancient Indian thinkers regarded territory (*rāṣṭra/janapada*) and the fortified capital (*durga*) as important ingredients;[3] both stress the territorial aspect, which is regarded an important element in the modern definition of the state. Anthro-

1. R.S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1968, Ch. III.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

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pologists notice temporary territorial demarcation even among groups of hunters and more so among those of herders. But in such modes of subsistence it is really the band or the kin-based solidarity that commands allegiance; the territory is a very weak claimant. The territory really assumes importance when people discover its potentialities for regular food production and use it for permanent habitation. At this stage, notwithstanding their immediate allegiance to various tribal units, sedentary people develop deeper attachment to the territory.

The territory is exploited through its producers by making them pay taxes. In fact of the various elements of the state the revenue system is the most critical. Without a regular supply of resources in cash or kind it is not possible to maintain the central establishment comprising the king or the ruling aristocracy, the professional army, the executive and judicial officials. Hence in our opinion the origin and growth of the taxation system determines the rise and development of the state It is interesting to not that this was realised by Kauṭilya. According to him *vārttā*, comprising agriculture, cattle rearing and trade, is beneficial because it brings in cereals, cattle, cash and labour power. Through it, by means of the treasury and the army, the king controls his own subjects as well as those of others.[4] Kauṭilya states clearly that the treasury is the source of the army. He adds that the relative importance of the two differs according to time and place, but he holds that while the treasury may be obtained and preserved through the army, the treasury can multiply itself and preserve itself, and it can also acquire and preserve the army.[5] Kauṭilya reiterates his basic thesis by stating that the army exists because of the treasure, and that the state territory, of which the treasure is the ornament, is won by the treasury and army.[6]

It is argued by some that the consensual factor plays the decisive role in the formation of the state.[7] Such an inference can certainly be drawn from the contract theories of the state which speak of taxation in lieu of protection. But it is equally certain that these theories were put forward by state ideologoues not only in India but also in other countries, in order to justify the functioning of the state and to assert and legalise its right to collect taxes. Even, the contract theories, propounded in Pāli and Sanskrit texts, suggest that it was found necessary to protect the institutions of property and patriarchal family which were naturally the chief concerns of the members of the upper varṇas. Whatever that may be, there is little doubt that ancient India had a class of ideologues who justified the authority of the state in various ways. Apart from providing 'secular' justification they resorted to myth-making and

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4. *vārttā dhānyapaśuhiranyaviṣṭipradānādaupakarikī.*
   tayā svapakṣam parapakṣañca vaśīkaroti kośadaṇḍābhyām.
   Aś, I. 4.
5. *Aś*, VIII. 1.
6. *Aś*, II. 12.
7. *The Early State*, ed. Henry J.M. Classen & Peter Skalnik, Mouton, 1978, pp. 612-13.

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religious validation. They invented costly coronation ceremonies for the purpose of impressing the people with the power, prestige and majesty of the king, and they indoctrinated the common people in the divine attributes and even incarnation of the king. Therefore though some tradition of consensus may have survived as a tribal legacy, deliberate efforts were made to win consent and acceptability. It seems that almost the whole priestly class was engaged in this ceaseless exercise which brought constant gains to it. The priests even found it necessary to invent superstitious practices for replenishing the royal exchequer. The ideological and communicative role involving downright propaganda was performed by the brāhmaṇas, who in turn had to be supported by the state through payment of handsome gifts. Apparently a resou celess chief could not meet the demands of the brāhmaṇas or even of Jain and Buddhist monks whose preachings also kept the state and society going by promoting 'consensus'. Hence resource raising was essential not only for the maintenance of the professional army, and of the executive and judicial officers, but also of those who promoted 'consensus'. At least this seems to be the experience of the ancient Indian state.

Since in our opinion the state assumes real shape in the age of the Buddha, especially in the middle Gangetic plains, we will try first to examine in terms of Kauṭilya's *vārttā* the material conditions that prepared the way for the production of the surplus and indicate the methods adopted to collect it, especially in the form of taxes. Our second attempt would be to look for links, as emphasised by Kauṭilya in his own way, between the taxation system on the one hand and the formation and preservation of the other state organs such as the army, territory, etc. on the other.

The period with which we are concerned is noted for the rise of a large number of territorial states, mostly located in northern India and numbering more than fifty, if we take into account the 28 states mentioned by Alexander's historians.[8] Of course the idea of territory was not completely absent even in the hunting and grazing stage of the tribal people, who claimed certain stretches of territory as their sphere of influence and operation. In the *Ṛg Veda* the terms *pastya*[9] and *vṛjana*[10] are used frequently, and they stand for enclosures or pasture grounds. In the *Ṛg Veda* even the term *rāṣṭra*[11] is used, and *rājya*[12] occurs in later

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8. *Sixteen mahājanapadas* including republics are mentioned in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, six republican states are also mentioned in Pāli texts, and twenty-eight states are mentioned by Alexander's historians. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, University of Calcutta, 1972, pp. 85, 169-74, 216-29.
9. *VI*, i, 512-13.
10. *VI*, ii, 320.
11. *VI*, ii, 223.
12. *VI*, ii, 220-21.

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texts. In later Vedic texts the idea of territory or *rāṣṭra*[13] is expressed repeatedly. But for the greater part of the Vedic period people seems to have been more attached to their clan or similar kin-based institutions than to the territory which they used for grazing and cultivation. It was really with the end of the Vedic period, and particularly in post-Vedic times, that field agriculture based on the use of the iron ploughshare enabled the people to set up their farms and households and tied them down firmly to the soil.

The discussion of the *janapadaniveśa*, founding of rural settlements or large territorial units, in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (II. I) does indicate the general process of migration and colonisation, and underlines the crucial importance of agriculture and land distribution.[14] The ultimate object of setting up settlements is the collection of taxes levied according to the carrying capacity of the soil and its cultivators. This points is clearly made in the *Mahāb'ārata* which states that the state is based on the treasury and the treasury is based on settlements. The Kauṭilyan *janapada* consisted of 3200 villages,[15] and apparently a *mahā-janapada* comprised several *janapadas* accounting for several thousand villages, Bimbisāra called the meeting of 8,000 *grāmikas*,[16] which may be a conventional number; in such a case his state would consist of 250 *janapadas*. But at any rate the *mahājanapadas* was a large settled territorial unite capable of bearing taxes and various impositions.

Certain material conditions favoured the rise of the *mahājanapadas*. In Punjab and the upper Gangetic plains the process of large-scale settlements had started much earlier, but in the middle Gangetic plains large states were the products of the material culture associated with the phase of the North Black Polished Ware. So far nearly 570 NBP sites have been counted in northern India, Central India and the Deccan, but most of them are located in eastern U.P. and Bihar. They suggest beginnings of large-scale settlements in the alluvial soil since the sixth century B.C. or so. The use of iron for crafts and agriculture was an essential feature of the NBP culture, although iron was also associated with some other types of pottery. The two factors which made iron a cheaper and convenient metal to use were its availability in large quantities and the technological skill to make it more carburised. We have evidence for both these things Some iron artifacts, recovered in excavations from Rajghat (Varanasi) contain the same iron ore impurities as are found in the ores from Singhbhum and Mayurbhanj.[17] This leaves little doubt that the users of iron in the middle Gangetic basin were familiar with the area containing the richest iron ores. Similarly an

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13. *VI*, ii, 223.
14. *... rāṣṭraṃ ca kośabhutaṁ syat kośo veśmagatastathā.*
15. *Aś*, II, 1 read with II, 35.
16. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
17. The results of the examination of these objects are available in H,C. Bhardwaj, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Technology*, Delhi, 1979.

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examination of iron artifacts belonging to early NBP times shows that the smiths were capable of putting more carbon in them and thus making the tools lasting and more serviceable.[18] The second development that contribu'ed to the material life of the period was the beginning of paddy transplantation in the middle Gangetic plains.[19] With the large scale clearance of the extremely fertile middle Gangetic zone and the introduction of new methods of cultivation, t'ie production per hectar may have doubled. The farmers therefore were in a position to support their households and dependents and able to pay taxes to the state. The problem is to find out how and why regular payments in the form of taxes.

Archaeologically the existence of many *mahājanapadas* and some other states in the middle Gangetic zone and its periphery is supported by the finds of NBP, punchmarked coins and many other signs of habitation and craft activities. The distribution of NBP in these territorial states corroborates the Pali edidence about their existence in respect of nearly half the *mahājanapadas*. If further suggests that practically every state in the middle Gangetic plains had an upper social crust which used this delux pottery. This crust may have consisted of priests, warriors and substantial *gahapatis*, who appear as important elements in Pali and Sanskrit texts. The formation of a ruling order with the functions of fighting, administering, etc , legally assigned to it on a hereditary basis by the Dharmasūtras is almost peculiar to the Indian situation. In later Vadic texts the *rājanya*, a relative or kinsman of the *rājā*, played the diminutive role of a chief. Now he practically came to be replaced by the kṣatriya/ khattiya order in the Dharmasūtras and Pali texts. Later Vedic rituals reflect a long drawn-out struggle between the viś or the tribal peasantry on the one hand and the *rājanya* or the ruling chiefts who insisted on collecting tributes from the tribesmen. By the age of the Buddha this struggle seems to have been ideologically resolved in favour of the kṣatriyas, whose ruling functions were clearly defined and accepted in the Dharmasūtras, of course with the support of the priests/brāhmaṇas. The Jain and Buddhist monks, who had no place in the brahmanical hierarchy, lent greater support to the emergent ruling order, for they accorded the khattiyas the first place in social ranking. Without going into the composition of the kṣatriya varṇa at any length, we may say that the kṣatriyas mainly comprised the chiefs of the ruling class and lineages,[20] although many poor cousins may have been included in this category.

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18. The results of the examination of these objects are available in H. C. Bhardwaj, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Technology*, Delhi, 1979.
19. R.S. Sharma, *Material Culture and Social Formations in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1983, pp. 96-99.
20. Mainly on the basis of African analogy the terms tribe, clan, lineage, segment, etc., are being used increasingly in the Indian context by anthropologists, but the ancient kinship terms such as *jana, viś, gotra, vaṃśa, kula*, etc., carry their own nuances. In

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But whatever be their origin, legally and ideologically they were entitled to rule, and ruling meant primarily collection of taxes, and enforcement of decisions in disputes relating to patriarchal family and property, and of course protecting people against invasions. In course of time the legitimacy of the kṣatriya's function to rule became so well established that even brāhmaṇa rulers had to adopt kṣatriya titles and paraphernalia.

How and why certain segments of people came to claim taxes in the age of the Buddha is discussed in the Pāli texts in a theoretical manner. They present the picture of an ideal, collectivist, pre-state society, which was distorted by the appearance of property in land and patriarchal family. This picture may reflect some reality, but how voluntary offerings evolved into mandatory payments is nowhere indicated. This process has not been treated even by modern scholars including U.N. Ghoshal. However the pioneer but excellent works of Fick and Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids, supplemented by those of B.C. Sen, A.N. Bose and R.N. Mehta, provide valuable information regarding the system of land revenue in about a couple of centuries preceding the establishment of the Maurya empire. Nevertheless their generalizations regarding the nature of the royal share collected from the peasants, and of the grants made by the king, need reappraisal. Fick and Rhys Davids hold that the royal share was a tithe levied upon the annual produce in kind,[21] but Buhler thinks that it was ground rent,[22] which presupposes the measurement of the ground held by a peasant family and the calculation of the average yield on the basis of the produce extending over a number of years, the fertility of the soil may have also been taken into account. 'Ground rent' would appear therefore a kind of fixed tithe based on the area of the cultivable land. However the term rent is used in the context of landlords collecting their dues from the tenants. In modern terms ground rent is understood in the sense of the rent which is fixed by the landlord on the basis if the market price and not on the base, of the yield in a harvest. But by 'ground rent' Bühler probably means land tax fixed on the basis of the produce and paid to the state.

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the Vedic context, *jana* is understood by Indologists as tribe, and *viś* as clan on the assumption that a tribe separates into clans. It is held by some anthropologists (viz. Mandlebaum) that in India lineage separates into clans, but whatever little idea I have of large kin-based units in north Bihar and elsewhere in north India shows that the clan is larger than the 'lineage'. In a discussion of the Puranic account H. C. Raychaudhuri applies the word 'lineage' to the ruling house of the Yadus in the sense of family. (op. cit., p. 77 with fn. 3). He also speaks of the Yadava clans (Ibid., p. 447, fn. 3), and of the Licchavi clan (Ibid., p. 109). Although he did not take an anthropological view, it seems that he considered clan a larger unit than the lineage.

21. Richard Fick, *Social Organisation of N.E. Indian etc.*, Calcutta, 1920, pp. 118-9 ; *Cambridge History of India*, i, ed. E.J. Rapson, Cambridge, 1922, 177.

22. ZDMC, xlvii, 466ff.

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Apparently the early Indologists saw no difference between tax and rent. As is well known, in the case of oriental despotism Marx considers tax to be identical with rent. This is based on Bernier's view that in the seventeenth century India, the king symbolising the state was the landlord or the sole owner of the land. But the pre-Maurya tradition does not represent the king as the owner of land. On the other hand the earliest law-books justify the king's claim to a share of the produce or tax on the ground that he protects the people. But even if the demand of the state from the agriculturists is called rent in place of tax, there is no doubt about its being regular and compulsory in the age of the Buddha.

How voluntary offerings were transformed into compulsory payments can be seen from an examination of the terms used for tax. In any case 'tithe' and 'ground rent' may be taken as two successive stages in the development of the ancient taxation system. Since we are dealing with a period of about 300 years such a development seems to be possible.

That the tithe system prevailed can be inferred from a Jātaka story in which a *seṭṭhi* feels guilty in conscience while plucking some blades from the untithed field.[23] On the other hand, the two references, which relate to the measuring of field by royal officers, are capable of being interpreted in a way which may suggest some sort of 'ground rent.'[24] Bühler compares the *rajjugāhaka-amacca* with the Land Revenue Settlement Officer of British India and suggests that measurement was used for assessing 'ground rent'.[25] But Fick surmises that land was measured either to form an approximate idea of the amount of rent payable by the subjects to the king or to determine the average produce to be brought to the king's store-room.[26] Nevertheless, the fact that in measuring the field the *rajjugāhaka-amacca* was conscious of doing nothing which might cause loss either to the *rājā* or to the *khettasamika* or *kutumba*[27] lends strength to Bühler's hypothesis that the land was measured for the purpose of levying rent on it. But whether this was the normal practice throughout the upper and middle Gangetic zones cannot be stated. Pāṇini, who belonged to north-western India, refers to officers called *kṣetrakara*, who divided the cultivable land into plots by survey and measurement and fixed their area.[28] It is not clear whether these plots were demarcated for purposes of taxation, although the possibility cannot be ruled out. Another reference in Pāṇini (vi. 3.10) has been taken to mean that an impost of two or three *pada* coins was levied on every *hala* or plough-measure of land in eastern India.[29] This interpretation of the *Kāśikā*

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23. *Jāt.*, ii, 378.
24. *Ibid.*, ii, 376 ; iv, 169.
25. *Ibid.*, ii, 378 ; *ZDMG*, xlvii, 468-70.
26. Richard Fick, *Social Organisation of N.E. India etc.*, p. 149.
27. *Jāt.*, ii, 376.
28. V.S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1953, pp. 142, 197.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 414-5.

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in its comment to *karanāmni ca prācām halādau* may be applied to the middle Gangetic zone in pre-Maurya times, but its mention of three other taxes, in the same connection, levied respectively on households, individuals, and hand-mills[30] may perhaps be true of the conditions existing during the seventh century A.D., when this commentary was written.

Theoretically, as head and symbol of the clan or the community, the king could claim ownership of all the land, a position which developed out of the Vedic custom, according to which no land could be alienated without the consent of the *viś*. But neither the early Pāli texts nor the earliest law-books, called the Dharmasūtras, assert such a claim for the king. The functions of such royal officers as *kṣetrakaras rājakammikas*,[31] etc., show that in many cases the king exercised his right of levying 'ground rent' effectively. But, as regards taxes on the general peasantry, the early Pāli texts never assert that the king levied taxes because he was the owner of the soil. The law-book of Gautama, however, states that the king was entitled to *bali* because of the protection afforded by him to the people.[32] Protection was a function inherited from the king from the stage of tribal chieftainship, but now it served as a good excuse for validating his authority. Commenting on Gautama, Maskarin (12th century) states that taxes are to be paid by the cultivators on the plots of land which they obtain from the king ;[33] obviously this was a much later development for many texts of early medieval times represent the king as the owner of land. Gautama adds that the rate of *bali* should be 1/6, 1/8 and 1/10[34] which Haradatta, a commentator of about the 12th century, interprets as differing according to the fertility of soil. It is obvious, then, that there was no uniform rate irrespective of the nature of the yield. This might suggest that the idea of land rent was gradually developing. But the varying rates might also mark stages in the development of the capacity of the peasants to say. This capacity would obviously depend on the nature of the tools they used, the crops they produced, and the fertility of the soil they cultivated. Apparently the carrying capacity of the soil to pay as much as 1/6 of the total yield presupposed production of sufficient surplus through cultivation based on the use of the iron ploughshare and practice of paddy transplantation ; to this may be added advanced knowledge of weather conditions connected with the *nakṣatras* or lunar mansions. *Bali* stands for voluntary offering, religious or otherwise. Although the religious form continued in the post-Vedic period and also later, the non-religious form of tribute given to the tribal chief assumed a mandatory character. Further, the terms *bhāga* and *kara* respectively show that the king was entitled to his share or that he could collect taxes from the people. *Bhāga*

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30. *Ibid.*
31. *Jāt.*, iv, 169.
32. X.28 with the comm. of Haradatta (ASS edn.).
33. Comm. to *Gautama*, X. 24.
34. X. 24.

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again was a remnant of the tribal stage of distribution system in which kinsmen were entitled to their shares. But what was received as a matter of custom by every kinsman came to be claimed compulsorily by the king, who no longer functioned in a tribal set-up. The same process applied to the presents offered by the kinsmen to their tribal chieftain. We may add that in ancient Assyria the term "gift" was used for regular taxes for a long time in spite of the fact that the subjects were compelled to make these payments.[35] It would appear that what constituted gifts by clansmen at one stage became taxes later. In ancient India there continued for some time the contradiction between the revenue terminology and its actual content. Thus although taxes were compulsory in pre-Maurya times, a more frequently used term in the Jātakas is not *bhāga*[36] but *bali*. But Gautama uses the term *kara*,[37] and Pāṇini a more emphatic word *kāra*.[38] Later the two terms *bhāga* and *kara* came to be used more frequently. In course of time *bhāge* came to be regarded as the principal form of land tax, and the king came to be known as *ṣadbhāgin*, with the result that in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya *bali* figured as one of the several taxes connected with land.[39]

We have no idea about the traditional and customary rate of *bali*, coming down from the Vedic period ; it may have varied from 1/16 to 1/10. But since the needs of the ruling class were increasing and the productive capacity of the peasants was developing, the rate was evidently raised. In spite of the exhortation that the king should levy taxes only in accordance with *dhamma*,[40] several instances of oppressive taxes appear in the Jātakas.[41] They suggest that the king could increase taxes, either in order to fill up his coffers or to harass the people He could also remit taxes.[42] The fact that the king could enhance and remit *bali* shows that this was no longer treated as a voluntary or customary offering, but as a tax imposed on the people by the king.

Initially *bali* was not collected in money, although we find that incomes of villages were estimated in terms of money, and in some cases even hired labourers were paid in cash. But the early Pali texts do not know of tithe being commuted into money rent. Nevertheless, as shown earlier, it can be inferred from Pāṇini that in eastern India money rental was imposed on every plough-measure of land. In spite of numerous finds of hoards of punch-marked coins, mostly of silver, since *c.* 500 B.C. in the middle Gangetic zone,

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35. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 516.
36. *Jāt* , ii, 378.
37. X. 11.
38. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 415.
39. II. 15.
40. *Jāt.*, iv. 399, 400.
41. *Ibid.*, ii, 240 ; iv, 224 ; v. 98.
42. *Ibid.*, iv, 169.

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generally, money economy was not so advanced as to eliminate payment of the royal share in kind. That *bali* was synonymous with payment in kind can be deduced from the fact that at one place, in the same compound, *bali* and *kahāpaṇa* are mentioned as two separate impositions.[43] The term *nivāsavetana*, occurring in a Jātaka story,[44] can be taken in the sense of house-rent, but here also payment is made not in cash but in oxen.

But the use of the term *kara* or *kāra* is significant, and Pāṇini's statement that money rental was imposed on every plough-measure of land in eastern India is significant. The practice may have prevailed around *c.* 400 B.C. or a little earlier. It is clearly linked with the appearance of metallic money generally in the form of punch-marked silver coins, which phenomenon does indicate commodity production (whatever be the scale) and long-distance transaction. Metallic money was a symptom of the weakening of the barter system or the mutual gift system, as the case may be, associated with the tribal economy. The significance of the advent of metallic money, especially of gold and silver in comparison with copper, is brought out by Karl Marx in these words :

> "The precious metals last, they do not alter, they can be divided and then combined together again, they can be transported relatively easily owing to the compression of great exchange value in little space...The *precious* metals then split off from the remainder by virtue of being inoxidizable, of standard quality etc., and they correspond better, then, to the higher stage, in that their direct utility for consumption and production recedes while, because of their rarity, they better represent value purely based on exchange.[45]

Thus once money came into use it brought in the elements of private profit and accumulation at the cost of the gift system characterising kinship ties. It also made possible centralised fiscal collection and consequently helped to consolidate dispersed bits of authority into an integrated authority. Therefore the role of punch-marked coins called *kārṣāpaṇa* or *kahāpaṇa* in facilititing the formation of a central power structure cannot be underestimated. The fact that *paṇa* was associated with *karṣa* (to cultivate) shows that metallic maney was meant for measuring the agricultural products, a part of which had to be made over to the state.

We hardly know of any machinery created for revenue collection during the Vedic period. It is very doubtful whether the term *bhāgadugha* used in later Vedic texts can be

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43. *Ibid.*, ii, 240.
44. *Ibid*, i, 194.
45. Karl Marx, *Grundriss*, tr. with a foreward by Martin Nicolaus, Pelican Books, 1973, p. 166.

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understood in the sense of milcher of the share or tax-collector.[46] Most probably, in view of the distributive functions of tribal societies the *bhāgadugha* distributed the spoils, cattle, cereals, etc., received by the later Vedic chieftain, commonly called *rājan*. But in post-Vedic northern India, especially in the middle Gangetic ba in, we come across half a dozen officers who worked as tax-collectors. The *gāmabhojaka* and a few other functionaries were connected with the work of assessment and measuring grain for storing it in the royal granary. The precise functions of the *gāmabhojaka* and royal collectors, and their mutual relations, cannot be determined. Fick's view that the *gāmabhojaka* was an official appointed to collect the revenue of a village for the king has rightly been questioned,[47] for he relies upon a solitary passage in the introductory episode of a Jātaka story.[48] But since the *gāmabhojaka* could impose and collect fines from the villagers in the case of minor disputes,[49] and in those of murder and other offences committed by dumkards,[50] it is likely that his main concern was the maintenance of law and order. However in the earlier stage we cannot expect much differentiation of functions, and it is no wonder if a magistrate and judge functioned as a tax-collector. Revenue administration came to be assigned exclusively to a set of officers, but the *gāmabhojaka* did not belong to this category He collected royal dues, but he also settled local disputes, maintained law and order,[51] sometimes interdicted cow-slaughter,[52] and occasionally helped villagers in times of distress.[53] The institution of *gāmabhojaka* was almost universal, but this function as a royal tax-collector seems to have been occasional. Further, the *gāmabhojaka* should not be understood as an enjoyer of the village. This office was not a device for providing revenues to favourites and brāhmaṇas. In fact, though this office formed the lowest rung in the ladder, it was an important part of the administrative machinery, which was headed by the commander-in chief.[54] *Gāmaṇis* are also mentioned as village headmen, who seem to have been king's favourites living in luxury,[55] but there is no proof that they acted as regular royal collectors and enjoyed revenues raised from the villages.[56] Probably the office of the village headman, whether of

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46. *VI*, ii, 100.
47. B.C. Sen, *JDL*, xx, 165.
48. *Jāt.*, i, 354.
49. *Ibid*, i, 483.
50. *Ibid.*, i, 199.
51. *Ibid.*, i, 199, 483.
52. *Ibid.*, iv, 115.
53. *Ibid.*, ii, 135.
54. *Ibid.*, v, 484.
55. *Ibid.*, iv, 310.
56. Cf. *JDL*, xxiv, 16.

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the *gāmabhojaka* or the *gāmaṇi*, was elective in the beginning, but in course of time he came to be an officer of the king and became less representative of the interests of the local folk.

The *gāmabhojaka* was not an absentee landlord, as in suggested by a recent writer.[57] It cannot be proved that revenues were assigned to the village headman ; in this respect the literal meaning of the term cannot be taken as indicating the real position of the *gāmabhojaka*. In several passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[58] the term *bhoja* seems to be used as king's title. The use of the word *bhoja* therefore in the *gāmabhojaka* may indicate that this functionary was an agent appointed by the king for performing a few essential administrative functions in the village. The evidence that the *gāmabhojaka* primarily collected royal dues from the peasants is not strong, but to regard him as the lord of the land of the village will be stretching the imagination too far.

Half a dozen royal collectors, mentioned in the Jātakas, held different designations, but they were not placed in charge of different taxes. On the contrary, they all were clearly connected with the collection of *bali*, which was the chief royal tax. One of these, the *yutta*[59] can be identified with Pāṇini's *āyukta*, which was a general term for government servants engaged in routine work.[60] When they were specially commissioned for some job they were called *niyukta* ;[61] they seem to be the same as the *niyuktaḥ* mentioned by *Gautama*.[62] The commentators take two views of the functions of this officer. Haradatta points out that they were appointed among the cultivators for their protection, but he quotes another view that this officer was employed for collecting *bali* and other dues.[63] Theoretically the two views can be reconciled, because taxation and protection were supposed to go hand in hand. Explaining the term *balidāna*,[64] Maskarin states that royal dues known as *rājagrahaṇam* or *baligrahaṇam* should be paid annually to the *niyukta* by those who live on agriculture.[65] Thus *nityukta* and *niyukta* of Gautama stand for the same officer, and the interpretation of *nityukta* as tax-collector suits the text better, for the term is used in connection with *bali*.

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57. A N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India* (2 volumes, Calcutta, 1945), i, 39.
58. VIII. 12, 14, 17 ; VI, ii, 112.
59. *Jāt.*, v, 117.
60. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 498.
61. *Ibid.*
62. X. 29.
63. Comm. to Gautama X. 29.
64. *Ibid.*, X. 23 ; *balidāna* is even now used in the sense of sacrifice of animals for religious purpose.
65. *Dharmakośa*, ed. L.S. Joshi, i, pt. 3, 1661.

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Another class of tax-collectors, the *tuṇḍiyas*, were not regular tax-officers but a special class of collectors, employed to collect *bali* from the people by subjecting them to beating and binding.[66] The *akāsiyas* were also oppressive tax-collectors,[67] who dispossessed the cultivators of their earnings. So the *tuṇḍiyas* and *akāsiyas* were special officers appoinetd to raise taxes on behalf of the king in times of emergency or to collect additional taxes. But this does not seem to have been the case with *balisādhakas*[68] and *niggāhakas*[69] who also are put in the commentary[70] as *balisādhakas* ; these two probably were ordinary tax collectors, normally collecting *bali* from the people. The term *balipaṭiggāhaka* is also interpreted as tax-collector,[71] but this should be taken in the sense of receiver of offerings or oblations.[72] The *rājakammikas* were, however, regular tax-collectors who measured land and collected taxes.[73] Pāṇini mentions a class of officers known as *kārakaras*, who were entrusted with the raising of taxes in eastern India,[74] but the work of measuring land was done by the *kṣetrakaras*. Another officer connected with land revenue work was the *rajjugāhaka-amacca*, who may have been primarily an assessor of taxes rather than a collector. We may not have clear idea about the precise functions of each of these collectors, in the age of the Buddha we notice a fourly organised fiscal system free from the dominating influence of the kinsmen of the king. It was certainly a significant advance on the ad hoc, irregular, ceramothial collections of later Vedic times when kinsmen of the chief played collected such dues while the others (probably his distant ones) were persuaded to pay these.

The relation between different catagories of *tax-collectors* in pre-Maurya times needs to be examined. Fick points out that taxes were paid to the official who represented the king in the province allotted to him.[75] But he does not make it clear who these officials were and how they were connected with the royal collectors noticed above. Similarly, he states that in the village revenues were given to the *gāmabhojakas*.[76] But if this official collected taxes from the cultivators in all cases what was the necessity of employing three or four other officers for the purpose ? Besides, how did they function in relation to the village

66. *Jāt.*, v, 102-3, *gāthā* with comm.
67. *Ibid.*, vi, 212. *gāthā*.
68. *Ibid.*, v. 106.
69. *Ibid.*, iv, 362.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
72. PTS *Pali-English Dictionary*, s.v. *balipaṭiggāhaka*.
73. *Jāt.*, iv, 169.
74. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 415.
75. *Op. cit.*, p. 120.
76. *Ibid.*

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superintendent ? Unfortunately for lock of further data these questions cannot be answered satisfactorily.

It may be asked whether there existed any considerable class of landed intermediaries in this period. Sometimes the *gāmabhojakas* are looked upon as a powerful class of intermediaries, somewhat analogous to the modern landlords.[77] In our opinion this statement can be applied in some measure to those brāhmaṇas who were granted land by the king and not to the *gāmabhojakas* who were either representatives of the local folk or regular officers appointed by the king and dismissed by him when occasion demanded it.

Whether there were manorial lords during this period depends upon the correct interpretation of certain terms such as *brahmadeyya* and *raja-bhogam*. The explanation of Buddhaghoṣa that the grants mentioned in the early Pali canons carried with them administrative and judicial rights[78] may be true of the conditions existing in the fifth century A.D. when the commentator flourished, but may not suit the state of affairs in the pre-Maurya period. Therefore the inference of Rhys Davids that the practice of the grant to local notabilities of local government can be traced back to the time of the Buddha[79] cannot be sustained by evidence. Since the states were comparatively smaller in area, even the local affairs could be managed by the officers of the king. Although there are several instances of *brahmadeyya* grants in Kosala and Magadha, mentioned in the *Dīgha Nikāya*,[80] significantly enough neither the word *akara* nor any other word indicating immunity of taxes is found in the strying of adjectives qualifying the land granted. The absence of the list of exemptions naturally leads us to think that the grantees had to pay some tribute to the king,[81] although in general the brāhmaṇas priests did not have to pay taxes. And hence, compared to the grants of post-Maurya and Gupta periods, the pre-Maurya grants conferred very limited advantages on the beneficiaries. The *brahmadeyya* grants of this period did not carry the privileges which appear in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The term *rāja-bhoggam* is occurring in the grants of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* is interpreted in different ways. In the opinion of T.W. Rhys Davids *rāja-bhogga* was a form of tenure, and its holder was empowered to exact all dues accruing to the government within the boundaries of the district or estate granted to him. He could hold his own courts, and occupied in many ways the position of a baron, or lord of the manor, except that he could draw no rent.[82] But, in the cluster of adjactive qualifying such grants, the term *rāja-bhoggam* should

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77. Bose, *op. cit.*, i. 38.
78. *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, i, 246.
79. *CHI*, i, 159.
80. i, 87, 111, 114, 131, 224.
81. Cf. Sen, *JDL*, xx, 106.
82. *CHI*, i, 159.

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be taken in the sense of 'royal', or that enjoyed by the king ; and not in the sense of 'a grant to be enjoyed by the grantee in the same way as the king does it', as is done in the translation of this term by Rhys Davids.[83] In the grants occurring in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the form of tenure is indicated not by the term *rāja-bhoggam* but by the term *brahmadeyya*, which is a well recognised form of tenure in brahmanical texts and inscriptions of the later periods. Fick cites several references to show that the *rāja-bhoggas* were a class of officers in the pay of the king, and equates them with the *rājanyas*.[84] This may hold good of the references he quotes,[85] but may not apply to all such references found in the *Dīgha Nikāya*. The commentary explains *rāja-bhoggam* as *rāja laddham bhoggam*, i.e., the meal or domain acquired by the king,[86] which evidently refers to royal possession. How the king came to acquire the domain or estate for his enjoyment is a matter of conjecture. The tribal analogy and examples from ancient Greek societies would show that the tribal chief was originally given a large parcel of land for the maintenance of his family ; or he may have seized it with the support of the close circle of his kinsmen. In any case such acquisition is important in bolstering the authority of the chief over the rank and file of the people. One he acquired a piece of land he could make grant out of it to win support and strengthen his political authority. The *brahmadeyya* grants were made out of the royal domain or the crown land, and not out of the land held by the communities of peasant proprietors. Holders of such grants evidently were priests who consolidated the state power by communicating pro-state social and religious ideas to the producing masses. There is nothing to show that the grantees performed administrative functions.

Bhogagāma, which often occurs in the Jātakas, apparently means a village given by the king to his favourites for enjoyment ; apparently such a village was not granted to people for rendering administrative or other services to the state. In one instance a barber happened to be the beneficiary of such a favour.[87] A passage from the Jātaka[88] has been interpreted to mean that the *amacca* was the *bhojaka* of a village, which was given by the king for his enjoyment as remuneration for his office.[89] But the passage in question makes it very clear that this was not the case. In reality this particular *amacca* was asked to collect royal revenues (*rājabali*) from this village. We learn that when he conspired with the robbers to carry off the taxes collected for the king, he was heavily punished. Another

83. *SBB*, ii, 108.
84. *Op. cit.*, p. 153.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
86. *Sumangala Vilasini*, i, 245.
87. *Jāt.*, i, 138.
88. *Ibid.*, i, 354.
89. Bose, op. cit., i, 43 ; of. *CHI*, i, 177.

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reference,[90] on the basis of which it has been stated that a monarch could endow a minister with the contributions of the *gāmas* (villages),[91] should not create the impression that the grant was made to the minister in return for his administrative services, In this particular case, sixteen excellent villages (probably conventional in number) were granted to a minister as a reward for his ability to provide the right solution to a philosophical question, namely, the definition of an ascetic ; and further in this case the minister was the Bodhisatta. The reward was made for religious and philosophical services. The view that the minister got as their chief remuneration villages together with cows, chariots, elephants, etc.,[92] and that salaries and food were additional payments,[93] does not seem to be sound. In fact, they were given *bhattavetana* primarily as their remuneration, and villages were an additional favour occasionally bestowed on them when the king so pleased. The specific purpose for the grant of villages mentioned in the Jātakas is the reward for wise or religious instruction imparted to the king by the Bodhisatta,[94] although such instruction could be used for political purposes. Most *bhogagāmas* were enjoyed by the *purohita*[95] (priest) and some by the seṭṭhis (merchants). According to the Jātakas generally such villages were granted to the chief advisers and religious instructors to the king, and not to the *amātyas*. In spite of the fact that the grantees enjoyed the revenues of these villages, it is obviously wrong to render *bhogagāmas* as zamindaris, as is done in several Jātaka translations, for the donees enjoyed no proprietory rights whatsoever in the villages granted to them.

Considered as a whole the grants suggest certain general points. First, although the king had the power to make grants, he was not under the obligation to do so, as seems to have become the practice in the early centuries of the Christian era. Secondly, in many instances a part of the royal domain or the crown land was granted. Thirdly, grants were made for spiritual and religious services. Fourthly, these were probably tenable for lifetime. This inference is, however, not based on the wrong translation of a Jātaka passage,[96] in which the term *gāmavaram* means prosperous village, and not 'for life', as Rouse understands. Further, the grants were not made in perpetuity. They give neither any indication of being passed on to the descendants of the grantees nor of the obligation imposed by the donor on his successors to maintain these grants under threats of imprecations. Fifthly, there is nothing to show that the *bhogagāmas* were free from tributes to the king. The dominant

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90. *Jāt.*, vi, 261.
91. *CHI*, i, 177.
92. De, *JDL*, xxiv, 10 ; *Jāt.*, vi, 363.
93. *Ibid.*
94. Jāt., 365 ; ii, 229 ; vi, 344.
95. *Ibid.*, ii, 428-9, *gāthā* 117 ; iii, 105 ; iv, 473.
96. *Ibid.*, ii, 428-9, *gāthā* 117.

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role of the kṣatriyas during this period might suggest that they perhaps collected taxes even from the brāhmaṇa donees. Dastly, even in the Jātakas, which are sometimes placed in the third or the second centuries B.C., grants had not become a common practice. It would therefore appear that revenue and other officers who manned the state apparatus were paid out of the taxes collected for the king rather than through the grants of land or revenues.

We have some idea about the usual mode of payment made to the officers and other employees of the king, and it seems that most payments were made out of the taxes collected by the royal agents. The common term used for remuneration is *bhattavetana.* At one place it has been translated as food-money.[97] But Horner renders *rañño-bhattavetanāhāro* as "living on a salary and food from a king",[98] and probably this is correct. In what form the salary was paid is not clear ; we can well presume that there was no necessity of paying the officers again in kind if they were already given provisions. Therefore, wherever the term *vetana* is compounded with *bhatta,* it may be taken in the sense of cash payment. Accordingly, the statement that elephant troops and chariotmen, royal guards and infantry were given *bhattavetana*[99] should mean that, besides provision for maintenance, they were paid cash salary by the king. We also learn of the rise in the pay (*vetana)* of his elephant-driver, or his life-guardsman, his chariot-soldier or his foot-soldier allowed by the king,[100] which may suggest that in such cases salaries were paid in cash. The armymen were not paid through land grants, as we find it in Assyria. In the Pali texts soldiers were not allotted land for subsistence. In some cases even hired labourers were paid in cash.[101] Moreover, whether it is the income of a village,[102] or payment to a youth skilled in tracking footsteps[103] or an archer,[104] or gift to the Great Being [105] the amount stated in each instance is a thousand pieces of money Obviously this figure is conventional, as is inevitable in folk literature, but all this undoubtedly points to the probability of payment in cash to the officers and employees of the king. The finds of punch-marked coins between *c.* 500 and 300 B.C. suggest that taxes could be collected in metallic money and payments could be made through the same medium. This facilitated fiscal centralisation which helped the formation of large and strong polities. But initially revenues were mainly collected in kind, and so officers may have been paid in kind supplemented by cash.

The taxation system including the sources of tax and items of expenditure and also the

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97. *Ibid.*, iv, 132 ; Tr. *Jāt.*, iv, 84.
98. *The Book of Discipline*, ii, 67.
99. *Jāt.*, iv, 134, *gāthā* 100.
100. *Ibid.*, vi, 295.
101. *Jāt.*, iii, 26.
102. *Ibid.*, i, 138.
103. *Ibid* , iii, 505.
104. *Ibid.*, v, 128.
105. *Ibid.*, ii, 462.

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state machinery, given in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya,[106] when compared with the early Pali evidence, shows a rapid development in both the financial and governmental mechanisms. We gather a good deal of information about the types of taxes and the mechanism for their levy and collection from the early Pali texts, the Dharmasūtras and some other sources. But they do not specify the items on which the taxes were spent. This information is supplied by Rauṭilya, whose budgeting principles may have originated in pre-Maurya times. According to him expenditure (*vyaya-śarīra*) is incurred on gifts meant for the worship of gods and ancestors and for the chanting of auspicious mantras.[107] Thus the upkeep of the priests accounted for a good portion of what the state spent Another item of expenditure covered the royal harem and the kitchen.[108] Apparently it was too early to draw a line between state expenditure and the private household expenditure of a king. The storehouse, the armoury, the house of commodities, the store-house of raw materials, artisanal workshops (*karmānta*), and use of labour power (*viṣṭi*) appear as items of expenditure.[109] This would suggest that a large number of staff employed in fiscal, military and administrative activities had to be paid out of the state income. As many as eleven *adhyakṣas* or superintendents came under the items on which expenditure was to be incurred. But strangely enough no term is used to signify many categories of officers, whose salaries in cash are prescribed in *AŚ*, V. 3[110] under *bhṛtyabharaṇīyam*.[111] Kauṭilya provides for the payment of various categories of royal agents by using the term *dūtapravartimam*[112] of the cadre of the *dūtas*. The *dūta* served not only as envoy/messenger but also as news carrier and executor of royal order ; perhaps he also worked as spy. The *data* in the lowest grade was paid as little as ten *paṇas*. However it has to be stressed that the four wings of the military organisation, for which payment in cash is provided in *AŚ*, V. 3, constitute a clear demand on state income.[113] In addition to all this, expenditure is provided for hards of cows, enclosures of beasts, deer, birds and rogue elephants and for storage of firewood and fodder.[114] An

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106. For a general survey see R S. Sharma, op. cit., ch. XVIII.
107. Here the text constructed by R.P. Kangle (*AS*, II. 6. 11) has been followed.
108. *Ibid.*
109. *Ibid.*
110. *Ibid.*
111. These are *akarādhyakṣa, koṣṭhāgarādhyakṣa, panyādhyakṣa, kupyādhyakṣa, ayudhāgārādhyakṣa, go'dhyakṣa, aśvādhyakṣa, hastyadhyakṣa, rathādhyakṣa, pattyadhyakṣa* and *vivitādhyakṣa*. Ibid., II, 1.
112. R.P. Kangle (ed.), *AŚ*, II. 6. 11.
113. *Ibid.*
114. Ibid. Shamasastry takes *paśumṛgapakṣivyālavāṭaḥ* in the sense of the museum of these creatures, but the phrase should be understood in the context of the duties of the *kupyādhyakṣa*.

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analysis of the items of expenditure would show that the vital organs[115] were maintained through taxes of various kinds.

It is therefore clear that the growth of the state apparatus was closely connected with the increasing supply of various taxes. But taxes were fewer in pre-Maurya times, and consequently the state machinery in this period was not as developed as in Maurya times. A good many revenues officials such as *akāsiya*, *balipaṭiggāhaka* (*bali-*) *niggāhaka*, *balisādhaka*, *kārakara*, *kṣetrakara nityukta* or *niyukta*, *rajjugāhoka-amacca*, and *tuṇḍiya* mentioned in Pali and other texts ; the *rājakammika* was another official of this type, and the *gāmabhojaka* or *grāmakūṭa* was also assigned fiscal functions. A class of *mahāmātras* was also appointed for the levy of the tithe on produce. It is doubtful whether every state was equipped with all these officials in the age of the Buddha. But officers connected with the assessment and collection of *bali* may have served in most states. The existence of these warthies shows considerable advance in the differentiation of governmental functions, but they may also have acted as judge, police and magistrate.

The revenue officers were evidently backed by a number of other officers called *rājabhaṭa*.[116] They performed executive, military and judicial functions. Thus we hear of the *sabhathaka* or the officer in charge of general affairs,[117] the *sena-nayaka mahāmattas*[118] or generals, the *vohārika mahāmattas*[119] (judicial officers). A class of *mahāmattas* also looked after the levy of the tithe.[120] Thus the institution of the *mahāmātra*, whose different categories were employed by Aśoka, appear in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*,[121] which may belong to *c.* 300 B.C.

However the *amaccas* or *amātyas* who figure prominently in the Pali texts appear in the early law-books and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya but not in Aśokan inscriptions. They acted as members of the *parisā* or the council mentioned in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*[122] and Aśokan

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115. Salaries in cash are provided for the different types of priests and teachers in *AŚ*, V. 3. The *purohitapuruṣāḥ*(s) are specified as *kārtāntika*, *naimittika*, *mauhurtika*, *paurānika*, *sūta* and *māgadha* (ibid.) The learned *ācārya* was entitled not only to pay but also to *pūjā* (ibid.)
116. The Mahākhandham of the *Mahāvagga* contains a section called Rājbhatavatthu The term *rājabhaṭa* is rendered as 'high offer' (H.C. Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 184), but *bhaṭa* seems to have been derived from *bhṛtya*.
117. H. Oldenberg (ed.), *Vinaya Piṭaka*, 5 Vols, London, 1879-93, p. 207.
118. *Ibid.*, p 74.
119. *Ibid.*
120. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
121. H. Oldenberg (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 74.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 348.

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inscriptions. They could depose the ruling prince and elect another in his place.[123] They also acted as judicial officers[124] connected with survey operations. Thus apparently in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the Jātakas the *amātyas* formed a cadre of officers, who were appointed in different posts with different functions, as is the case in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. This is also evident from the fact that one Jātaka mentions as many as 80,000 *amaccas*.[125] This number may be conventional, but we hear of a king who gathered his *amaccas* by beat of drum through the city.[126] This shows that a large number of these functionaries was employed on payment, and the administrative machinery was not kin-based.

It is held that the *parisā* or *pariṣad* was perhaps the most important institution in the republic.[127] This organ was obviously the same as found in the kingly states of the Upaniṣads, of which the principal ones were near in point of time to the early Pali texts. If we go by the Kauṭilyan and Aśokan analogy[128] it would appear that the Pali *parisā* at least in the monarchical states, probably consisted of wholetime paid members. But the *pariṣad* described in the Dharmasūtras consisted only of vipras or brāhmaṇas.[129] One Pāli passage may be interpreted to mean that only the *amātyas* served in the *pariṣad* in monarchical states.[130] In any case such institutions as the *pariṣad* and various administrative positions mentioned above could be maintained only out of the taxes collected by the king.

Was the composition of the *pariṣad* or the recruitment of the *amātyas* kin-based ? If we rely on the Dharmasūtra provision, the *pariṣad* consisted of the brāhmaṇas ; they were evidently not the kinsmen of the king but religious and ideological leaders taken from the priestly order. Some amātyas (literally companion) may have been kinsmen of the king. But if we look at the rules for recruitment of this cadre of officials in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya their qualifications include high birth which could equally cover the brāhmaṇas and could not be restricted only to the clansmen of the ruling princes.

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123. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

124. *Ibid*, p. 184, fn. 1.

125. The term used is *asiti amaccasahassāni*. *Jāt.*, V, 178.

126. *Ibid.*, iii, 11.

127. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 1972, p. 173.

128. R.S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1968, ch. IX.

129. *Ibid.*

130. *brahmadatto kāsirāja varānasim pavisitvā*
amacce parisajje sannipātāpetva evadvoca.
Herman Oldenberg (ed.), op cit., p. 348.

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The literary texts of the pre-Maurya period indicate the family antecedents of the chief advisers of the kings of Kosala and Magadha. Generally they did not belong to the family of the head of the state. Bandhula and Dīrghacārāyaṇa, the two important officials of Prasenajit of Kosala, were Mallas.[131] The generals of Kosala comprised the Crown Prince and some Malla chiefs.[132] This suggests collaboration and integration of the dominant with the defeated chiefs. It is well known that Vassakāra, the Prime Minister of Magadha, who disrupted the unity of the Licchavis and brought about the fall of Vaiśālī, was a brāhmaṇa.[133] Of course the Vedic chiefs were aided by their priests, but these were not wholetime ministers, for such posts did not exist. The big Vedic chief called *rājan* really functioned with the assistance of his kinsmen called the *rājanyas*. The *rājanya* acted as both magistrate and tax-collector in later Vedic times. The appearance of regular institutions of councils, ministers and a good many officials was a post-Vedic phenomenon. These may be regarded as secondary, regular formations as compared with the *sabhā*, *samiti*, *gaṇa*, *vrāta*, *vidatha*, etc., which may be called primary, occasional formations based on the dominance of the kinsmen. Only when the tribes disintegrated into unequal social classes, the majority engaged in production and the minority in managing the social, economic, political and religious affairs, the old simple institutions were found inadequate. Two non-producing classes which lived on the social surplus found it necessary to evolve not only the ideological mechanism of the varṇa division but also a bureaucracy, a professional soldiery and other organs of the state apparatus to perpetuate the new order. Needless to repeat that every such institution as was not directly engaged in production and did not pay its own way had to be supported by gifts, taxes and tributes. In the Marxist view the origin of the state is heralded by the advent of the classes, and the state is considered to be an instrument of the propertied classes. But in the age of Buddha classes should not be seen as the owners of the means of production, except that the three higher varṇas were supposed to control the labour power broadly represented by the śūdras. We notice some big landowners and even millionaires possessing 800 million (80 *koṭis*) employing slaves and hired labourers, these could be rich vaiśyas/gahapatis, and some of them could be *mahāśāla* brāhmaṇas. But basically we hear more of the privileges of the priests and warriors than of their property. Members of the two higher varṇas were exempted from payment of taxes, which were the main charge of the vaiśyas or *gahapatis*. The privileges were based on a social system which reseaved primary production for vaiśyas and śūdras. Similarly the surplus was distributed according to the rules of the same system. This system was crystallised in the varṇas whose upkeep and elaboration needed the support of some authority backed by ideological propaganda.

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131. H.C. Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 176.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
133. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-189.

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Since our evidence regarding the nature of the taxation system and the other state organs is based on the Jātakas, one may question its validity for pre-Maurya times. Of course we cannot settle here the stratification of a Buddhist birth story divided into the present story, the past story and the versified sermon (*gāthā*) ; the last is considered to be the most ancient. But it is known that these stories are represented in the reliefs of around *c.* 200 B.C., and hence the floating kernel may be dated around *c.* 300 B.C. or earlier. In largely illiterate societies, particularly in the Indian context, the tradition of oral communication or *śruti* has persisted for long and still holds the ground in many pockets of the country. Of course those portions of the Jātakas which show a wide geographical horizon including south India, refer to various sea ports, and speak of active and distant commerce may belong to the end of the Maurya rule or to a later period. This may also apply to such stories as speak of the grant of villages to ministers But the fiscal and administrative pattern reflected in several Jātakas clearly lags behind to one provided by Kauṭilya. Even if the Maurya date of Kauṭilya is doubted, the state organisation deducible from the classical Greek accounts and Aśokan inscriptions is far more developed than that represented in the Jātakas. Although a few technical terms of fiscal, judicial and administrative import used in the Jātakas survive in Aśokan inscriptions, others disappear, and new terms are introduced to indicate the organs and functions of the state. We can therefore ascribe a good deal of the Jātaka material on state organisation to the pre-Maurya period.

The evidence supplied by Alexander's historians may be considered to be more reliable. For several states including the state of the Nandas in Magadha, they provide some statistics about the composition of the army. Curtius states that Agrammes, King of the Gangaridae and the Prasii, who had their capital at Palibothra or Pāṭaliputra kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his county 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2000 four-horsed chariots, and a troop of 3000 elephants. Diodorus and Plutarch give similar accounts, but the first raises the number of elephants to 4,000 and the second to 6,000.[134] If we assign 2 men to every horse, their cavalry would account for 40,000 men. Similarly 2,000 four-horsed chariots might require 8,000 men, and 6,000 elephants would require at least 12,000 persons. Thus the total number of men employed in the professional army would come to about 260,000 men. If 10 per cent of people were recruited in the army, the total population of the Gangaridae, identical with the people of middle Gangetic basin, and of the Prasii, identical with the Prācyas, would come to nearly, 2,600,000. This calculation can be verified in another manner. It is evident that the major portion of the agricultural surplus collected by the state was consumed by the army totalling 2,60,000, but

134. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, University of Calcutta, 1972, pp. 208-9.

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in addition to this there may have been another 1,30,000 administrative personnel and members of the royal household, priests, etc , not engaged in primary production. We may therefore suggest a round number of 400,000 non-producing people. If we argue that these people were supported by a 6th of the total population would come to 2,400,000, which figure is not far removed from the one calculated according to the formula applied to the numerical strength of the army. On the basis of the land under cultivation in the time of Akbar it has been calculated that Bihar could not then have more than 1,4 /1,500,000 people.[135] Our estimate therefore for the middle Gangetic plains as a whole may not be wrong. Considering the conditions of the age of the Buddha, when almost every city had some forest or the other in its vicinity, the middle Gangetic plains seem to have been settled in patches. At this state a population of 2½ million would not be inconsiderable even for the state of Magadha.

It is obvious that taxes raised from the peasants of this state enabled the Nandas to maintain their long-term service army. Tax-collection may have been one of the reasons for which the Nandas standardised weights and measurements in their kingdom. "The accumulation of an emormous amount of wealth by the Nanda kings probably implies a good deal of financial extortion."[136] The system of assessment and collection of taxes and the organisation of the taxation machinery, which we have discussed on the basis of the Pali texts, may have been true of the conquering Magadhan state, so far as regular taxes are concerned. But the oppressive tax collectors such as *tuṇḍiyas* and *akāsiyas* may have been employed by the Nandas and similar rulers to supplement their income from regular taxes. In any case the maintenance of a large professional army was made possible because of a well organised taxation system just as the collection of taxes was facilitated because of existence of a coercive authority. This interconnection is stressed by Kauṭilya also.

The state system was well established in the north western part of the sub-continent. We hear of nine nations and 5000 cities lying between the Beas and the Jhelum.[137] Information about the figures of the professional army is available from Alexander's historians about five states in this area. The kingdom of Assakenos (part of Swat and Buner)[138] possessed 20,000 cavalry, more than 30,000 infantry and 30 elephants.[139] The term

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135. I owe this calculation to Chandra Prakash Narayan Singh.
136. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
137. John W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, Reprint, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 39-40.
138. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
139. Ibid. According to a fourth century A.D. classical version the Accae tribes, identical with the 'Assacanians' had 40,000 men under arms (John W. McCrindle, *Ancient India* as described in *Classical Literature*, Reprint, New Delhi, 1979, p. 151 with fn. 5).

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Assakenians probably stands for the Sanskrit Aśvaka 'land of horses'.[140] This accounts for the large number of the cavalry. However if we apply the earlier formula to the calculation of the total population, the latter would come to nearly 700,000, who apparently paid for the maintenance of this professional army.

Further, the kingdom of Elder Poros, which lay between the Jhelum and the Chenab, was an extensive and fertile district containing nearly 300 cities.[141] According to Diodoros Poros had an army of more than 50,000 foot, about 3,000 horses, 1,000 chariots and 130 elephants.[142] Here also according to the formula adopted above the total population would not exceed 600,000. Interestingly enough, urbanism appears a very important factor in the state of Elder Poros. Urbanism was also an important element in the state of a people called Glauganikai, whose tract lay to the west of the Chenab and bordered the dominion of Poros.[143] It included no less than 37 cities, the smallest of which had the minimum population of 5,000, while many cities contained more than 10,000.[144] It is needless to stress that urbanism presupposes a strong agricultural base and intensifies social differentiation so important to state formation.

Near the kingdom of the Siboi, who lived below the junction of the Jhelum and Chenab,[145] were located the Agalassoi.[146] They could mobilise an army of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse.[147] It is not clear whether they maintained this force all the year round or mustered it in times of war from amongst their tribesmen. If it were a professional army, then our formula would suggest a total population of about 460,000.

The largest state in north-western India seems to have been that of the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas, taken together. The Mālavas seem to have occupied the right bank of the lower Ravi,[148] and the Kṣudrakas occupied part of the territory below the confluence of the Jhelum and Chenab.[149] According to Curtius the Sudracae and the Malloi had an army comprising

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140. *Ibid.*
141. McCrindle, *Ancient India etc.*, p. 35.
142. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
144. *Ibid.*
145. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
147. *Ibid.*
148. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
149. *Ibid*, p. 224.

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90,000 foot soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 war chariots.[150] This would imply that the two ruling oligarchies collected taxes from more than one million people.

Finally we may refer to the military strength of the Abastanoi or the Ambaṣṭhas, who were settled on the lower Chenab.[151] Described as farmers,[152] they had probably an oligarchical form of government. Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots.[153] Their total population might come to about 850,000.

Thus, apart from the state of the Nandas in Magadha, at least five states in the north-western part of the subcontinent possessed well-organised military systems. These systems could be fed and oiled only by well-established taxation systems. From the Pāli texts, especially the Jātakas, we have sufficient indication of the tax mechanism in north-eastern India. But Pāṇini's grammar, which seems to have been composed in the north-western part, speaks not only of *kāra* in the sense of tax but also of *kṣetrakaras*, who divided the arable land into plots by survey and measurement and fixed their area. It is not necessary to add that changes in material life triggerred off by the use of iron in the middle Gangetic basin also affected the north-western part, although different climatic conditions may have favoural different cereals. Although only a few sites have been excavated in this area, an incidental mention of 300 cities in one kingdom and of 37 cities in another in classical accounts suggests solid agricultural support. We can therefore infer that compared to earlier times production increased substantially and enabled the people to spare a good share of their produce for the payment of taxes.

It is therefore possible to establish some kind of link between the advent of taxes and the emergence of the state in pre-Maurya times. Of course neither the taxation system nor the other organs of the state such as bureaucracy, judicial system, etc , were as developed in pre-Maurya times as they were in Maurya times. But there is no doubt about the building of the state systems in this period. As stated earlier, altogether we know the names of at least 50 states, some of them being conquering or incorporative. Mostly these states, oligarchies or kingships, bear ethnic names, which imply that the dominant section of the tribe, lan, or lineage, as the case may be, managed to acquire the headship of the state But once it was formed, to the state belonged different racial units incorporated in the same territorial unit. The rules established control over their own near and distant kinsmen, who were thrown out of the circle of equality and reduced to inferior and subordinate positions.

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150. J.W. McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 234, quoted in H.C. Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 225.
151. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 225.
152. *Jāt.* iv. 363 quoted ibid., p. 226.
153. *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 252, quoted in H.C. Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 226.

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Thus while the terms *Mālava* and *Kṣudraka* convey ruling status, the terms *Mālavya* and *Kṣaudrakya* convey non-citizenship.[154] More or less a similar distinction is drawn between the ruling Śākyas and Koliyas on the one hand and their slaves and workmen on the other.[155]

The state in such cases is not formed by those who own the means of production and constitute it for protecting their property. Protection of property against theft may be an important consideration, but it covered both who had more property and less property. We certainly notice differential access to the resources of production. Land is occupied unequally, and in quite a few cases revenues of villages are given to brāhmaṇas in grant and sometimes even to the seṭṭhis, but this unequal distribution is not carried too far. The real inequality lies in the collection and distribution of taxes. The state is formed and run by those who collect the surplus from the peasants and spend it mainly on the maintenance of the army, various fiscal and executive officials, and renouncers and ideologues. There is a great discrimination in the levy of taxes inasmuch as the brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas are exempted from tax, but otherwise no sharp distinction is made between various categories of taxpayers, unless it be the one between artisans, traders and peasants. What is further important in the context is the fact that the taxes which are collected from the people in the name of affording protection to them are mainly consumed by the state and very little of it percolates as feedback to the taxpayers.

A good share of the state income goes to *bhikṣus* (Jain and Buddhist) and brāhmaṇas, who play the role of priests, renouncers and ideologues. Some of these are active statists, but even others generally support the political order ; opposition on their part is seen rarely. The unique thing about these religious men is that they are supported not only by the state but also by the artisans, peasants traders and substantial men in society. It is really these who created 'consensus' for the formation and preservation of the state and class-based society through the propagation of the *varṇa* and similar ideology. In fact peasants are subjected to two kinds of taxes, one paid to the state and the other paid to those who upheld the authority of the state. Various kinds of gifts made by the householders to monks and priests on different occasions may not be technically placed in the category of tax, but the social backing and the Dharmasūtra sanction behind this practice acquired such authority that a householder could not dare defy them easily. The Dharmasūtras clearly enjoined the twice-born to perform sacrifices and make gifts. Of course the rule embraced the brāhmaṇas, but in our sources they hardly figure as givers ; they mainly appear as acceptors of gifts. If the tribal analogy is stretched it will have to be assumed that at an early stage of social development, when kin-based relations and obligations were universally binding, gifts were bilateral and multilateral and served the cause of mutual exchange in society. But how

154. R.S. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
155. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

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eventually gifts came to be unilaterally monopolised by monks, brāhmaṇas, and similar people remains to be still explained satisfactorily. The brāhmaṇas may indeed have given blessings and good wishes in return and offered prayers, but such religious returns were more symbolic than real ; these were empty formalities devoid of any concrete gains accruing to the sacrificing householders. On the other hand the householders were asked to accept the existing order and the ruling authority of the kṣatriyas.

The origin of taxes raises three important questions. Why and how did voluntary presents called *bali* become obligatory ? Why and how did a particular chiefly family or group of families come to be considered the exclusive receivers of various offerings and then of taxes ? Why and how did the 'redistribution' of gifts and presents become infrequent and their accumulation and consumption by fewer people—officials and armymen—far more important ?

In a good part of the Vedic phase kinsmen and defeated clans and tribes paid *bali*. The practice was solemnised and validated through association with religious ceremonies such as the *rājasū a* sacrifice, which was prescribed for making a rāja. The idea that the tribesmen (*viṭ* or *viś*) constituted the food of the chief or the ruler[156] was propagated by priests. Religious exhortation was cleverly coupled with some coercion. The *Śatapatha* rituals ensure that the viś pays bali to the *kṣatriya*.[157] All the same till *c.* 600 B.C., to which the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* may be assigned, there was no fixity or regularity about the payment of *bali*. This text states that the vaiśya (derived from the term *viś*) secretly storer property (*nihita*), and the kṣatriya (chief or ruler) asks the vaiśya to deliver it to him whenever he so wishes it.[158]

Bali became regular when sufficient surplus was made available in the age of the Buddha as a result of the use of the iron ploughshare and other iron tools and also because of the introduction of paddy transplantation. Evidently agriculture made a great leap in the middle Gangetic plains in this period, and the flow of surplus for tax was assured on a continuing basis. The availability of surplus was a necessary condition but not sufficient in itself. Coercion had to be applied to get the surplus. The element of coercion and compulsion is clearly visible in dealing with the recalcitrant tribal peasantry (*viś*) and the people in general (*prajā*) in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. This text states that when in a sacrifice the people (*prajā* or *viś*) are asked to descend by the kṣatriya or the ruler they submit to

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156. The king or chief is called *viśamattā*. We also find ; *annaṃ vai kṣatrasya viṭ, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III.3.3.2.8.

157. *Śat.Br.*, I.3.2.15.

158. *tasmādyadota kṣatriyaḥ kāmopate tathā vaiśya mayi vattaparo nihitaṃ tadahāreti.* I,3.2.15.

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him.[159] Apparently the coercive aspect of later Vedic times was strengthened by the installation of collectors backed by professional soldiers and priestly propaganda. The *somayāga* portion of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions several ritualistic attempts to bring the recalcitrant viś under control.

In the age of the Buddha those who received taxes belonged to the kṣatriya order, but all the kṣatriya families, though exempt from taxes, were not entitled to receive them. Taxes were the preserve of certain families/dynasties such as those of Mahākosala of Kosala, Bimbisāra of Magadha, etc. Of several collateral families why and how a particular chiefly family acquired validation and came to claim larger shares in the social surplus. How did it come to hold exclusive claim to taxes ? The view that 'lineage' determines social status and control over economic resources [160] is broadly supported by the customary Hindu law and by written texts on rules of inheritance in the Dharmaśāstras. According to the customary law the eldest son becomes the owner of the estate ann the younger sons get their maintenance. In the Dharmaśāstras, the eldest son is, entitled to more share (*jyeṣṭhāṃśa*) and the best share.[161] He occupies a high social status, which, in the opinion of ancient Greek thinkers, consists of ancient wealth and good birth. The history of several estates from medieval times onwards shows that in course of time the family of the elder son comes to be looked upon as the family belonging to the senior line. But these rules reflect a much developed stage of society and property laws, which are meant to preserve large landed estates [162] In spite of the preference given to age seniority and experience in a kin-based set-up, the situation could be somewhat different in a proto-state society or in the first phase of the state-based society.

The right to receive taxes exercised by the head of the state called monarch was a continuation of the practice to receive voluntary or ceremonial presents by the chief from his kinsmen. But how did chiefdom arise ? Indra was electd the head or king of the gods because he was 'the most virogous, the most strong, the best in carrying out work'.[163] Evidently it was because of these physical and other qualities that a tribal was elected chief. It seems that a successful chief could claim a larger share because of his qualities of head and heart, because of the leadership provided in war, because of his successful protection of the cattle or the grazing ground. His son could ask for a similar share on the ground of hereditary skill and

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159. *tasmādu kṣatriyamāyantam imāḥ prajā viśaḥ pratyavarchant. Śat. Br.*, III. 9.3.7.
160. Romila Thapaar, *Presidential Address*, 44 Indian History Congress, Burdwan, 1983, p. 3.
161. Manu, IX. 112. A school of Hindu law also provides for the equal shares of all the sons in the estate of the deceased father.
162. In Bihar they applied to many landed estates including that of Darbhanga.
163. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 12-17.

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experience in production and conduct of tribal affairs. In the case of several sons the eldest would always be preferred because of his age and because of possessing more information and experience. Eventually there arose the tendency to perpetuate chiefship in the same family whose members, though bereft of these qualities, may have munipulated thing in such a manner as to retaint the chiefship. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to a ten-generation (*daśapuruṣa*) rule.[164] But even in this text the law of primogeriture is not established.[165] Of his different sons the king would elect his dearest son, thinking that the son would perpetuate the vigour of the father.[166] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* does not refer to the regular practice of passing on the 'state' to the eldest son, although it may have been taken for granted.

As a device meant to perpetuate vested interests, posts and privileges were preferred by birth in ancient societies, but the practice was far more entranched in India because of the varṇa system. Once the post became hereditary the law of primogeniture worked, as can be seen from many instances in the *Ādi Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*. The son of eldest brother, although much junior to a son of the younger brother, got the chiefdom. It was as a member of the senior line that Duryodhana demanded the throne from Yudhiṣṭhira. Force of tradition and convenience of exploitation paved the way for hereditary succesSon. The demand for stability in exploition gave rise to the practice of primogeniture, and the promogeniture first limited to the son of a large family extended to the descendants of smaller families arising out of it. What has been stated may be called a hypothesis unless the stages in process are attested by more textual references.

On the one hand we notice the conversion of voluntary offerings into taxes and their appropriation by certain families; on the other we notice the tendency to keep more and more of these taxes with the rulers. Sacrifices provided the occasions for offering gifts and presents to the chief, who redistributed them and held great feasts to feed one, and all.[167] Relics of 'redistributions' are still associated with many Hindu sacraments or *saṃskāras*. In later Vedic times numerous Vedic sacrifices became possible because of the production of cereals. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *yajña* or sacrifice is considered identiful with a cart full of cereals.[168] Various types of sacrifices involved animal slaughter, particularly that of cattle, on an enormous scale. But all the same the process of gifts and feasts associated with these religious festivities held by the chief helped to level down the disparity between him and his common

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164. *Śat. Br.*. XII. 9. 3. 1 & 3.
165. The case of the *daśapuruṣa* refers to a family which lost its power even after ten generations of rule. Ibid.
166. *Ibid.*, V. 4. 2. 8.
167. These instances are found in the *Rāmayaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*,
168. *Yajño vā'anaḥ*, *Śat. Br.*' I. 1. 2. 7,

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tribesmen. However, towards the end of the Vedic period some kṣatriya princes questioned the utility of the *yajña* probably because it benefited the brāhmaṇas more. A far more powerful protest was raised by the Buddhists, who strongly opposed the slaughter of animals, particularly that of cattle. All this may have drastically reduced the frequency of sacrifices and consequently the occassions for redistribution. Frequent sacrifices accompanied by redistribution were needed so long as election of the chief or kings continued. The chief's power could be preserved through constant renewal of the support of tribesmen through feasts and fanfire. But by the end of the Vedic period we find widespread heredity so much so that even a ten-generation rulership is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Stability became an important feature of the big chiefdoms. Hence they did not require too many sacrifices for maintaining and reinforcing their positions. Naturally what the chief or the king received came to be consumed mainly by his household establishment or by his officials and armymen. Who were tied to him through the bonds of payment and maintenance than through those of kinship. The pattern of new relationships became for less personal. The infrequency of 'redistribution' therefore rendered the flow of taxes to the chief more and more unilateral. The one-way traffic immensely contributed to the resources of the ruler and materially helped state formation.

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Some Dimensions of Hindu Political Institutions and Thought

— *Vishwanath Prasad Varma*

A. INTRODUCTION

The Vedic polity was monarchical in nature and the kings used to engage in constant battles for the attainment of power, mundane prosperity and supremacy. Even to the animal world the monarchical analogy was extended and the lion and tiger were hailed as supreme potentates of the sub-human world. The *Aitareya* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* extol the power-seeking exploits of several kings who were credited with having performed the *Aśvamedha* or *Rājasūya* sacrifices. It is possible that due to territorial consolidation kingly power became more concentrated: The *Dharmaśāstras*, as exponents of the Vedic sawed tradition gloribes the aspect of Dharma-oriented quest of power. The *Aitareya* (VIII-38,3) refers to various kings who attained supremacy in different quarters. The kingly power was sought to be strengthened with ritualistic legitimacy emanating from the sacrifices. Thus political role-taking and ritualistic legitimacy were combined. Manu, Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu, Nārada, Parāsara and other writers of the *Dharmaśāstras* may be said to represent the Augustinian-Thomistic tradition in politics as differentiated from the more secularist and imperialist tradition typified by Kauṭilya and Bṛhaspati. The commentators and digestwriters accentuate the *Dharmaśāstra* notions. They, however are not noted for introducing innovations in the realm of political formulas. They only seek to perpetuate the Vedic and post-Vedic sacred traditions. Their works illustrate the supremely vital role of Dharma in Indian literature.

B. THE POLITICAL IDEAS AND INSTITUTION IN PĀṆĪNI'S AṢṬĀDHYĀYI

The *Aṣṭādhyāyi* of Pāṇini[1] is one of the most magnificent productions of the ancient

1. Christian Lassen, "Geschichte der Grammatik", *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II, 1849 (=MDCCCXLIX), pp. 472-486.

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Hindu intellect.[2] It is a fundamental contribution not only to grammar in the limited sense but to the science of etymology as a whole. This work also demonstrates the vast information of the author regarding the social. economic, political and culturul conditions of the times. Although from the standpoint of theoretical disquisa'ion it cannot be rated as a contribution to political philosophy, this book is important in so far as it definitely indicates the existence of certain associations, corporations and institutions in ancient India and also points to the upholding of some politically-relevant norms by the author. As it stands, Pāṇini's work is significant for providing significant insights into the institutional structure of ancient India rather than for formulating any political notions. This book, nevertheless, is worth perusal as providing a background to the recognized works on Hindu political philosophy because it lends corroborative support to the formulation of certain notions which are discussed in the more definitely sociological and political books.

Pāṇini uses the word *Sarvabhauma*[3] to indicate the overlord of a vast territorial region. The word *mahārāja*[4] and *mahārājikam* are also used but, possibly, they stand for a deity rather than for a great king. The other words which could have been used for the king are *bāhupati*[5] *svāmī*,[6] *narapati*[7] *adhipati*[8] and *bhuvanapati*[9] They symbolise *aiśvarya*, power and prosperity. A powerful authority wielders (*alamgami*=अलङ्गामी) was called *abhyamitrīya* or *abhyamitrya* or *abhyamitrīna*.[10] Pāṇini mentions the word *saurājya*[11] and a king who aimed at the institutionalisation of the notion of common good and enlightenment signified by this word was called *rājanvan*[12] (राजन्वान्सौराज्ये). Individuals, society and the king were expected to maintain the regulative and determinate principles of *Vinaya*[13] and thus become a *Vainayika*.

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2. According to Th. Goldstucker, *Pāṇini* (Reprint by Allahabad, Pānini Office, 1914), pp. 173-175, the grammarian Pāṇini is posterior Yāska but anterior to Buddha. Max Muller, on the contrary, held that Pāṇini is anterior to Yāska.
3. Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, V, I, 41-42. In VIII, 2, 36, the words *samrāṭ*, *svarāṭ* and *Virāṭ* are mentioned.
4. *Ibid.*, IV, 2, 35.
5. *Ibid.*, VI, 2, 19.
6. *Ibid.*, VI, 2, 17. Cf. गोस्वामी, धनस्वामी (कायिका)
7. *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, VI, 2, 18.
8. II, 3, 39. The word *adhipati* is also found in the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upaniṣad*.
9. *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, VI, 2, 20.
10. *Ibid.*, V, 2, 17.
11. *Ibid.*, VIII, 2, 14.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, V, 4, 34. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilys uses *Vinaya* in a semi-technical sense.

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The use of the word *īśvara*[14] for the dominant role-taker in the system shows that in the monarchical politics of those days the king must have been eulogised and sanctified to a very great extent. The use of this word *īśvara (tasyeśvaraḥ*—V.1.42*)* to designate the dominant power-centre renders, highly doubtful, the plausibility of the view regarding the existence of republican ideas and institutions in ancient India A republican polity in some parts of the country and the divine glorification of the king in the others seem, from a logical point of view somewhat incongruous and sometimes one feels sceptical about the prevalence of a dominant republican institutionalism in ancient India.

Pāṇini uses the *rājabrāhmaṇa*,[15] which may mean either a king belonging to the Brahmin caste or a Brahmin minister in the council of the king. The authors of the *Kāśikā* use the word *brāhmaṇamiśra*. Such words as well as the word *āryabrāhmaṇa* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyi*[16] indicate that in the ancient Indian political system, the Brahmin had a large role to play as a political adviser, an astrologer and as an expert in the traditional lore and as a member of a status-evoking and reverence-determining group. This would imply that dogmatic theology and ecclesiasticism had considerable importance in the ancient Indian political system Nevertheless, a detailed consideration of the political entities empirically existing in those days would point out that concrete political decision-making must have lain in the hands of the wielders of royal power. Ecclesiastical groups must have been utilized and manipulated by the effective political decision-makers to provide religious legitimacy to their system. Therefore there does not seem to be any reliable evidence to support the view that in the ancient Indian political system the post of the Prime minister was held by a scholar whose appellation was that of a Brāhmaṇa.[17]

There was a Pariṣad to advise the king and such a co-operation-seeking king was called *pariṣadvala* [18] The member of a pariṣad was called *Pariṣadya*[19] or *Pariṣada*. The word *sabhya*[20] is used in a similar concilier and associational context. Pāṇini uses the word *aṣadakṣiṇā*,[21]

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14. *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, I, 4, 97, II, 3, 9; V, 1, 42.
15. *Ibid* , VI, 2, 59.
16. *Ibid.*, VI, 2, 58., *āryo brāhmaṇakumārayoḥ.*
17. V. S. Agrawal, *Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa* (Kashi, 1955), p. 393. In his discussion, V. S. Agrawal has mixed up the date from the *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, Kātyāyana's *Vārtikā*, the *Mahābhāṣyā* and the *Kāśikā*. He has also uncritically accepted the traditional view that the *Gaṇapāṭha* was composed by Pāṇini.
18. *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, V, 2, 112.
19. *Ibid.*, IV, 4, 101 and IV, 4, 44.
20. *Ibid.*, IV, 4, 105.
21. *Ibid.*, V, 4, 7.

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which may indicate that in those days policy-formulation was done by the king aided by the advice and deliberations of two ministers (equal to six eyes). The policies which were laid down in the Pariṣad could be called *pariṣatka*, according to Pāṇini.[22] Pāṇini also used the words *rājayudhva* and *rājakṛtvā*[23] and sometime an institutional affinity has traced between the Ratnins of the Vedic times and the *rajakṛtvā* of Pāṇini.

The *mahiṣi*[24] was the head queen. The *yuvarāja* was called either *rājaputra*[25] or *rājakumāra* who, as the crown prince, was expected to succeed to the throne after the death of the king, generally, according to the law of primogeniture. The queen and the prince, as functionaries lent a colour of familistic contextualization to the political system.

The structure of the bureaucracy was not complicated if the data and evidence of the *Aṣṭādhyāyi* are to be relied upon. The *rājapratyenas*[26] were the defenders of the king's person. The *dauvārika*[27] was the chief officer in charge of the inner apartments. When the king would formally enter the court for political deliberations he was received by the *svāgatika*. Pāṇini mentions the Purohita whose functional role-performance in the religious system is called *paurohitya*. A priest who was called *sauvastika*,[28] according to the *Kāśikā*, used to recite the Vedic Svasti Mantras. The *parichāraka*, the *rathaganaka*, the *pattiganaka*, the *pariṣechaka*, the *utsāhaka* and the *hotṛi*, the *bhartṛi yajaka*, *pujaka* and the *uddhāraka* were some of the other minor role-takers, according to the *Gaṇapāṭha*.[29] All in all, the picture that we get from Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyi* and the *Gaṇapāṭha* is that of kings living in personal glory and being ministered to by a retinue of minor officials. There is slender evidence for the institutional growth of a developed bureaucracy or for and responsible council of ministers. The *pariṣad* and the *saḅhā* seem to be advisory bodies rather than any national assemblies or cabinets having a major share in the shaping, sharing and exercise of power.

There does not seem to be much evidence to hold that the officials who were employed

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22. *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, IV, 3, 118. According to some scholars the correct from is *Pariṣadaka* and not *Pariṣatka*.
23. *Ibid.*, III 2, 95.
24. *Ibid.*, IV, 4, 48.
25. Ibid., IV, 2, 39. In the sense of *Samūha* or group *rājaputras rājaputrakam* is used. Similarly *rājakam* and *rājanyakam* are used to indicate aggregate data of the kingdom.
26. *Ibid.*, VI, 2, 60. Compare VI, 2, 27 for the word *kumārapratyenaḥ*.
27. *Ibid.*, VII, 3, 4.
28. *Ibid.*, VII, 3, 4 (The *Kāśikā* and the *Gaṇapāṭha*).
29. *Gaṇapāṭha*, "*Yajakadigana*" on the *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, 2, 2, 9.

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in the secretariat were called Niyuktas.[30] Pāṇini uses the word *adhyakṣa*.[31] The main question, however, from the standpoint of ancient Hindu public administration is whether we have any evidence for holding that there operated a regular bureaucratic structure of employees having a full tenure for serving in departmental offices. Pāṇini uses the word *vaitanika*[32] which may indicate that the employees were paid regular (monthly or annual) salaries although, possibly, in those days payment in kind as well as gifts of lands in lieu of services rendered might not have been uncommon. Pāṇini uses the words *kartrikara*, *kārakara*,[33] *lipikara*, and *kṣetrakara*. Possibly they were employees entrusted with the measurement of land and the collection of land revenue. In the same Sūtra he also mentions *libikara* and *balikara*.[34] They also may be minor employees. In the *Vinayādigaṇa*[35] there is mention of certain terms like *Vainayika*, *Vyavahāriaka* (related to custom and civil law), *rupachārika*, *ātyāyika* (dealing with emergency matters), *amutkarṣika* (relating to the prosperity, development and growth of the kingdom), *sampradānika* (relating to the allocation and disbursement of public funds), *samāchārika* (referring possibly to laws of discipline in the religious fraternity) and *sāmuhika* (relating to *puga*, *nigama*, *śreṇi* etc). In the kingdom there was the prevalence of two kinds of laws and regulation—some were made by the king and some were handed down traditionally. The *Gaṇapāṭha* refers to *samayachārika*[36] (a kind of Dharma). Another term that Pāṇini uses is *abhreṣa*.[37] It stands for non-deviation or propriety.[38] Possibly, it might be law received from tradition. According to the Hindu traditional conception, there were four principal technics for the maintenance of discipline in the political system and in the kingdom as a whole and these were called *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Bheda* and *Daṇḍa*. Possibly the *Gaṇapāṭha* comprends them all under the term *aupāyika*.

The Dūtas[39] were concerned with diplomatic function. Two other terms, possibly used for the Dūtas, were *puroyāya* (प्ररोयाय) and *pratiṣkaśa* (प्रतिष्कश).[40] Those people who

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30. *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, IV, 4, 69. V. S. Agrawal seems to be mistaken in interpreting the word *niyuktā* as a technical term referring to a definite body of officials.
31. *Ibid.*, VI, 2, 67.
32. *Ibid.*, IV, 4, 12.
33. *Ibid.*, III, 2, 21.
34. *Ibid.*, VII, 2, 81.
35. *Ibid.*, V, 4, 34.
36. The *Gaṇapāṭhā* on V, 4, 34.
37. *Ibid.*, III, 3, 37.
38. According to the Kāśikā *ābheṣa* is *padārthānāmanapachāro yathāprāptakaraṇam* (पदार्थानामनपचारो यथाप्राप्तकरणम्= अभ्रेषः).
39. *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, IV, 3, 85.
40. *Ibid.*, VI, 1, 152. (Accordings to the Kāśikā).

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maintained themselves by certain obnoxious jobs could be called *aupaniṣadika* according to the *Gaṇapāṭha*.[41]

The sources of finance like *śaulkaśālika* and *ākarika* (शौल्कशालिक और आकरिक) were called *āyasthāna*[42] The word *saunḍika* meant revenue received from the sale of liquor.[43]

Pāṇini also mentions the terms *puga*, *vrāta*, *janapada*, *saṁgha* etc. They corroborate the evidence for the growth of corporate structures indicating the proliferation of associational life. The complexity of socio-economic institutionalism would have acted as a possible antidote to political centralization.[44]

C. SAMUDGRAGUPTA

In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudgragupta (regnal period c. 335-376 A.D.) we find an exalted glorification of monarchical power. The king is hailed as furious *(prachaṇḍa)* and as equal in prowess to Kubera (Dhanada), Varuṇa, Indra and Yama and as being venerable *(parama bhaṭṭāraka)*. This magniloquent extolling of the might, capacity and heroism of the king may be said to have derived the acceptance of its binding authority from two sources. First, it is to be oriented towards the pursuit of a policy of solicitous regard for the welfare of the misery-stricken, poor, orphaned, and anxiety-ridden people *(Kṛipaṇa-dīnā nāthatura-janoddharana)*. This policy of welfare is to receive its legitimate consummation in the accentuation of the good and felicity of all (*sarvabhūta-hita-sukhāya)*. Second, it is to be chastened and mellowed with intellectual pursuits. *(Kāvya-kṛiyābhiḥ-pratiṣṭhita-kavirāja-śabdasya)*. It may be imagined that the exalted power of the almost deified king would have been exercised with the cooperation of the administrative heads who also receive grand titles like *mahādaṇḍanāyaka, sāndhivigrahika* and *kumārāmātya*.

D THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTION OF ANCIENT INDIA ACCORDING TO FA-HIEN

The age of the Gupta emperors was marked by the advance of political glory and administrative consolidation in India Fa-hien (or Kung) visited India during the regnel period of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II, traditionally regarded as the famous Vikramāditya, the charismatic hero of Indian history. He lived in the country for nine years, from

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41. On IV, 4, 12.
42. *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, IV, 3, 75.
43. *Ibid.*, IV, 3, 76: *Gaulmika* was the revenue received from forests.
44. In the *Gaṇapātha* on IV, 1, 84, occur the words *rāshtrapati, sabhāpati, prānapati, kshetrapaati* etc.

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399 to 408 A.D. (or from 401 to 410 A.D.). He lived in Pāṭaliputra for three years "learning Sanskrit books and the Sanskrit speech and writing out the Vinaya rules."[45] The main features of the description that he has given of the land have to be noted in order to understand the political philosophy of the period after Manu.[46]

Although the Gupta emperors were Vaiṣṇavas and proclaimed their adherence to the Bhāgavata school, the practised religious tolerance. Samudragupta performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice in order to vindicate his assumption of paramount political power. Kumāragupta also is said to have performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. These two sacrifices were demonstrations of the fact that this mighty religious political technique of the proclamation of superior domination which was resorted to in ancient times was again being revived. This indicates that the political practices of the Guptas, were, to a certain extent, influenced by the sacredotal maxims laid down in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*

According to Fa-hien, justice was dispensed with impartiality and was tempered with mercy. Capital punishment was probably unknown. This judicial leniency might have been practised under the Buddhist influence since the Brahmins have, in their law-books, claimed exemption for themselves from this very capital punishment implying that it must have been earlier meeted out to criminals guilty of grave offences. The mutilation of limbs which became a terrible feature of justice in the latter days of the Muslims in India and has been revived in Arabia was confined to rebels or robbers. In the *Travels-Record* it is said: "Criminals are simple fined, lightly or heavily according to the circumstances, (of each case). Even in cases of repeated attempts at rebellion, they only have their right hands cut off."[47]

Crown land was the principal source of revenue. Royal officers and servants were paid their regular salaries. This may mean that there was the institutionalization of a rising bureaucracy based on monetary compensation and there was no crystallized feudal system in those days.

According to Fa-hien, the Chaṇḍālas, who were by profession fishermen and hunters and sold meat,[48] were obliged to live separately from the dwelling houses of the Dvijas and

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45. Fa-hien's *Fu-kuo-ki* was translated in French by Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse (Paris, 1836). There are three translations in English,—by Herbert Giles (London, 1877) by S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Boston,1885), and by James Legge *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1886). The French translation also was translated in English by J.W. Laidlay (Calcutta. 1848)
46. J. Lagge, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
47. James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdom* (Oxford, 1886), p. 43.
48. Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 43. Perhaps Fa-hien is exaggerating when he says; "throughout the country no one kills any living thing, or drinks wine....."

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when they approached a town they had to strike a piece of wood in order to warn the inhabitants of their presence so that others could avoid contacts with them. This may testify to the fact than Buddhism as a social movement was not able to do away with the social discriminations against and persecutions of the Chaṇḍālas. Most probably, it did not make any attempt to bring them under its comprehensive humanist fold.

In Magadha, Fa-Hien found the people prosperous The *Travels-Record* says : "The Heads of the Vaiśya families...establish in the cities houses for dispensing charity and medicines."[49] He testifies to the existence in Pāṭaliputra of a free hospital endowed by the public.

E. KĀTYĀYANA AND VYĀSA

Kātyāyana belongs to the tradition of the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*. He is regarded as the author of a *Gṛihasūtra* and a *Śrauta Sūtra* belonging to the *Yajurveda*. The Dharmaśāstra of Kātyāyana is similar to that of Bṛhaspati in so far as both accept the traditionally recognised four sources of adjudication. Kātyārana recognises the authority of the schools of the Mānavas and Gautama. His ordinances with regard to the code of legal settlements are quoted in other Nibandhas.

The verses ascribed to Kātyāyana have been collected together in a book entitled *Kātyāyana-Mata Saṁgraha*.[50] Kātyāyana laid down that the interest and principal together should not exceed twice the amount of the principal at the time of the final settlement of the debt. He is a great champion of the right of wives to inheritance.

According to Vyāsa,[51] Pradvivāk means a person who asks and reflects. This Smṛti recognises and eulogizes the Sati System.

2. *The Dharmaśāstra Tradition : Commentators and Digest-Writers* :

Commenting on Manu, IV, 61, Medhātithi[52] (bet. 823-900 A.D.) defines a *rājya* as the prosperity of the *Janapada* (*Janapadaiśvaryam rājyam*). Explaining Manu, VII, 7, he

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49. Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

50. *Kātyāyana-mata-saṁgraha* Edited by N.C. Bandyopadhyay. Kamlākara in his *Nirṇaya-Sindhu*, (with a Hindi trans. Varanasi, Thakur Pd. & Sons, 1970) infra, p. 780 has quoted from a quotation of Kātyāyana the *Kṛiyā-Nibandha*. He also quotes Kātyāyana on p. 100.

51. *Vyāsa-Smṛti, Smṛti-Pandavbha*, (Calcutta, 1952) Vol. III, pp. 1618-1653,

52. Medhātithi's *Bhāṣyam*, Calcutta, 1967, 2 vols.

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explains *prabhāva* or majesty as supernatural potency,—*prabhāvo alaukikīyā śaktiḥ.* Discussing Manu, VII, 18, he differentiates between *rājadaṇḍa* (temporal power) and *Yamadaṇḍa* (supernatural sanctions). He explains *Nyāya* as promulgations in accordance with the Śāstra which take into consideration the demands of space and time (on Manu, VII, 30). The use of the term *sarvarāṣṭramaṇḍalaṁ* (on Manu, VII, 59) indicates the notion of overwhelming political dominance. Rāṣṭra and Janapada are equated (on Manu VII, 65) by him.

While explaining Manu III, 284, Kullūka quotes lines from Medhātithi and Govindarāja, to corroborate Manu's[53] view that semi-divinity is to be ascribed to the Pitris.[54] This familial and social cohesiveness is sought to be strengthened on religious foundations.

It is affirmed by Kullūka that the royal power-holder excels all beings (*sarvaprāṇino vīryeṇatiśete*). Due to his control of excessive potentiality and capability, the king may be deemed to be the embodiment of the gods and the elements (on Manu VII, 7). No one should treat the king lightly thinking himself to be the favourite of the monarch (*rājavallabhohaṁ iti buddhyā nāvajñeyaḥ*).

According to Kullūka (14th century), Dharma has both a perceptual and a super-perceptual orientation (*dṛiṣṭādṛiṣṭārthānu-śtheyaparaḥ*)—Introduction to Manu, VII). He also categorically affirms that the word *rājā* does not signify a member of the Kṣatrīya caste but denotes one who has been annointed and who protects the Janapada and the town (अभिषिक्त जनपदपुरपालचितृ पुरुषवचनः). The separate mention here of Janapada and Pura is of enormous conceptual significance for the elucidation of the term *janapada.*

The word *Karmayoga* is used by Manu (II, 2; II, 68). He also uses it in connexion with the seven righteous sources of wealth (X, 115). Here Kullūka explains *Karmayoga* as agriculture and trade. If he is correct, it shows a deep deterioration from the high norm attached to *Karmayoga* as the disinterested performance of one's *svadharma.*

Commenting on Manu's theory of Daṇḍa (VII, 18), Kullūka affirms that due to mundane and super-terrestrial sanctions alone, people are impelled to adhere to the injunctions of Dharma (*aihikapāratrikadaṇḍabhayādeva dharmānuṣṭhānāt* ऐहिकपारत्रिकदण्डभयादेव धर्मानुष्ठानात्). Even for the gratifications of the most elementary needs like food, the

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53. A.L. Deslongschamps, *Lois De Manou* (Paris, 1830).
This edition contains some excerpts from the commentary of Rāghavānanda on Manu.

54. Kulluka's *Mānvarthamuktāvali*, Bombay, 1946.

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maintenance of the sanction of Daṇḍa is essential (तथा सर्वमिदं जगद्दण्ड भयादावश्यकं भेजनादिहूयेऽपि भोगे समर्थं भवति). To indicate the overwhelming preponderance of the fear of God as the motivating force for the working of the physical elements and even for Death, both Medhātithi and Kullūka[55] quote a famous verse of the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* (II, 6, 3) in corroboration of Manu's assertions (VII, 23).

The protection of persons who conform to their *svadharma* is enjoined upon the king by Manu. Commenting on Manu (VII, 35), Kullūka draws the inference from it that if the king does not offer protection to the transgressors of Dharma, then there is no wrong-doing (*pratyavaya*) by that.

In his *Mītākṣarā* commentary, Vijñgāneśvara (11th century), profusely quotes from the *Manusmṛti*. He interprets Anvīkṣikī as *ātmavidyā* (the science of the self or psychological metaphysics). To him *daṇḍanīti* is a branch of knowledge concerned with the acquisition and preservation of *artha* (*arthayogakṣemopayoginyam*). Commenting on Yājñavalkya I, 313, he categorically identifies *daṇḍanīti and arthaśāstra*.

While interpreting the attributes of a king categorized by Yājñavalka (I, 309-311), Vijñāneśvara affirms the significance of enthusiasm for the performance of action and the manipulation of technics for the realization of the four fundamental goals of a person (*puruṣārthasādhanakarmarambhādhyavasāya*). The king is to be one who has been duly annointed. The Brahmin Purohita who is to help the king in deliberations is to be proficient in all the Śāstras. Thus Yajñāneśvara recognizes, like Plato, the significance of knowledge in political governance.

It is true that Medhātithi, Kullūka, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka are not original sociologists and political philosophers. But while explaining the notions of Manu and Yājñavalkya, the interpreters have made some contributions to political knowledge through their own constructive additions and also while summarizing the views of the writters of the Smṛtis.

Aparārka, a commentator on the Smṛti of Yājñavalkya, has profusely quoted from the Purāṇas and the Smṛtis like those of Manu, Viṣṇu, Śātatapa, Parāśara, Yama and Nārada. He also quotes from Kātyāyana, Dakṣa, Pulastya, Devala, Riṣyaśriṅga, Samvarta, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Paithīnasi, Angirā, Hārīta, Jābala, Chhāgaleya,[56] Sumantu,

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55. There is some difference, however, in the words of the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* verse quoted by the two commentators.

56. *Aparārka Ṭīkā* on Yājñavalkya ; Ānandāśrama, Poona edition in 2 vols., Vol. 2, pp. 1180.

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Chyavana, Mārîchi, Sunahpuchha (शुनः पुच्छः) and others From the *Matsya Purāṇa*, there are fantastic quotations regarding *Lavanaparvatadānam*, *Gūdaparvatadānam*, *Suvarṇaparvatadānam*, *tilaparvatadānam*, *ghṛtaparvartadānam* etc.[57] Thus Aparārka has made his work needlessly voluminous by long quotations.

Both Vijñaneśvara and Aparārka interpret *daṇḍanīti* as *artha-śāstra*. Ānvikṣikī, according to the latter, signifies the logical knowledge which is in consonance with the Vedas. Explaining Yājña-valkya's view that the king should be proficient in *trayi* (I, 300), Aparārka adds that *trayi* should be used in a comprehensive sense to include Vyāparaṇa, Mimānsa, the Purāṇas and the Dharmaśāstras as these are sciences auxiliary to the Vedas. He explains the term *nibandha*, used by Yājñavalkya (I, 316), to mean the stipulation that every year or every month, the owner of the field has to pay so much money, per field, to particular persons. Yājñavalkya's measures for espionage (I, 330), are expounded by Aparārka and he adds that the spies are to assume the guises of merchants, Vaidyas, wandering ascetics, Buddhists, Jaina Sādhūs etc. The word *Kāyastha* is explained by Aparārka as meaning a revenue official (*Kajasthah Karādhikṛtaḥ*). The use of the term *rāṣtrādhikṛta* (I, 336) to eradicate the officials employed in the royal bureaucratic structure is also meaningful. On Yājñavalkya II/150-151, Aparārka has quoted a verse from Nārada, in explaining which he maintains the equivalence of *Śāsana* and *ājñā* (राजशासनानीता राजाज्ञाकृता). In giving details of written śāsanas (I, 319), Aparārka quotes from Bṛhaspati and Vyāsa.

Aparārka expounds Yājñavalkya's views regarding friends of the king (I, 350-51) and affirms that if contracted provisions are not adhered to, then even a friends turns into an enemy.

Aparārka, although a non-Brahmin, had grave ethnic prejudices. He supports Yājñavalkya's view that for the performance of religious ceremonies the spouse who collaborates with the Yajamāna should be a member of the same caste (Yaj. I, 88). In this connexion, he quotes Vaśiṣṭha and adds his own conclusion that a dark-skinned woman is a *Śūdra*. Needless to say that Aparārka is confusing racial colour and caste criteria.

The protection of the kingdom is the principal duty of the king (*rājnaḥ karma janapadapālanam*). In explaining Yājñavalkya's notion of the infliction of penal sanctions (I, 352-53), Aparārka uses the highly significant term *rājyādhikāra*. He further adds (on Yaj. I, 356-57) that while one Smṛti asserts that some venerable persons (*dharmādhikārinaḥ*) are absolutely beyond the purview of legal coercion, Dakṣa is also quoted in corroboration

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57. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pt. 347-56.

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of Aparārka's own view that the immunity is only for minor offenses and does never mean total immunity from the attraction of provisions regarding legal sanctions.

Janapada and Rāṣtra are synonymous according to Aparārka (on Yaj I, 359-60). He also testifies to the existence of Śreṇis of goldsmiths.

It may be repeated, in conclusion, that although Medhātithi, Kullūka, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka are only commentators they do add to the cognitive fund of ancient Indian political science wisdom and terminology. Because of their sustained support of the moral approach to life and politics, they are relevant to world political science, even in the days of behavioural sciences. Even the roots of resistance to authority may be found in some of the Dharmaśastra. For example, Yājñavalkya has given vent to a powerful philosophy of dissent in his *Smṛti* as follows :

प्रजापीडनसंतापात् समुद्भूतो हुताशनः
राज्ञः श्रियः कुलं प्राणान्नादग्ध्वा विनिवर्तते ।

The sense is that the fire that is generated out of the deep grief of the tortured subjects does not stop unless it has burnt down the property, family and body (life) of the king. Aparārka, although himself of royal descents, corroborates, in his comment, the teaching of the above *Śloka* which is in consonance with the notions of the promotion of public goal. Among the factors that intensify public grief, he mentions immoral exactions of money. The fire that is said to be generated is supposed to be the aggregate of deeds of *Adharma*.

Lakṣmīdharabhaṭṭa, the foreign minister of Govindachandra of Kanauj (1105-1143) is the author of the most voluminous digest in the Hindu legal and sociological literature. His *Kṛtyākalpataru*, in twelve volumes, may be considered as the most comprehensive collection of excerpts from the Dharmaśāstra and Purāṇas. The collections of Chandeśvara (14th century) and Mitramiśra (17th century) are not so copious and detailed. In the *Rājadharmakāṇḍa* which is the eleventh volume in the *Kalpataru*, Lakṣmīdhara has discussed the gloricus characteristics of kingship, coronation ceremonies, the qualities desired in a king, ministers and the civil servants, the construction of forts, the capital city and other architectural structures, the structural-functional bases of the kingdom (*rāṣṭra-saṁgrahanaṁ*), the treasury, the army and allies, the protection of the princes, policy-farmulation and implementation (*mantra*), the six-fold diplomatic policies (*shādguṇyaṁ*), the determination of the auspicious time for embarking on enterprises (*Yātrā*), the post-coronation duties (*abhiṣiktakṛityāni*) and the different type of religio-social group activities like *devayātrāvidhih, Kaumudi-mahotsaya, Indra-dhvajaochchhraya, mahānavamipūjā chihnavidhi* (चिह्नविधि) *vasordhārā* (a libation of *Agni-chayana*), and some other items.

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The large-scale incorporation of materials regarding religious ceremonies and rituals shows that in the mind of Lakṣmīdhara theological consideration had a very large place. The performance of these ritualistic and magical ceremonies had the sociological function of imparting legitimacy to kingship.

Lakṣmīdhara's encyclopaedic compositions are significant for the preservation of the traditional Śāstric wisdom on issues touching the multiple aspects of collective existence. He has not contributed any significant idea to the fields of political theory and jurisprudence. In this sense, his works are inferior to the authoritative writings of Medhātithi', Kullūka, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka. All of these writers accept the legitimacy of monarchical power. Being inhibited by the prevailing socio-economic circumstances, they glorified the *status guo* and did not have the intellectual and moral strength to examine the bases of political power.

The Dharmaśāstra literature is very vast. Manu and Yājñavalkya, the two greatest Smṛtikāras had a large number of notable commentators. Later on, we find the emergence of the school of digest-makers. Among these the most famous are Lakṣmīdhara, Hemādri, Chaṇḍeśvara, Vāchaspati, Kamalākara, Nīlakaṇṭha and Mitra Miśra. Hēmadri's *Chaturvargachintāmani* is considered authoritative in Maharashtra. Hemādri (13th Century) wrote the encyclopaedia *Chaturvargachintāmani*.[58] Like Lakṣmīdhara and Sāyaṇa, Hemādri was a minister of state. He, thus, combined scholarship and political experience. His significance lies in the fields of social philosophy, sociology and law and not that of political philosophy.

In the *prāyaśchittakhaṇḍam*, the sub-section, *turuṣkavadha* refers to ceremonies to be undergone after killing a Turk.

Kamalākara was a learned scholiast and compiler of digests. His work *Nirṇayasindhu*[59] completed in 1612 A.D. perhaps obtained more authoritative deference than the *Chaturvargachintāmani*, the *Tattvas* of Raghunandana and the works like *Bhagavanta-bhāṣkara*. The

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58. This work has been published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
    1. *Vratakhaṇḍa*, 1878.
    2. *Dānakhaṇḍa*, 1873.
    3. *Prāyaśchittakhaṇḍa*, 1911. (B.I.ed.).
    4. *Pariśeṣakhaṇḍ*, (Saka 1809).

59. *Nirnayasindhu*, published with a Hindi commentary by D. Gauda, Thakur Prasad, Varanasi, 1971.

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Nirṇayasindhu contains references to several obscure works and writers like *Aruṇa-Smṛti*,[60] *Agast·a-Saṁhitā*,[61] *Vārāhi-Tantra*,[62] *Rupanārayanīya*[63], *Pṛthvīchandrodaya*,[64] *Saṁhitā-pradīpa*[65], Badarayana's *Jyotir-Nibandha*,[66] *Rājamārtaṇḍa*,[67] Baijavape[68] *Prayoga-pārijāta*,[69] *Maitrayānīya-pariśista*,[70] *Chhāgaleya*,[71] *Kṛtyaratna*.[72]

The *Nirnayasindhu* has considerable sociological significance for determining the priority of values supported by the medieval law givers and at least partly, implicitly assented to by the people. Kamalākara quotes a verse from Atri which enjoins that going out for begging, recitation (*japa*), both, meditation, purificatory rites and the worship of the gods should be done with the same sense of obligatory imperativeness as if royal punishment[73] was to be visited for their non-performance. This quotation may imply that for Kamalākara also, the non-performance of socio-religious rites carried the provision of obligatory penalization.

Kamalākara did not cherish any notion of pan-Indian territorial integration. He quotes a verse of Baudhāyana referred to in the *Chandrikā* according to which a person has to perform Saṁskāras if he travels to Sindhu, Sauvīra, Saurāṣṭra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Āndhra. He also refers to the views of some unspecified religious legists who prescribed the performance of Saṁskāras for a Brahmin visiting Saurāṣṭra, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Avanti and Dakṣināpatha. The notion of some parts of India being an unholy land would militate against a feeling of adoration for the entire Indian territory as being one integral entity.

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60. P. 118.
61. P. 150.
62. P. 342.
63. P. 356.
64. P. 316.
65. P. 616.
66. P. 732.
67. P. 988.
68. P. 1149.
69. P. 1043.
70. P. 1009.
71. P. 913.
72. P. 888.
73. *Nirnayasindhu*, p. 320.

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(F) KAUṬILYA'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

1. *INTRODUCTION*

Some marked differences between the fragmentary *Indica* of Megasthanes and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya can be thus shown in a tabular form :

Socio-Political Categories	Megasthenes (*Indica*)	Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*
1. The Social Structure	7 Classes in the Mauryan India noted by him	4 Varṇas and also mixed Varṇas accepted by him
2. Social Subordination	Slavery regarded by him as being non-existent in India	Slavery recognized but not among the Aryans
3. Financial Administration : Land Revenue	25% of the produce was to be paid to the state exchequer in Mauryan India	The royal share is : (i) 16 1/4% of land-produce and (ii) 10% of marketable commodities
4. Urban Administration	Six Boards—the collegial principle of urban administration, acknowledged by him	The Nāgaraka who possibly was to be a royal official was in charge of urban government
5. Military Administration	Six Boards—the collegial principle of military organization, recognized by him as being in operation in Mauryan times.	The 4 Heads of the army cavalry, elephants and chariots are noted but they were to be under the king.

The important divergences of views between the *Indica* of Megasthenes and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya noted above indicate that the two works do not belong to the same period. The *Arthaśāstra* may be deemed to be a post-Mauryan work and, on grounds of linguistic usages, may be regarded as pertaining to the Guptan epoch. Its Sanskrit terminology is representative of greater linguistic refinement and conceptual vigour than the *Smṛiti* of Yājñvalkya and the *Kāmasūtra* of Vatsyāyana.

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2. *THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA AND THE DHARMAŚĀSTRA TRADITIONS*

According to the generally acknowledged Aryan scheme of objectives of a man's life, there are four basic goals—Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. If, accordingly, the schools of ethical, social and political philosophy are to be categorised, we have three theoretical traditions—Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra and Kāmaśāstra, because the Mokṣaśāstra would be comprehended in the various schools of Indian Philosophy which teach the salvation and emancipation of the soul. Hence, if the schools of socio-political and moral thinking are to be categorized and their inter-relations analyzed, these three systems and traditions of thought should be held as being dominant in the field. Political matters, however, are discussed basically only in the Arthaśāstras and only partly in the Dharmaśāstras. Sometimes the radical difference between the two traditions of the Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstra has been emphasized. While the former stresses the dominance of *artha* in the scheme of the temporal objectives which are to be pursued by a person, the latter emphasises the over-all comprehensive conception of Dharma as well as its superior obligation-demanding status. Winternitz and Julius Jolly have noted the somewhat secularistic and materialistic attitude of Kauṭilya, the author of the best known Arthaśāstra, as opposed to the conservatism and traditionalism of the exponents of the Dharmaśāstra tradition like Manu, Nārada, Viṣṇu, and Yājñavalkya. Jolly has gone to the extent of pointing out that while the Dharmaśāstra is opposed to any kind of divorce, the Arthaśāstra permits divorce when there is autipathy (*dveṣa*) between the husband and wife. But it must be pointed out that Kauṭilya does not permit divorce in the four forms of Dharma marriages—Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārṣa and Daiva. This implies that he permits divorce only in the Rākṣasa, Gāndharva, Āsura and Paiśācha forms.

There are some passages which show that Kauṭilya was a positivist. In the first chapter of the third book of the *Arthaśāstra*, he says that for settling a legal dispute there are four categories or sources—Dharma, Vyavahāra, Charitra and Rājaśāshana. Here, the latter category is enjoined to supercede the former. In other words, Vyavahāra is superior to Dharma, Charitra is superior to Vyavahāra and Rajaśāshana of the kings is superior to Charitra. This advocacy of the overall superiority of the Rajaśāshana shows that according to Kauṭilya, the positive determinate to commands and ordinances of the king are deemed to be superior to the sacred laws and customs.[74] This passage is definitely in the positivistic line.

A passage which shows Kauṭilya's rationalism is met with in the same chapter wherein he says that if there is a conflict between the Śāstra and Dharma-Nyāya (moral laws and logic), then in such a case Nyāya or deductive and inductive logic is to be regarded as more authoritative since the texts of the Shastras are sometimes lost. Here it is clear that logic

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74. For ancient Indian Laws, Christian Lassen, "Die Gesetze and die Sitten der Inder", Indische *Alterthumskunde*, Vol. III, 1858, pp. 337-353.

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is regarded as superceding the Śāstra or the scholastic texts. This definitely indicates that Kauṭilya, to a certain extent, is a rationalist. This rationalism may be deemed to be a counterpoise to the creed of Vedic orthodoxy which is one of the cardinal concepts in the social and political philosophy of the Dharmaśāstras.

Some of the later Dharmaśāstras were in favour of worship of the Grahas. This is a practice which is absolutely ridiculed by Kauṭilya. He ways that endeavours for the achievement of economic ends lead to success. On the other hand, the astrological belief in the worship of stars is ridiculed by him when he says—*kim kariṣ-yanti tārakāḥ*. If however, this statement against the worship of the starts were to be rigorously taken to support Kauṭilya's materialism, that may be a wrong generalization because in some other passages Kauṭilya even refers to the use of magical practices as enunciate in the *Atharvaveda*. Furthermore, he does refer to the worship of several deities like Varuṇa. It is thus clear that fundamentally he is a believer in the traditional theology and is not a materialistic atheist or a scientific agnostic.

The antithesis between the *Arthaśāstra* tradition and the large number of writers belonging to the school of Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras need not be over-emphasized. The first point to be mentioned as a counterpoise to this exaggerated antithesis is that in the fifth chapter of the *Arthaśāstra*, Kauṭilya says that the prince is to spend the latter part of the day in listening to Itihāsa and he thus categorises the six components of Itihāsa :— (i) Purāṇa (mythology), (ii) Itivrittam (descriptive stories), (iii) Ākhyāyikā (anecdotes), (iv) Udāharaṇa (illustrative examples), (v) Dharmaśāstra and (vi) Arthaśāstra. It is thus clear that although the Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra literary traditions are different, they, together, are deemed to be subdivisions of the larger discipline called Itihāsa.[75] In the third chapter of the first book, Kauṭilya shows his radicalism by calling Itihāsa-Veda to be a part of the Vedas. It may, thus, be argued that he accepts five components of the Vedas. *Ṛig*, *Sāma*, and *Yajus*—these three are called *Trayi* and these three were earlier, recognised as constituting the Vedas. Later on, the somewhat unorthodox *Atharvaveda* was added to the Vedic group, thus making some form of a Vedic quadrivium. But Kauṭilya has regarded Itihāsa-Veda also as a Veda. Perhaps for the advocacy of this view he has neither any predecessor nor any successor. By exalting Itihāsa-Veda to the recognised status of the Vedas, he has delivered a devastating blow upon those exponents of the Vedic orthodoxy who would refuse to grant the status of a Veda to any work except the four Vedic Saṁhitās. It is thus abundantly clear that in the Kauṭilyan scheme of the branches of knowledge, Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra, both being branches of the Itihāsa-Veda, would be deemed

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75. It is surprising that in another passage of the *Arthaśāstra* (V-VI, 189), Kauṭilya says that the knower of the *Arthaśāstra* is to teach the king with the help of the Itihāsa and Purāṇa. Here it is clear that Purāṇa, which in the first chapter is regarded as a component of Itihāsa, has been separated from it.

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to be parts of the same broad arena of knowledge, and, hence, one may not look for any profound antithesis in their basic assumptions as well as in their detailed notions because both are hominocentric in their dominant orientation.

Both the traditions are thoroughly agreed in maintaining that Svadharma or conformist role-performance is the fundamental element for the maintenance of systemic equilibrium and harmony in the social and political sphere. Both Manu and Kauṭilya are agreed completely on this point. They preach the supremacy of Svadharma or socio-political functionalism both for this life as well as for the life beyond.

To disprove the existence of any deep and radical antithesis in these two schools of theoretical sociology in ancient India, we may refer to the first chapter of the third book of the *Arthaśāstra*. There the author says that when there are conflicts between Saṁsthā (institutional practices and regularized patterns of behaviour) and Dharmaśāstra, or between *śāstra* and customary evidences (*vyavahārakam*), t' en the controversy is to be settled by reference to the authority of Dharma Thus the juristic importance of Dharma and, by implication, also of Dharmaśāstra is, at least, partially accepted by Kauṭilya.

But there is no doubt that the Dharmaśāstra writers generally devote only one chapter or section in their works to the discussion of basic and focalized political problems and issues. They do not enter into that intensive discussion of problems of policy and inter-state relations and diplomacy, warfare etc. which we find in the *Arthaśāstra*. The fundamental cosmological assumptions about the world and human goals of existence propounded by the Vedic scriptures are, however, generally adhered to by both.

3. *THE RE-ARRANGEMENT OF KAUṬILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA*

Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* is a systematic and learned treatise and contains very intensive and detailed treatment of the topics to the discussion of which it addresses itself. Although it is not to be rated as a major book of speculative political philosophy, nevertheless, the organic interconnectedness of the chapters and the passion for enunciating detailed maxims of administration and law are remarkable. The strategy and the way of actual conduct of battles and treaties are also very intensively analyzed.

In the fifteenth book, while expounding the major terms mentioned therein, illustrations are drawn from several passages of this treatise itself and that shows that the author had given sufficient attention to the arrangements of his work. Contrasted to Aristotle's *Politics* which, in its present shape, is an unfinished work, the *Arthaśāstra* is more well-organised. Kauṭilya, however, has not given us any detailed study of the constitution of any country as Aristotle has done in his *The Constitution of Athens*. The fifteenth book of the *Arthaśāstra* entitled Tantrayukti contains a list of thirty two basic terms, some of which are used in other logical and medical works also. These thirty-two terms are meant as epitomes indicating the method, dialectics and epistemology of this book.

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There are fifteen *Adhikaraṇas* or books in this work we can re-arrange, if we so like, the fifteen books. For purposes of theoretical convenience it may be said that the first book discussing *Vinaya*—the general principles of monarchical government and administration, the second book discussing the bureaucratic structure and departmental management, the fifth book discussing *Yogavṛittam* or the conduct of the courtiers of the king and the first chapter of the sixth book entitled *Maṇḍalayoni* which also discusses the elements of a kingdom, go together. In these *Adhikaraṇas*, and pravarana although we may not get original contributions to the major categories of political science like the nature of the state and law, political obligation and theory of sovereignty, or the architectonic structure of the perfect state, we do get, nevertheless, some notable generalised enunciations which are vitally relevant to political science. Statements such as, that the political power is rooted in discipline, or that the kingdom can be maintained only by co-operative assistance, certainly emanate from a person of great experience of the world. Books III and IV discussing civil and criminal law form one separate major branch of juridical enquiry. These two books do not discuss the abstract theory of public law and jurisprudence but they constitute a king of penal code prescribing details of punishment to be awarded for the different offences either against individuals or groups or the kingdom. The second chapter of book six and the seventh book discuss the theory of inter-statal relationship. They discuss the theory of *Maṇḍala* and the different types of treaties. They may be considered an attempt to build a theory of power politics. Books Nine to fourteen discussing the preparations for mobilisation of the army for war (*Abhiyāsyātkarma*), actual warfare (*Sāṁgrāmikam*), ways of creating dissensions among corporations or republics, ways of dealing with the stronger enemy (*Ābaliyasan*), ways of conquering forts (*Durgalambhopāya*) and secret warfare involving the use of poison, magic and sorcery (*Aupaniṣadikam*) may be said to discuss the detailed problems of military science. Nowhere in the major treatises of political theory, eastern or western, we find so detailed an analysis of the methods of conducting war. It appears that the Pandita who composed these sections of the *Arthaśāstra* must have had either enormous experience of seeing the waging of war or he must have had the capacity of building upon and systematizing the experiences of other persons regarding war.

Thus the fifteen books of the *Arthaśāstra* can be re-arranged Really speaking, the fifteenth book should have come in the beginning because it states forth the plan of logical arrangement of a treatise. The first chapter of the first book which gives a list of the headings of the chapters of the entire book may be taken to be a supplement to the fifteenth book which discusses the philosophy of logical argumentation in a systematic theoretical work.

4. *THE SAPTĀÑGA THEORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM*

The Saptāñga theory represents a scheme of categorisation of the various elements that compose the kingdom. It is not possible to interpret this theory as an abstract and

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juristic conception of the state. The five elements—*Svāmī*, *Amātya*, *Dūrga*, *Koṣa* and *Daṇḍa* are the componential elements of the government or of the political organisation. It appears that the writer is listing the various entities that used to be housed in the fort where the king used to live. The ministers as well as the higher officials had their office establishments and possibly also residential quarters in the fort. The treasury was kept there. From the existing specimens that we have of the old Indian forts, it can be said that the army personnel also must have resided in one of the portions of the fort reserved for them. Kauṭilya wants that *Dūrgas* or forts should be costructed on the frontiers. The word Janapada is used in Indian literature in two senses. Sometimes it means the territory and sometimes it means also the population living on that territory. The word Janapada has been a controversial term in ancient Indian political science. This word has different connotations in different writers. Some scholars would equate it with the Rāṣṭra, while some would take it to imply only the rural countryside. Sometimes Janapada would include the countryside as well as the rulers of the countryside who might sometimes be living in the urban areas. Pāṇini, in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, seems to use the word Janapada in the latter sense, because he says that this word signifies both the Kṣatrīya rulers as well as the territory which they ruled over and in its turn Janapada provided the nomenclature to the rulers.

Mitra should not have been mentioned in the elements of the kingdom because it introduces an entity which is relevant only to the context of interstatal power politics. If *Mitra* is to be include as a component category of the state, then the legitimate assertion may be made that the enemies, the intermediary and the neutral king also should be included in the *Prakritisampad*. The categorization of *Mitra* does necessarily demand for the sake of intellectual completion the inclusion of the enemy or the *Ari*. Extending this type of argument further, it can be said that if the Mitra is to be included in the *Prakritisampadaḥ*, then almost all the elements categorized in the Mandala may also claim a legitimate place therein.

There is no reference in the *Saptāṅga* scheme to the abstract notion of sovereignty although some of the dominant engines of the governmental processes like the king and the ministers are categorised therein. The scheme appears to be a list of some of the dominant components of the political system but it is not possible to see in it the emphasis on the juristic notion of sovereignty as in Bodin, Hobbes and Austin or the abstract conception of the modern nation-state as in Hegel and Bosarquet.

5. *THE MORAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL BASES OF KAUṬILYAN POLITICAL THOUGHT*

Kauṭilya adheres to the tradition of *svadharma*. Thus he subscribes to the advocacy of a concept which has been elaborately discussed in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhagavadagītā*. Every person has his own *svadharma*. The king's *svadharma* is to see that no person transgresses the categories and canons of the *svadharma* of others. If the king dutifully and devotedly maintains his *svadharma*, then he will be happy both in this world and the next.

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The conception of *svadharma* is partly parellel to the notion of specialized duties stresssd in Plato's *Republic*. According to Kauṭilya, the duty of the king is to implement the concept of *yogakṣema*. This notion of *yogakṣema* is more comprehensive than the political goal of felicity and peace advocated by Hobbes. According to Hobbes, the state is concerned with the preservation of the inhabitants. Preservation is parallel to the conception of *yoga*. *Kṣema* may be comparable to the conception of public welfare (*salus populi*) emphasised by Hobbes in the introduction to the *Leviathan*. Although in the introduction, Hobbes speaks of people's welfare, in the body of the book, the main concept with which he is concerned is preservation. But the goal of the king, according to Kauṭilya, extends beyond preservation We can say that the duties of the king, as conceptualised in *yogakṣema*, are comparable to the Aristotelian view that the *polis* comes into being to make life possible but continues to make life better and more virtuous.

Kauṭilya's notions are similar to those of Hobbes in one respect. But of them think that the political order is to be maintained by coercion. According to Kauṭilya the king has to see that social disorganisation does not set in. He also says that only when a person is not physically in a position to produce children, should he take to the path of renunciation or become a *bhikṣu* (or *Sannyāsī*) by taking the permission of the civil judges. It appears that due to the rising cult of Buddhist monansticism there was a threat to society and hence Kauṭilya emphasised the preservation of the social order by discouraging exaggerated monasticism.

6. *KAUṬILYA'S THEORY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION*

In the Arthaśāstra, we find that the dominant emphasis is on monarchical centralization. Although only the simple term *rājā* is used to designate the king, and although there are no terms parallel to the Guptan *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *parameśavara*, there is no doubt that executive, administrative and decision-making powers are regarded as finally resting in the king. There is the description of a large and complex administrative mechanism but it is not the proto-type of a triumphant civil service or of bureaucratic despotism concerned with delegated legislation and administrative adjudication, because all the *adhyakshas* are to be under the full and find control of the *rājā*.

The *Arthaśāstra* conception of monarchy seems to have its concrete context in a small territorial entity. Some scholars emphasise the words *Chāturantā Mahī* used in the *Arthaśāstra* and from the legendary associations of the writer of this book with the prime minister of the Mauryan empire, it has been supposed that the *Arthaśāstra* visualises a pan-Indian imperial political system. But if we were to analyse carefully the administrative structure discussed in the book, then this latter conclusion cannot be corroborated. In the list of higher dignitaries and top officers, there is mention of 18 Tīrthas. Sometimes the word Mahāmātra is used synonymously for the word *Tīrtha*. Only eighteen *Tīrthas* can

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never adequately discharge the responsibility of governing a big imperial political unit. From the functions of the *Samāhartā* also, the imperialist conclusion is not borne out. This officer was to be placed over four *Sthānikas*, each of whom, in turn, would be placed over four or five Gopas. From this it can be calculated that the *Samāhartā* would be in charge of only two to three hundred villages. This will be, more or less, the equivalent of the modern sub-division. Even if we were to extend the territorial jurisdiction of the *Samāhartā*, it must be affirmed that he would never have been in charge of a territory bigger than a modern district. Hence the hypothesis that Kruṭilya has given us a picture of an imperial bureaucratic management breaks down.

Although there is no provision for a budget and an audit, the *lekhakas* must have maintained a system of accounts. The reference to a *gānanikya* and *akṣapaṭala* is indicative of a huge amount of official accounting and correspondence.

So far as the departmental structure is concerned, the director or the head of the administrative department has under him the following five officers :

(1) Lekhaka — Clerk
(2) Rūpadarśaka — Inspector of coins
(3) Sankhyāyaka — Accountant
(4) Nivigrāhaka — In charge of the balance
(5) Uttarādhyakṣa — Supervisor

Since the total number of Adhyakṣas mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* would not exceed thirty it may be stated that the total of the clerical and supervisory staff under them (30×5) would not exceed the number 200. But a service personnel of two hundred members appears to be a very small staff to manage an imperial secretariat. This type of reasoning also would corroborate the view that Kauṭilya has in mind a small kingdom and not a pan-Indian imperial political system.

It must be noted, however, that the political theory of monarchy as formulated in the *Arthaśāstra*, is to be studied in the context of the bureaucratic development. The monarchy, to a certain extent, was patriarchical in character because both the chief queen and the crown prince are mentioned in the list of persons who receive high salaries. The monarchical emphasis is also apparent in the mention of palace officials like *Dauvārika* who would be an officer standing at the palace gate and the *Antarvamsika* who would be in charge of the inner establishment. From the theoretical standpoint, there is nothing of great significance in the structure and organisation of the bureaucracy that Kauṭilya has provided. It only shows that the monarchical element was getting consolidated with the development of the civil service

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as its operative adjunct but there was no corresponding institution to represent popular will.

Kauṭilya conceives of a rural administration which possibly had five layers. The entities of this quintuple rural hierarchy are :—(a) *Grāma* (b) *Sthānīya* (c) *Droṇamukha* (d) *Khārvaṭika* (e) *Saṁgrahaṇa.*

The village had an important place in the ancient Indian economy and political organisation In the *Arthaśāstra,* there is mention of the *Gopa* who was in charge of five to ten villages. Above the *Gopa,* in the administrative hierarchy, was the *Sthānika.* Over four *Sthānikas* there was to be one *Samāhartā. Sthānika* and the *Gopa* were also the designations of officers in charge of urban administration, in which context they had to work under the *Nāgaraka.* In the *Arthaśāstra,* there is also mention of *grāmabhṛtaka, grāmakūṭa, grāmika* and *grāmasvāmīn.* The mutual relationship of these functionaries is not clear at an analytical level. There is also mention of *Grāmavṛddhas* who were elders in charge of properties of temples and of persons who had not attained the status of legal majority. The very mention of these functionaries associated with the village would indicate that they had an important place in the Indian administrative system. But here there is absolutely no conception of any elective personnel whom the villagers would have chosen from amongst themselves to take care of their administrative and social welfare. Generally, it can be said, that these village functionaries were connected with the governing machinery of the king and were not representatives of the popular will. Their mention, however, is enough to indicate the importance of the village in the contemporary political system. In the pre-and post-*Arthaśāstra* eras we find mention of *grāmaṇi, grāmabhṛttaka, grāmavṛddha, grāmika mahattara, mahattama* etc. But the *Arthaśāstra* cycle of *saṁgrahaṇa* (for 10 villages), *khārvaṭika* (for 200 villages), *droṇamukha* (for 400 villages) and *sthānīya* (for 800 villages) do not fit into the scheme of the Guptan *Viṣaya* (district) and *bhukti.* It may be possible that several *sthānīya* circles would be comprised in a Guptan *bhukti.*

For the administration of the urban areas, there is mention of the *Pauravyāvahārika.* He might be the same as the *Nāgaraka.* The mention of word *Dharmasthas* or civil judges for urban areas could indicate that possibly there was no visualization of an integrated system of judicial administration in the country because in such a system, the city judiciary would also have to be included under the one integral co-ordinated pattern. But it may indicate, however, the importance of the urban areas if the theorists had visualised a separate judicial organisation for them.

The *Arthaśāstra* does not mention a provincial governor, thus justifying the hypothesis of some Western Indologists that it is a work concerned with the affairs of a small kingdom and does not contemplate a pan-Indian political system.

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In the context of a centralized monarchy, there can be no question of legislative or judicial control of administrative action but it is evident that the canons, customs and conventions of *Dharma*, *Vyavahāra* and *Samsthā* would have been generally obeyed and hence there would be naturally small scope for the irresponsible exercise of uncontrolled dominance. The *rājaśāsanas* or positive royal orders and directions were not expected to be writs of arbitrary and whimsical domination.

Although monarchical centralization and bureaucratic management are to be the uppermost categories in the political system the functionaries had also to be solicitous of the welfare of the afflicted and suppressed sections of the Janapada (Artha. II, 1). In cases of emergency, and natural calamities like flood, fire, drought, epidemic etc, the administration had to rush relief to the inhabitants.

There is no conception of a rigorous departmentalization, based on hierarchy and span of control, and vertical coordination, nor is there any significant mention of industrial and commercial corporations acting as pressure groups and interest groups. The *Arthaśāstra* is also silent about horizontal coordination among the departments like those of industry *(karmānta)*, *ākara* (mining), agriculture *(sīta)* and treasury *(kosa)*.

7. *KAUṬILYA'S PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC FINANCE*

In the *Arthaśāstra* there is an elaborate discussion of the economic foundations of the kingdom. *Dharma* and *Kāma* are stated to be rooted in wealth as all schemes can be executed only if the treasury is full. *Artha* is equated with the totality of activities oriented towards the acquisition and preservation of Deśa or Prithvi. There are several chapters in the book containing discussions of agriculture, industries, labour etc.

Kauṭilya sanctions certain taxes and refers to other financial categories which yield revenue to the state. These can be summarised as follows :

(1) *Sītā*—This signifies the lands owned by the king and cultivated on his behalf. It has been a controversial problem to determine the extent of the land owned by the king. There is no authority for the statement that all the land in the kingdom was under the proprietorship of the king. Even in those states where the feudal and the patrimonial conceptions of property and power have been prevalent, the entire land in the kingdom has never been regarded as the personal property of the king. It may roughly be surmised that nearly one-third of the total land in the kingdom might have belonged to the king. Possibly this share might have been even less.

(2) *Bhāga*—This refers to the land under the properietorship of the people. For this land, they had to pay 16 1/4% of the gross produce as the land tax, which was paid in kind. There must have been big state granaries and emporia to accommodate all the cereals and other products that might have been realized in the shape of revenue from the people.

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(3) *Bali*—Bali is a contribution levied on the people since the Vedic times. It need not have been a land tax but possibly it was a kind of offering paid to the king at the time of the performance of some important religious ceremonies. In the Vedic literature even the gods are regarded as offering *bali*. According to the manusmriti, *bali* was a contribution made to the king.

(4) *Kara*—Kara was perhaps a generic name for all kinds of contributions realised from the people. This, of course, excluded fines and forced labour. There is no justification for identifying *kara* only with the share of royal produce from fruits and flower gardens.

(5) *Piṇḍakara*—This was occasionally imposed. Possibly it was levied on occasions of funeral and *Śrāddha* ceremonies performed by the king.

(6) *Senābhakta*—It was a kind of occasional tax which could be levied on the people to finance military enterprises.

(7) Realisation from Ākara and Karmānta (industries and other manufactured things from factories set up by the state.

(8) *Dvāradeya*—Possibly this refers to dues paid at the time of entrance to big towns (Paura).

(9) Road cess.

(10) Weavers and spinners also were to pay some dues to the king.

(11) Some revenue was derived from river-trade and possibly also sea-trade which could have been carried near the long coastal regions.

(12) *Tāradeya*—Ferry dues.

(13) *Pattanam*—Dues on the sale and purchase carried on in markets or panyas.

(14) Realisations from the organisations of the labouring people—the *Kārus* and the *śilpins*.

(15) Realisations on account of salt monopoly.

(16) Yields from forests which were owned by the king.

(17) Yields from waste lands which included those areas which were used for grazing cattle.

(18) Gain from the royal mint.

(19) Gain from properties of persons dying without any heir, which were taken by the king.

(20) Excise collections, that is dues realised from the sale of liquor.

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(21) Realisation from gamblers, slaughterers and others carrying on humble professions who were also supposed to pay dues to the king.

(22) *Vāstuka* that is realisations from land meant for constructing residential houses.

(23) *Utsaṅg*—It was an occasional tax possibly on festive occasions.

From the long list of dues and impositions mentioned above it might be argued that the Kauṭilyan state was a centre of exorbitant financial extortion but such a generalization is not valid in view of the fact that all these revenues, taxes and exactions were levied neither on the same person nor on the same section of the population. Different social classes following their diverse occupations were supposed to be differentially taxed. But so much is clear that the detailed categorization of the components of the fiscal system and financial administration which Kauṭilya has given in the *Arthaśāstra* is not found in Plato's *Laws* or Aristotle's *Politics*.

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The king was supposed to be cautious and moderate in realising revenues from the people. Just as the wise gardener is to pluck only ripe fruits and not cause injury to the plant by plucking the unripe ones, so also the king was enjoined to realise his dues in such a way that no anger (*kopa*) was caused to the subjects.

Kauṭilya, as an exponent of traditional Brahmanism, realised that some special benefits in the matter of taxation had to be given to the Brāhmins, learned in the Vedas and, hence, they were to be exempted from paying taxes. But it is not clear if the Śrotrīyas were exempted even from the payment of the *Bhāga*.

It will not be proper to interpret the Kauṭilyan theory as containing an early enunciation of the notion of the welfare state as formulated by Beveridge, Pigou and others. The Kauṭilyan king was to look after the people and had to be solicitious for the welfare of the children, the aged, the orphans, the afflicted and other people caught by calamities. In periods of distress caused by famines, epidemics, droughts, floods and rats etc., the king was to show kindness to the people and behave with them as if he was a father to them. But this prescription is only an exercise in moral paternalism and it will be rash to read in this didactic and normative proposition the economics of the welfare state which believes in the equitable and just allocation of the state funds for providing a decent standard of living to all persons in the state. In the framework of a rigidly stratified social structure, it will be a mockery of words to find out a basis of welfare economics in these statements. The welfare state ideal has been conceived in order to correct the excesses of the economy of rugged individualistic competition and capitalist concentration. It is formulated in the context of technological industrialization and either an imperfectly competitive or a monopolistic economy. The

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Kauṭilyan state, on the other hand, was fundamentally a rural state and this has problems different from those visualized in the days of commercial industrialism and technological science.

The Kauṭilyan scheme prescribes payments to the various functionaries employed by the king. The officers of the highest rank including the queen were to be paid 48 thousand *Paṇas*. Those of a lower rank got 24 thousand *Paṇas*, others still lower were paid 12 thousand *Paṇas*, and others still below in the hierarchy got 8 thousand *Paṇas*, 4 thousand *Paṇas*, 2 thousand *Paṇas* and 1 thousand *Paṇas* according to their hierarchical rank and the nature of their duties. In this connection one cannot help feeling that Kauṭilya is laying down some kind of an ideal norm and it will be a mistake to conceive of these figures as actual items in the national budget. For example, it will be difficult to run a state if the members of the Mantriparishada were paid 12 thousand *Paṇas* each while the heads of the army forces were paid only one-third of that, i. e. only 4 thousand *Paṇas* each. There were provisions for payment of 5,00 *Paṇas* to the intelligence personnel.

The priestly orientation of the writer is evidenced from the statement that some kinds of gifts were to be made to those people who were in-charge of the different branches of learning. There is reference to some payments to the Purohitas, the Siddhas, Tāpsas, Śrotrīyas, Ṛitviks, Gurus, Bhktās, Prayoktäs and Vidyāvratas. But from this it should not be inferred that the Kauṭilyan state was a theocratic institution. These payments and allowances were, more or lass, except in the case of the Purohita and the Ritvika, in the nature of gifts and contributions, rather than being guaranteed monthly or annual payments to the members of a hierarchicaly organised ecclesiastical department.

Kauṭilya does describe the organisation of a finance department. But he does not discuss the structure of a vast national department, What he has in mind in something like the treasurer and finance officer of a small state. The revenue departmental head is called the *Sannidhātā*. It will be incorrect to identify this *Sannidhātā* with the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Finance Minister of a modern state. *Sannidhātā* means a person who has the custody of the royal funds. The *Samāhartā* was the person in-charge of the collection of various kinds of revenues and dues from land, forests, cattle etc. It was he wilt whom all collections were eventually deposited. The royal treasury was supposed to keep proper custody of precious metals, stones, coins etc. It is possible that the treasury as conceived was to be a very rich one. It is said that the listing of the various coins and stones in the *Arthaśāstra* presupposes intimate connexion with territorial area covered by South India.

There was provision for keeping of accounts books. Kauṭilya was very much opposed on any kind of defalcation and misappropriation of money.

8. *KAUṬILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA AND PLATO'S REPUBLIC*

In the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of the first book of the

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Arthaśāstra. Kauṭilya has discussed the problems of the nature and classification of sciences (*Vidyā*) and the functions, responsibilities and obligations of the four *Varṇas* and the four *Āsramas.* Some of the discussions in the first book of the *Arthaśāstra* are relevant to the intellectual and moral education of the prince. These may be compared with and contrasted to the notions propounded in Plato's *Republic*.

In the list of fields of knowledge, Kauṭilya has categorized *ānvīkṣikī* (dialectical logic and philosophy), *trayī*, *vārtā* and *daṇḍanīti*. The importance attached to *ānvīkṣikī* reminds us, to a certain extent, of the dominance of the dialectical philosophy in Plato's *Republic*. *Ānvīkṣikī* makes investigations into the foundations and limitations of the three other branches of knowledge. This process of epistemological investigation is to be based on reason (*hetu*). *Ānvīkṣikī* also makes investigations into the factors leading both to national calamity and temporal prosperity, and leads to the accomplishment of excellence in the correct use of linguistic propositions and statements (*prajñāvākya kṛyā*). It is hailed as the lamp of all branches of knowledge, the recognized path for the performance of all kinds of actions and the shelter or protector of all Dharmas. It is, further, said to be eternal (*śāśvat*). The implication may be that logical categories and principles may be regarded as transcending the limits of the perceived present. In Kauṭilya, there is no specific mention of the number of years to be assigned to the study of *Ānvīkṣikī*. Plato, on the other hand, says that from the age of thirty to that of thirty-five, that is for full five years, the dialectical philosophy of conceptual *noesis* is to be studied by the prospective philosopher-rulers to whom it will provide the knowledge whereby they will be capable of discriminating between the permanant and the transitory elements of existence and reality. Kauṭilya says that the prince is to study *Ānvīkṣikī* under academic experts after he has been initiated into Vedic studentship. The prince is to maintain the vow of Brahmacarya or studentship till the age of sixteen. Possibly, Kauṭilya means to imply that the period of regular studentship for the ruler ends at the age of sixteen. This is too short a time-limit for the study of advanced logic and philosophy It appears, thus, that Plato hat a for more serious and exalted conception of dialectical philosophy as contrasted to the *Ānvīkṣikī* of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. As a preparatory back-ground to the study of dialectic, Plato has prescribed the study of arithmetic, plane and solid geometry, astronomy and harmonics for full ten years. But Kauṭilya has no such scheme of advanced mathematical and scientific studies. It is true that he refers to *Jyotiṣa* as a part of *Vedānga*. He does also refer to *Sāmkhyāna*. These references to *Jyotiṣa* and *Sāmkhyāna*, however, are too inadequate as contrasted to Plato's emphasis on the rigorous study of the differant kinds of natural and mathematical sciences.

Kauṭilya prescribes the pursuit of the study of the *Trayī*, the *Atharvaveda* and the *Vedāngas*, but he does not prescribe any rational and critical study of these branches of theological and metaphysical knowledge. The third chapter of the first book his work tconains an enunciation of traditionalism and conformity. He wants the maintenance of

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svadharma and says that only protected by the *Trayī*, can the world prosper. Plato, on the other hand, adopts a far more rational and critical attitude towards the Hellenic theology. He wants that only those portions of theology should be taught to students as can inculcate sentiments of bravery, strength and nobility. Nothing unseemly and unbecoming should be taught to them regarding the character of the gods. Plato, hence, can be critical of the writings of even venerated Greek figures like Homer and Hesiod, but Kauṭilya cannot think of prescribing Vedic and theological studies on critical and rationalistic lines.

While Kauṭilya accepts the social structure based on the four *Varṇas* and the four *Āsramas*, in the *Republic*, there is the exposition of the system of a threefold hierarchy. Plato ascribes the functions of rulership to the philosophers and the job of defence to the auxiliaries. It is, thus, clear that he has strictly separated the governing or sovereign function and the military function. According to Kauṭilya, on the other hand, the Kṣatrīya Varṇa has to supply the personnel who will be concerned both with rulership as well as with military defence (*śāstrājivo bhūtarakṣanam*). While Plato ascribes the function of rulership to the highest guardians or philosopher-rulers who are men of comprehensive understanding (*dianoia*) and deep knowledge (*ncesis*), in Kauṭilya's philosophy, a Brahmin, at best, is either to be appointed as a Purohita or is to act as an adviser. Kauṭilya never ascribes the power of direct rulership to the Brahmins. He says that the king is to appoint as the Purohita a person who should be well-versed in the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas and who should be able to prescribe and invoke counter-measures against providential and human calamities. The Purohita, it is true, has also to be an expert in *daṇḍanīti*, and birth in a prestigious family is a further requirement for him. But it is clear that the Purohita is not a ruler. Kauṭilya states that the prince or the king should follow the priest in the same way as the student follows the teacher, or the son follows the father or the servant follows the master. These analogies, specially the third one, (regarding the servant in relation to the master), would imply for the Purohita a very dignified and venerable position. Nevertheless, it is clear beyond any doubt, that the supreme importance which Plato ascribes to advanced competence in dialectical philosophy as the direct basis of political governance is absent in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. By not assigning the function of direct rulership to the man of knowledge, it may well be said that Kauṭilya does not enunciate that exalted conception of philosophy as the dominant cognitive basis of political reformation and social transformation which Plato does.

Kauṭilya says that *vārtā* which comprises the technical and pragmatic arts of agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade should be cultivated by the Vaiśyas as well as the Śūdras. Kauṭilya, it is thus clear, includes the topic of trade in *vārtā*. In Plato's *Republic*, on the other hand, the reason why no Importance is attached to trade operations and commercial transactions is that Plato was of the view that the state should be self-sufficient.

While Kauṭilya is a thorough and orthodox believer in the fourfold *Varṇas*, Plato is more democratic in his view that there can be transposition of ranks between the children of

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the guardians, of the auxiliaries and of the agriculturists. It is true that in very remote periods of Indian history there were cases of individuals belonging to lower ranks of society rising up to become Brahmins and Kṣatrīyas, nevertheless, no theory of such social elevation has been supported either by the Arthaśāstra school or by the Dharmaśāstra school. Vasiṣṭha is said to be of low origin. Vyāsa's mother was of a low caste. Satyakāma Jābāla was, very probably, illegitimate. Vidura, who was the son of a maid-servant, became a great teacher of pragmatic ethical injunctions. But in spite of these examples, the ancient Indian writers on politics and law did never advocate the democratic theory that there could be a transposition of social ranks under the authority of the state.

Kauṭilya has proclaimed his adherence to the theory of four *Āśramas*. There is no such theory of the fourfold stages of life in Plato's *Republic* but Plato does seem to favour the retirement of guardians at the age of fifty. Thereafter they may be available for advice and consultation but they would not take active part in the details of political activities. It is, thus, clear that after fifty, they will lead a life, more or less like that of the Indian *Vānaprasthas*.

Plato was a profound philosopher and in his works he has devoted serious attention to the elucidation of the key concepts of metaphysics and political philosophy. His method of dialectical discussions provides an intellectual apparatus to probe into the intricacies of the problems of philosophy and society. Kauṭilya's *Sūtras* and *Ślokas* are, on the other hand, too much conce ned with practical affairs and administrative organization and management and do not touch the profounder aspects of political philosophy. Plato had a deeper perception of the problems of normative political philosophy than Kauṭilya whose book is, more or less, a series of maxims and precepts which are based, no doubt, on profound experience of the social and political reality, but not transformed into the systematic propositions of an integral, empirical and behavioral political philosophy.

9. *KAUṬILYA AND ARISTOTLE*

The realistic, functional and instrumental dimensions of politics have received elaborate exposition it the writings of Aristotle and Kauṭilya. Both have discussed the sociology and economics of slavery and property. One unfortunate part of the political philosophy of Kauṭilya is that, in a sense, he accepts the institution of slavery. From his discussions it appears, by implication, that all the four Varnas could in practice, be made slaves. Of course, he prescribed punishment for enslaving persons of any one of the four *Varṇas*. But the very fact that he has prescribed punishment shows that the practice of recruiting slaves from all the four *Varṇas* might have been prevalent in those days. In his theory of slavery, however, he seems to be more liberal than Aristotle. He says that in certain circumstances all slaves could become Arya. Thus there does not seem to be any radical legal and ethnological antithesis between a slave and an Arya. It also appears that there was no racial divergence between an Arya and a slave. The slave represented membership in an economic and social institution,

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It was also possible to manumit the slave under certain circumstances. Aristotle's defence of slavery on psychological grounds has no parallel in Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya, on the other, hand has discussed the problems of the manumission of slaves. Still, nowhere has he denounced the evils of slavery. While discussing property. Aristotle has categorically denounced the accumulation of wealth. Kauṭilya, on the other hand, in his *Arthaśāstra*, holds that Artha is the foundation of *kama* and *Dharma*. He does; however, show his opposition to exorbitant taxes as the governmental technic for accomulating wealth.

Aristotle has shown considerable realistic and historical perception of political facts and institutions in elaborating and classifying a score or so forms of oligarchy, democracy and monarchy. Kauṭilya is firmly committed to the ideals of a kingship based on adherence to the traditional concepts of Brahmanical theology. He has not discussed the various kinds of kingship. He is aware of the existence of Samgha a word, which, is generally, translated as republic by several Indian authors. If it is true that there did exist republics in ancient India, then Kauṭilya should be given the credit for having delineated two types of republics : (i) those which engage themselves in economic and military pursuits and (ii) those which bear the appellation of Rājan. Aristotle has not given us any theory of republics but it goes without saying that the republican pattern is implicity assumed in his discussion of aristocracy, oligarchy, democracy and ochlocracy.

Kauṭilya has not given us any plausible definition of law as Aristotle has done when the latter says that law is reason untainted by desire. Kauṭilya's legal exposition, on the other hand is more detailed in stressing (*Arthaśāstra*, III, 1) four categories which are necessary for settling a dispute (*Vivāda*). Aristotle is an exponent of the singnificance of custom and the term *Vyavahāra* has some remote resemblance to it. While Aristotle's concern in with the theory of law Kauṭilya's presccupation is with a penal code.

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The Social Evolution of Indian Market

—*Suman Kumar*

In tha Palaeolithic age, man was a hunter,[1] subsisting on hunting and fishing and gathering wild foods and betraying affinities with a savage. In course of time, this food gathering economy changed into a food producing one, with man moving to the alluvial river plains where the soil was quite fertile, well-watered and amenable to cultivation with simple tools. In the Neolithic age, there was some kind of production of food and habitation[2] which gradually developed into permanent agriculture based villages. Early agricultural communities tend to be located in the river valleys.[3] Thus India, in its early period as today, was basically a country of peasants. The growth of early Indian civilization depended, both in its form and style directly and fully on the pattern of growth of the peasantry. With the advent of food producing economy, a concept of social system emerged, clear and definite, deporting sharply from the earlier pattern of growth which centred round individuals, whether it concerned hunting of food-gathering. "To constitute a proper society, a set of human beings be in some productive relationship which involves the creation and transfer of surplus."[4]

The 'surplus' and 'scarcity' constitute the two basic factors which formed the nucleus of trade and market and even civilization. Here we are not taking the word 'scarcity' in its conventional connotation but simply in the sense of shortage of supply arising from 'want'. Both the words 'scarcity' and 'surplus' are interlinked in that where scarcity or want arises, is surplus consumed. In other words, scarcity arises when production is less in comparison with the demand. Obviously, scarcity brings on a clash of interests among men with threatening possibilities of social confusion and disorder. Terence K. Hopkins demanded that since men live in society, "societies must provide solution to this conflict of natural interests".[5] Here actually in this situation, two requirements are to be satisfied,[6] first, a demand of goods and secondly, the need for an organisation of producers to provide supply of goods. To meet the situation, the society[7] distributes the surplus products of the producers to the scarcity zone through the head of the State or temple or through the market system.

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In the above passage, we have used the word 'surplus' which may be defined, in the words of Melville J. Herskovits, as "an excess of goods over the minimum demands of necessity".[8] The surplus products should either be stored for future use or consumed. Agricultural products are, by and large, perishable. For storing food, particular techniques are to be employed. In the beginning people did not know the art of storing. So agricultural products had to be consumed fairly soon, on pain of their losing their entire value.[9] But there is a limit to consumption, causing an inevitable surplus in case of higher production. After the local demand is satisfied, the surplus food has no value for the local people and unless transferred in time to the areas of need, runs the danger of decaying. The basic idea behind the whole economic growth is to increase the value of the particular article through "freight transportation"[10], that is, by changing their location. This change of location increases the value of the particular article because in that particular area the articles in question are in greater demand due to scarcity. Our ancient Indian jurists say that scarcity is a necessary cause of value.[11] Men in ancient India were not ignorant of this simple theory. But surplus production in absence of locational movements which involve transport facilities, chronically wanting ancient India, would lose its economic potential and value. So, goods were circulated from hand to hand instead of being transported in absence of requisite facilities.[12] Thus, the social process of interaction between man and environment was set in motion, leading to the production and distributions of goods on a viable basis. A market system followed in the wave of this sound process of production and distribution.[13] Men moved with their wayes, in consequence, for the transaction of the surplus goods, to a central and convenient place. Men, in need of certain articles, came to this central place with some other form of surplus product for the purpose of exchange of goods. In this way, goods were exchanged and market-trade was established and the market or *bāzaar* evolved as the relevant place for exchange. This shows that the market was the social arrangement, found in every civilization to facilitate the supply of the means of subsistence through trade and commerce. The market, therefore, was not only an economic arrangement on the principle of demand and supply but it was a social need.[14] Any society would cease to function if this social need is not fulfilled. This is true to-day also, as we find that a society's index of civilization changes with the changing pattern of national as well as international trade. We cannot correlate the economy and the society at every step but it is for the general vision that the economy has direct implications for the standard of living and social organisation and it is the changing economy which is directly related with the life-style of men.

The above discussions should make it clear that markets were a social need, evolving gradually. From economic point of view it was the rock bottom on which all forms of commercial transactions rested. In other words, for an economist all trade was a market-trade. But logically and historically this is not true. Sir Leonard Woolley suggests that "trade in the simple form of barter, is as old as man",[15] while in the words of Karl Polanyi[16] "Greek

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business life as a whole was still in the very first beginnings of market trade in Aristotle's time" Of course this is said in the context of Greek History; in principle it can be well understood that market gained its shape much later. To conclude, trade came with the coming of man, a social animal, who gradually developed the institution of market, which came to fulfil his growing social and cultural needs. So people's collective "consciousness"[17] and reaction to the social need, and in sequel, their collective approach and effort, gave rise to the market.

The barter was the earliest and simplest form of exchange and was replaced gradually by more complex and sophisticated from of exchange. Regarding the system of barter much has been written by several scholars. So it is not partinent to tackle the subject afresh but the origin of barter appears to be inherent in individual need. In the primitive Indian society, exchange of goods was probably not done through business 'negctiations.' It was more in the form of 'gifts'. The surplus produce was transferred to persons in the form of reciprocal gift on the basis of personal relations and preferences and expectations. Expectations determined the choice of goods gifted and the kind of goods received in return. It was not generosity that prompted gifts but sheer personal interests. Expectation of return of gifts relevant to the persons; needs is a part of human psychology, which compels the giving of goods by him to other persons in the first instance. There are numerous examples of such exchanges or gifts in all ages of human race. The Rigvedic society was probably also based one some kind of gift economy. In some of the Rigvedic hymns even gods are offered divotion, oblations, some-drink and sacrificial shares and in return they are asked to provide cattle, soers, horses chariots etc.[18] With these examples this may be understood that in such transactions the regular process of direct exchange of materials in the form of purchase or sale was not done; the idea of exchanging gift was in itself an indirect phenomenon of trade and business. The idea of value and utility, though in the implied form, were greatly attached with the gift exchange system. This can also be adjudged to be pertinent in the writings of Romila Thaper when she says that the gift exchange "is essentially of consumable items."[19] This gift exchanging had also social significance which the trade has not. Both trade and gift distributes goods but "in trade the emphasis is on economic redistribution"[20] and in the gift exchange which was the forerunner of barter[21], the emphasis is on social relationship.

Further, it is belived that in the earlier days, when people started living in the composite joint family, members of the family owned things in common. The members of the family therefore, depended on this common pool of things or articles which they would use according to their need. As the numbers in the expanded joint family increased they were compelled to settle apart. As such, they found themselves short of some of the things they formerly used in common and had, therefore, to acquire the needed things from amongst each other. This amounted to mutual sharing or exchange or things within the families. Mutual

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sharing of articles or things became an established and socially accepted practice and this became a reciprocal arrangement. Reciprocity in sharing was accomplished through the act of barter. Thus, we see that earlier mutual sharing was the social need and this social need finally gave rise to and determined economic relationship. It is obvious now that the act of exchanging goods was not a call of a market or *bāzaar*; rather it was series of individual transaction. The social and economic behavior in the gift exchange or in the mutual sharing is clear. Both are related with the human survival. Gift exchange or mutual sharing leads towards the redistribution, since the exchange is possible only with the distributed products. But these products are distributed within the family and among the kins. With the market trade the distribution has linked with each other of the society.

The role of artisans has always been overestimated in the growth of market but the distinct urban concentration of artisans was, itself, facilitated by the surplus of agriculture. The phenomenon of growth of productivity in agriculture changed the complexion of the labour force,[22] and played its role in institutional development. The growing agriculture not only produced more and more food without which an economy cannot possibly grow but it also created demand for great many industries.[23] Increased food production means more and more surplus food which released the territorial labour. The people, no longer needed to work on the agricultural field, provided labour for other professions, such as for making clothes, which had by now become a social need; for making basket and pottery which had developed into a necessity for keeping and storing food products. Likewise other professionals as blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, leather workers etc. started prospering as a result of surplus of produce. Earlier only the makers or their families and tribes were benefited with these products and the manufacture could be termed in the words of Fritz M. Heichelheim[24] as 'primitive home industry'. The Indians of the Brahmana period developed a number of arts and crafts, and the expanded socio-cultural and economic activities led towards the establishment of numerous occupations.[25] It was now impossible for men to acquire equal proficiency in all spheres of the expanded and highly advanced technical skill. Here the idea of primitive home industry became defunct. To its natural corolary the interdependence of men increased. The people of ancient India, and for that matter people of any civilization, made an social arrangement among themselves to have a regular periodical gathering for the exchange of their specialised products.

The refinement of the labour force of the society was the leading factor in the development of economy of man. By the increased number of labour for various professions, production was organised to supply the needs of the larger unit which was different from the primitive situation where the production of goods was to a great extent intended to meet the immediate needs of the community, so that only an occasional surplus was available for interchange, barter and markets.[26]

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As the labour force increased the production also increased and even after satisfying the need of the increased population, artisans had surplus product which they could share with other class of the society. Pater F. Drucker,[27] the renowned economist of today says that "the transfer of margiaal farmers and farm workers to urban unemployment has by itself probably been the largest simple factor in the rise of urban productivity". This is the main reason for Great Britain's declining economy for the "English society is fully bourgeoise"[28], and ironically the lack of marginal labour force from the farm created the labour shortage for many more industries. To repeat, the growing agriculture created the surplus of food for trade' and side by side liberated marginal labour for the growth of other professions.

When in the social set up of the Indian culture the idea of the interdependence increased and as the convenience was felt the exchange of surplus led towards more and more specialization and men tended to concentrate upon one item of livelihood. This was the germination of the specialization of particular professions. This increased division of labour and regularly expanding exchange and exchange relationship finally called for the use of money which could simplify or ease the above complex situation.[29] With the advent of money, the market, in the formation of the economists emerged, and a pattern of price governing and governed by supply and demand acquired clarity and definition.

With the advent of specialization in specific professions and prosperity resulting from the broadening of the basic needs,[30] from one generation to the other a demand pattern gradually emerged for each category of items produced not only by the peasants but also by the artisans, carpenters etc As such, there was a growth of permanent and consistent demand for the goods. This basic change in the growth pattern increased the shopping list of the people necessitating permanent market for regular marketing or transactions.

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30. To understand the basic needs of man it can be said that basically man is a wanting animal. As soon as one of his needs is satisfied another appears in its place. The process is unending and continued from birth to death. Food is the basic need of man but as soon as this need is satisfied hunger ceased to be the incentive for work. As this need is satisfied, other physiological needs emerged and now this new needs acted as the incentive for work.

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मनुस्मृति की अप्रतिम महत्ता का रहस्य

—हीरालाल गुप्त

स्मृतियाँ प्राचीन भारतीय सामाजिक मान्यताओं और नियमों की धरोहर होने के कारण इतिहास के विकास-क्रम की सहज, नैसर्गिक एवं अविभाज्य उपज हैं। उनकी प्रकृति निश्चित रूप से गत्यात्मक थी, जिससे देश-काल के भेद से उनमें परिवर्तन होता रहा। नवीन सामाजिक आवश्यकताओं के अनुरूप नवीन स्मृतियों की रचना होती रही तथा प्राचीन नियमों के स्थान पर नवीन नियमों को मान्यता प्राप्त होती गयी। इस प्रकार स्मृतियों की एक बृहद् संख्या अस्तित्व में आयी। किन्तु स्मृतियों के बहुसंख्यक होने के बावजूद मनुस्मृति को जो अप्रतिम महत्ता प्राप्त हुयी, वैसी महत्ता किसी अन्य स्मृति को नहीं प्राप्त हो सकी।

मनुस्मृति की यह महत्ता सदैव न्यूनाधिक रूप में समादृत रही है। उसके बाद की एक स्मृति-बृहस्पति स्मृति ने तो उसकी इस महत्ता का उद्घोष करते हुए कहा है कि, "जो स्मृतियाँ मनु से सामंजस्य नही रखतीं, वे प्रशंसनीय नहीं है"।[1] स्मृतियों के लिये प्रायः "मन्वादि" विशेषण[2] प्रयुक्त हुआ है "याज्ञवल्क्यादि" या "नारदादि" नहीं। स्मृतिकारों की सूची प्रस्तुत करते हुए समान्यतः मनु को ही प्रथम स्थान दिया गया[3] और प्रायः उस वैदिक वचन को भी उद्धृत किया जाता रहा जिसके अनुसार, "मनु ने जो कुछ भी कहा है, वह भेषज (औषधि) है।"[4] महास्मृति की संज्ञा केवल इसी स्मृति को प्राप्त हुई।[5] सर्वाधिक प्रतिष्ठित एवं प्रचलित होने के कारण ही इसकी सर्वाधिक टीकायें की गयीं। इन टीकाओं में मेधातिथि का मनुभाष्य, गोविन्दराज का मनु-टीका, सर्वज्ञनारायण का मन्वर्थमुविवृत्ति या मन्वर्थनिबन्ध, कुलूक भट्ट का मन्वर्थमुक्तावली, राघवानन्द सरस्वती का मन्वर्थचन्द्रिका और नन्दन का मनु-व्याख्या प्रसिद्ध है।[6] वृहत्तर भारत में प्रायः इसी स्मृति का प्रचार-प्रसार हुआ। दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया के प्राचीन अभिलेखों में मनुस्मृति के श्लोक अब भी देखे जा सकते हैं।[7]

बंगाल, मद्रास तथा बम्बई में ब्रिटिश प्रशासन की नींव सुदृढ़ हो जाने के पश्चात् जब न्यायपालिका का पुनर्गठन (१७७०-१७८९) किया गया तब हिन्दू परम्परा तथा न्याय-व्यवस्था के अधिकारिक स्रोत के लिए विभिन्न जिलों के न्यायलयों में अंग्रेज अधिकारियों तथा न्यायपालिका के सहायक पंडितों ने मनुस्मृति में प्रतिपादित विचारों की ही मुख्य रूप से स्वीकार किया। इतना ही नहीं अद्यावधि जनमानस में मनुस्मृति के प्रति श्रद्धा की भावना देखी जा सकती है और अनेक लोगों द्वारा आज भी मनुस्मृति के नियम, भारतीय राष्ट्र के वहुसंख्यक जनमानक की आचार पद्धति के नियामक माने जाते हैं।

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समाज में मनुस्मृति के प्रति इस अप्रतिम महत्ता ने ही आधुनिक विद्वानों का ध्यान जितना अपनी ओर खींचा है, उतना किसी अन्य स्मृति ने नहीं। ब्रिटिश भारत के न्यायलयों में प्रयुक्त हिन्दू विधि की आवश्यकता को ध्यान में रखकर सर्वप्रथम सर विलियम जोन्स ने मनुस्मृति का अंग्रेजी में अत्यन्त आधिकारिक अनुवाद "इन्स्टीट्यूट्स ऑफ हिन्दू ला ऑर दि आर्डिनेन्सेज ऑफ मनु" शीर्षक के अन्तर्गत किया, जो १७९४ में कलकत्ता से प्रकाशित हुआ। इसको ध्यान में रखकर एस० जॉन्सन (ओरियन्टल रिलिजन्स, १८१७) जैसे विद्वानों द्वारा भारतीय विधि तथा आचार पद्धति पर पुस्तकें लिखी गयीं। उन्नीसवीं शदी के उत्तरार्ध में ब्यूहलर (दि लाज ऑफ मनु, १८८६), बर्नेल हार्प्किस (दि आर्डिनेन्सेज ऑफ मनु, १८८१) तथा बी० एन० माण्डलिक (मानव धर्मशास्त्र, १८८६) जैसे विद्वानों की पुस्तकें प्रकाशित हुयीं। बीसवीं शदी में अनेक विद्वानों ने मनुस्मृति के विभिन्न पक्षों पर प्रकाश डाला है, जिसमें भगवानदास (दि साइन्स ऑफ सोसल आर्गेनाइजेशन ऑर दि लाज ऑफ मनु, १९३२-३५); गंगानाथ झा (नोट्स ऑन मनुस्मृति और लाज ऑफ मनु, १९२१-२६); के० पी० जायसवाल (मनु एण्ड याज्ञवल्क्य, १९१७); के० वी० आर० आयंगर (आस्पेक्ट्स ऑफ दि सोसल एण्ड पोलिटिकल सिस्टम ऑफ मनुस्मृति, १९४६); केवल-मोटवानी (मनु : ए स्टडी इन हिन्दू सोसल थियरी, १९३५); जे० एच० दुवे (मनुस्मृति, १९७२); आर० एम० दास, (वुमेन इन मनु एण्ड हिज सेवेन कमेन्ट्रीज, १९६२); वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल (इण्डिया ऐज डेस्क्राइब्ड बाई मनु, १९७०); एस० विद्यानाथ अय्यर (मनुज लैण्ड एण्ड ट्रेड लाज, १९७६) और सत्यमित्र दुबे (मनु की समाज व्यवस्था, १९८१) जैसे विद्वानों के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं।

मनुस्मृति की इस अप्रतिम महत्ता का क्या रहस्य था, एक विचारणीय प्रश्न है। अभी तक सम्भवतः किसी भी विद्वान ने इस प्रश्न की विस्तृत मीमांसा करने का प्रयास नहीं किया है। इस सम्बन्ध में समान्यतः विद्वानों में यह धारणा प्रचलित है कि मनुस्मृति की इस महत्ता का रहस्य उसके "मनु" जैसे अत्यन्त समादृत नाम से सम्बन्धित होने, वेदार्थानुकूल होने, पुरुषार्थ-चतुष्टय का विशद रूप में प्रतिपादन करने तथा सरल एवं धारा प्रवाह भाषा में रचित होने में निहित है।[8] निश्चय ही किसी स्मृति को श्रेष्ठता प्रदान करने के लिए ये तथ्य पर्याप्त समझे जा सकते हैं, किन्तु इन तथ्यों का अन्य स्मृतियों की तुलना में मनुस्मृति की श्रेष्ठता और सर्वव्यापकता सिद्ध करने और उसे एक लम्बे समय तक प्रतिष्ठित कराने में कितना योगदान हो सकता था, यह स्वयं में एक जटिल प्रश्न है।

निश्चय ही मनु अत्यन्त प्राचीन काल से मानव जाति के जनक के रुप में समादृत रहे हैं। ऋग्वेद के कई स्थलों पर उन्हे मानव जाति का पिता कहा गया है।[9] यही नहीं ऋग्वेद के एक स्थल पर तो उन्हें प्रथम यज्ञकर्त्ता बताया गया है।[10] एक अन्य स्थल पर एक ऋषि द्वारा मनु के मार्ग से च्युत न होने की स्तुति की गयी है।[11] तैत्तिरीय संहिता[12] और ताण्डयमहाब्राह्मण[13] में कहा गया है कि, "मनु ने जो कुछ भी कहा है, वह औषधि है।" शतपथ ब्राह्मण में मनु और जल-प्रलय की कहानी वर्णित है।[14] तैत्तरीय संहिता में मनुष्यों को मनु की सन्तान (मानव्यो हि प्रजाः) कहा गया है।[15] महाभारत में अनेक स्थलों पर स्वायंभुव मनु, प्राचेतस मनु अथवा केवल मनु के नाम से अनेक उल्लेख प्राप्त होते हैं।[16] इस प्रकार अत्यन्त प्राचीन काल से ही मनु एक श्रद्धास्पद नाम रहा है और मनुस्मृति के लेखक ने इस नाम से अपने ग्रन्थ को सम्बन्धित कर उसे प्राचीनता और महत्ता प्रदान करने का प्रयास किया था। किन्तु केवल मनु प्रणीत मान लिये जाने से ही मनुस्मृति अन्य स्मृतियों से श्रेष्ठतर सिद्ध नहीं हो सकती। अन्य स्मृतियाँ भी समान रूप से श्रद्धास्पद व्यक्तियों या देवताओं के नाम से जुड़ी हुई हैं। याज्ञवल्क्य, नारद, पराशर, व्यास आदि कम प्रतिष्ठित व्यक्तित्व नहीं थे और विष्णुस्मृति तो एक श्रेष्ठ एवं कतिपय दृष्टियों से

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सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण देवता के नाम से सम्बद्ध है, फिर भी विष्णु अथवा अन्य स्मृतियों को समाज में वह व्यापक प्रतिष्ठा नहीं प्राप्त हुई जो कि मनुस्मृति को।

मनुस्मृति की श्रेष्ठता का एक प्रमुख कारण उसका सर्वाधिक वेदार्थानुकूल होना बताया जाता है। स्वयं मनुस्मृति की महत्ता का उद्घोष करने वाली बृहस्पति स्मृति ने मनु की श्रेष्ठता के लिए इसी कारण को उत्तरदायी बताया है।[17] पराशर स्मृति में भी कहा गया है कि, "कोई मनुष्य वेद का कर्त्ता नहीं है। ब्रह्मा जी स्वयं वेद का स्मरण करके जिस प्रकार वेदों को प्रकाशित करते हैं, उसी प्रकार प्रत्येक कल्प की समाप्ति पर ब्रह्मा की भाँति मनु धर्मो का स्मरण करते हैं।"[18] यहाँ यह प्रश्न उठना स्वाभाविक है कि मनुस्मृति कहाँ तक वेदार्थानुकूल है और अन्य स्मृतियों की तुलना में उसकी वेदार्थानुकूलता किन अर्थों में अधिक है। यह सत्य है कि स्वयं मनुस्मृति में भी कहा गया है कि, "मनु ने जो कुछ और जिसका भी धर्म कहा है, वह सब धर्म वेदों में कहा गया है। वे (मनु) सब वेदों के अर्थों के ज्ञाता हैं।"[19] इसके साथ ही साथ इस स्मृति के अन्तिम अध्याय में वेद की अत्याधिक प्रशंसा की गयी है,[20] जिसमें यह भी कहा गया है कि, "जो स्मृतियाँ वेदवाह्य अर्थात् अवेदमूलक हैं तथा जो कुदृष्टि रखने वाले शास्त्र हैं, वे सभी परलोक में निष्फल हैं, क्योंकि उन्हें तम प्रधान कहा गया है। इनसे (वेदों से) भिन्न जो शास्त्र रचे जाते हैं, वे नष्ट हो जाते हैं क्योंकि वे सब इस समय के रचे होने (अर्वाचीन होने) से निष्फल तथा असत्य होते हैं।"[21] किन्तु मनुस्मृति के ये अंश, जैसा कि ब्यूहलर महोदय[22] की मान्यता है, कालान्तर में जोड़े गये प्रतीत होते हैं।

यद्यपि इस सत्य से विमुख नहीं हुआ जा सकता कि मनुस्मृति में अनेक बातें वैदिक परम्परा के अनुकूल हैं तथापि कई प्रश्नों पर अन्य स्मृतियों का दृष्टिकोण मनुस्मृति की तुलना में वैदिक परम्परा के अधिक अनुकूल कहा जा सकता है। उदाहरणार्थ, मनुस्मृति ने नियोग-प्रथा का वर्णन किया है[23] किन्तु वह इस प्रथा के निषेध के ही पक्ष में है।[24] किन्तु याज्ञवल्क्य[25] और नारद[26] स्मृतियों में नियोग की व्यवस्था की गई है और कहीं भी उसे निषिद्ध करनें का प्रयास नहीं किया गया है। इस प्रकार नियोग-प्रथा के सम्बन्ध में याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति और नारद स्मृति मनुस्मृति से कहीं अधिक वैदिक परम्परा के अनुकूल कही जा सकती हैं, क्योंकि वेदों में स्पष्ट रूप नियोग-प्रथा की व्यवस्था प्राप्त होती है।[27] इसी प्रकार मनुस्मृति ने ब्राह्मण द्वारा शस्त्र-धारण का प्रबल समर्थन किया है।[28] किन्तु याज्ञवल्क्य, विष्णु और नारद स्मृति ने ब्राह्मण को केवल आपत्तिकाल मे जीवकोपर्जन हेतु ही शस्त्र-धारण का विधान कर[29] वेदों से अधिक अनुकूलता का प्रदर्शन किया है। शतपथ ब्राह्मण में ब्राह्मण को राज्य-भार ग्रहण करने में असमर्थ बताया गया है[30] और कौषीतकि ब्राह्मण में ब्राह्मण के लिए शस्त्र धारण निषिद्ध किया गया है।[31] इस प्रकार वेदार्थानुकूलता की दृष्टि से मनुस्मृति को अन्य स्मृतियों की तुलना में श्रेष्ठतर नहीं स्वीकार किया जा सकता।

इसमें संदेह नहीं है कि मनुस्मृति में पुरुषार्थ-चतुष्टय की विशद व्याख्या हुई है। किन्तु वर्ण और आश्रम के साथ-साथ पुरुषार्थों की मान्यता समस्त धर्मशास्त्र साहित्य की आधारशिला है। मनु से पूर्व अनेक धर्मसूत्रों तथा मनु के पश्चात् अनेक स्मृतियों में पुरुषाथों का उल्लेख हुआ है।[32] अतः पुरुषार्थों का विवेचन केवल मनुस्मृति का वैशिष्टय नहीं स्वीकार किया जा सकता।

निश्चित रूप से मनुस्मृति की भाषा सरल और प्रवाहपूर्ण है, जिसे पी०वी० काणे जैसे विद्वान ने भी स्वीकार किया है।[33] किन्तु याज्ञवल्क्य, नारद, पराशर आदि स्मृतियों की भाषा भी समान रूप से सरल एवं प्रवाहपूर्ण

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है और इस तथ्य को भी हम मनुस्मृति की अप्रतिम श्रेष्ठता का कारण नहीं मान सकते। वस्तुतः मनुस्मृति की भाषा धर्मसूत्रों की भाषा से तो अधिक सरल एवं प्रवाहपूर्ण है, किन्तु अन्य स्मृतियों की भाषा से उसकी भाषा को किसी भी दृष्टि से अधिक सरल एवं प्रवाहपूर्ण नहीं सिद्ध किया जा सकता।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से स्पष्ट है कि मनुस्मृति की महत्ता को बढ़ाने में उसका मानव जाति के जनक समझे जाने वाले "मनु" के नाम से सम्बन्धित होना, उसकी वेदार्थानुकूलता, उसके द्वारा पुरुषार्थ-चतुष्टय की विशद विवेचना तथा उसकी भाषा की सरलता एवं प्रवाहमयता मात्र सहायक रहे हैं। ये सभी कारण उसे अन्य स्मृतियों की तुलना में श्रेष्ठतर सिद्ध करने के लिए पर्याप्त नहीं हैं। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि अन्य स्मृतियों की तुलना में मनुस्मृति की श्रेष्ठता के वास्तविक कारण निम्नलिखित हैं :

१. अन्य स्मृतियों की तुलना में मनुस्मृति की श्रेष्ठता का एक कारण मूलतः उसका आदर्शवादी स्वरूप है।[34] उसका यह आदर्शवादी स्वरूप अनेक स्थलों पर स्पष्ट रूप से दृष्टिगोचर होता है। उदाहरणार्थ, एक स्थल पर वह त्रिवर्ग (धर्म, अर्थ एवं काम) की क्रमिक श्रेष्ठता का प्रतिपादन करती है।[35] उसके अनुसार, "जो अर्थ और काम धर्म-विरुद्ध हैं, उसका त्याग करना चाहिए।"[36] ब्राह्मण के लिए कृषि कार्य का निषेध,[37] द्यूत और समाह्वय के खेल का निषेध,[38] नियोग-प्रथा का निषेध[39] तथा विधवा विवाह का निषेध[40] जैसी उसकी व्यवस्थायें भी उसकी आदर्शवादिता के ही परिचायक हैं।

भारतीय संस्कृति आर्थिक लाभों और दैहिक सुखों की तुलना में सत्य, निष्ठा, श्रद्धा, तप जैसे जीवन मूल्यों को महत्व देती रही है। प्रवृत्ति और निवृत्ति जैसे दोनों ही मार्गों का अनुसरण करते हुए भी वह निवृत्ति-मार्गीय आदर्शवाद को महत्व प्रदान करती है। मनुस्मृति की श्रेष्ठता का कारण भारतीय संस्कृति में निहित इन मूल्यों का समर्थन है।

२. अन्य स्मृतियों की तुलना में मनुस्मृति की श्रेष्ठता का दूसरा कारण उसकी रचना के प्राचीन आधार से सम्बन्धित प्रतीत होता है। मैक्समूलर जैसे विद्वान का मत था कि मनुस्मृति मानवधर्मसूत्र का पद्य-बद्ध संस्करण है। उनका मत इस तथ्य पर आधारित था कि सभी धर्मशास्त्र, जो आज विद्यमान हैं, प्राचीन कुलधर्मों वाले धर्मसूत्रों के जो स्वयं किसी न किसी वैदिक चरण से सम्बन्धित थे, संशोधित रूप हैं।[41] मैक्समूलर के इस मत का समर्थन ब्यूहलर ने अतिरिक्त तर्कों को प्रस्तुत करते हुए किया।[42] परन्तु पी० वी० काणे जैसे विद्वान ने ब्यूहलर के तर्कों का खण्डन करते हुए मानवधर्मसूत्र के अतितत्व को अस्वीकार किया है।[43] उन्होंने बड़ी सावधानी एवं विद्वत्तापूर्वक उपलब्ध मानवगृह्यसूत्र से मनुस्मृति की तुलना करते हुए यह दिखाया है कि मानवगृह्यसूत्र के बहुत से नियम मनुस्मृति से मेल नहीं खाते, अपितु उसके विपरीत हैं।[44] उन्होंने महाभारत में उल्लिखित स्वायंभुव मनु और प्राचेतस मनु, जिनमें प्रथम धर्मशास्त्रकार और द्वितीय अर्थशास्त्रकार बताये गये हैं तथा कहीं-कहीं उसके (महाभारत) इस उल्लेख कि मनु राजधर्म या अर्थविद्या के प्रणेता थे[45] के आधार पर यह सम्भावना व्यक्त की है कि मनु के नाम से दो ग्रन्थ रहे हों और मनुस्मृति के लेखक ने मनु से सम्बन्धित धर्मशास्त्र एवं अर्थशास्त्र दोनों की ही बातों को ले लिया हो।[46]

इस प्रकार ब्यूहलर और काणे दोनों ही विद्वान् वर्तमान मनुस्मृति को मनु से सम्बन्धित किसी न किसी पूर्ववर्ती ग्रन्थ पर आधारित मानते हैं। यह भी असम्भव नही है कि ऐसा कोई लिखित साहित्य न रहा हो और मनु

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के नाम से विभिन्न नियम समाज मे अलिखित रूप से (प्लोटिंग मास ऑफ लिटेरेचर) स्मरण किये जाते रहे हों। जो भी रहा हो, इतना निश्चित है कि मनुस्मृति एक प्राचीन धर्मशास्त्रीय परम्परा का समयानुसार परिवर्तित स्वरूप थी और अपने रचनाकाल के समय उसे प्राचीनता से जुड़े होने का गौरव प्राप्त था।

परिवर्तन को अत्यन्त संदेह की दृष्टि से देखा जाता है। समस्त मानवीय ऊर्जायें वस्तुस्थिति को यथावत बनाये रखने का प्रयास करती हैं।[47] पुनः प्राचीनता के प्रति श्रद्धा, भारतीय संस्कृति की विशेषता रही है। अतः सामाजिक परिवर्तनों से अनुकूलन कर नवीन रूप ग्रहण करने पर भी मनुस्मृति को अन्य स्मृतियों की तुलना में इसलिए अधिक प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त हुई, क्योंकि वह "मनु" के नाम से अभिहित प्राचीन परम्परा पर आधारित थी। तालान्तर में उसकी प्राचीनता और तज्जनित प्रमाणिकता को रेखांकित करने के लिए तथा उसे और वेदार्थानुकूल सिद्ध करने के लिए उसके प्रारम्भिक एवं अन्तिम भागों में परिवर्तन भी किया गया। मनुस्मृति में यह परिवर्तन कम से कम वृहस्पति स्मृति की रचना से पूर्व हो चुका था। वस्तुतः वेदों के प्रति श्रद्धा का कारण भी उसकी पौरुषेयता के साथ-साथ उसकी प्राचीनता ही थी। मनुस्मृति के प्रति श्रद्धा लगभग उन्हीं आधारों पर आधारित थी जिन पर वेदों की श्रद्धा। दूसरे शब्दों में, मनुस्मृति भी अत्यन्त प्राचीन परम्परा से जुड़ी होने के कारण और अपौरुषेय तो नहीं, किन्तु प्राचीनतम पौरुषेय कृति के रूप में स्वीकृत होने के कारण अन्य स्मृतियों की तुलना में श्रद्धास्पद मानी गयी।

३. अन्य स्मृतियों की तुलना में मनुस्मृति की श्रेष्ठता का एक महत्वपूर्ण कारण उसका भार्गव-परम्परा से सम्बद्ध होना प्रतीत होता है। नारद स्मृति के प्रारम्भिक गद्यांश से विदित होता है कि मनुस्मृति की रचना (अथवा संकलन या सम्पादन) भृगुपुत्र सुमति ने किया था।[48] मनुस्मृति के प्रत्येक अध्याय के अन्त में "मानव धर्मशास्त्रे भृगुप्रोक्तायां संहितायां" शब्दावली से भी यही प्रमाणित होता है।

प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास लेखन की परम्पराओं में सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण एवं प्रभावशाली परम्परा भार्गवों की थी। ऋग्वेद में भृगुओं का उल्लेख द्रुह्यों के साथ प्राप्त होता है।[49] ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण में च्यवन भार्गव द्वारा शर्यातु मानव को अभिषिक्त करने का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है।[50] इस आधार पर डॉ० विश्वम्भरशरण पाठक ने उचित ही निष्कर्ष निकाला है कि भृगु मानवों के ऋषि थे।[51] ये मानव, जैसा कि उनकी संज्ञा से ही स्पष्ट है, अपने को मनु-परम्परानुयायी मानते थे। इस बात की अत्यधिक सम्भावना है कि उनके "मनु" और समस्त मानव जाति के जनक के रूप में भारतीय परम्परा में प्रतिष्ठित "मनु" एक ही हैं। वैदिक साहित्य में भृगुओं का उल्लेख प्रायः अग्निपूजकों के रूप में हुआ है और उन्हें अनेक स्थलों पर युद्धों में संलग्न भी चित्रित किया गया है।[52]

उत्तरवैदिक काल तक भृगु, आंगिरसों तथा अर्थवणों के साथ मिलकर एक शक्तिशाली समूह "भृग्वांगिरस" का निर्माण करते हुए दृष्टिगत होते हैं।[53] डॉ० पाठक के अनुसार इन तीनों परिवारों का मिश्रण भारतीय इतिहास लेखन परम्परा में अत्यधिक महत्वपूर्ण है।[54] कालांतर में भृगुओं और आंगिरसों का समन्वय इतना अधिक हुआ है कि दोनों एक दूसरे के पर्याय बन गये। शतपथ ब्राह्मण में ऋषि च्यवन को कतिपय स्थलों पर भार्गव और अन्य स्थलों पर आंगिरस के रूप में वर्णित किया गया है।[55] इन भार्गवों या आंगिरसों ने ही कालान्तर में महाकाव्यों एवं पौराणिक परम्पराओं को विकसित किया। अन्य आख्यान एवं आख्यायिकाओं पर भी उनका प्रभाव सर्वाधिक रहा। भार्गव लेखकों की यह शक्तिशाली परम्परा सुदीर्घकाल तक अविच्छिन्न बनी रही।

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मनुस्मृति भी इसी भार्गव-परम्परा की देन थी।[57] इस प्रकार एक शक्तिशाली एवं प्रभावशाली इतिहास लेखन परम्परा से सम्बद्ध होने के कारण मनुस्मृति के प्रचार-प्रसार की सम्भावनायें सर्वाधिक थी ओर इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि अन्य स्मृतियों की तुलना में उसे श्रेष्ठतर स्थान प्राप्त होने में इस ऐतिहासिक तथ्य का सर्वाधिक योगदान था।

इस प्रकार अन्य स्मृतियों की तुलना में मनुस्मृति की अप्रतिम महत्ता का रहस्य उसके भारतीय संस्कृति के अनुरूप अधिक आदर्शवादी स्वरूप की होने, प्राचीनता से जुड़ी होने तथा भार्गव परम्परा से सम्बद्ध होने में निहित है।

पाद टिप्पणियाँ

१. मन्वर्थविपरीता तु या स्मृतिः सा न शस्यते।
बृहस्पतिस्मृति, ५/१३.

(बृहस्पति के इस वचन के विस्तृत अध्ययन के लिए द्रष्टव्य, लेखक द्वारा गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालय से प्राचीन इतिहास, पुरातत्त्व एवं संस्कृति विषय में "मन्क्तिर स्मार्त्त परम्परायें" शीर्षक से पी०एच० डी० उपाधि हेतु प्रस्तुत शोध-प्रबन्ध, अक्टूबर, १९८२).

२. द्रष्टव्य, मिताक्षरा, याज्ञवल्क्य, १/४-५ पर।

३. याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, १/४५; पराशर स्मृति, १/१२-१५; वृहद्गौतम स्मृति, धर्मशास्त्र संग्रह, भाग-१, पृ० ४९८-४९९; चतुवर्गचितामणि, व्रतखण्ड, पृ० १८-१९.

४. द्रष्टव्य स्मृतिमुक्ताफल, वर्णाश्रम, पृष्ठ ६ आदि.

५. द्रष्टव्य, मिताक्षरा, याज्ञवल्क्य, ३/३०० पर.

६. द्रष्टव्य, जी० ब्यूहलर : दि लाज ऑफ मनु, भूमिका, सेक्रेड बुक्स ऑफ दि ईस्ट, खण्ड—२५, पृ० ११८-१३८.

७. द्रष्टव्य, चम्पा लेख संख्या—६५, कम्बुज लेख संख्या—६६, पद ६३-६४, बी०एन० पुरी : सुदूर पूर्व में भारतीय संस्कृति और उसका इतिहास, पृ० १७२ और १२३ पर उद्धृत; पी०वी० काणे : हिस्ट्री ऑफ धर्मशास्त्र, खण्ड—१, पृ० १५६-१५७.

८. द्रष्टव्य, सत्यमित्र दुबे, : मनु की समाज व्यवस्था, पृ० १४; हरगोविन्द शास्त्री : मनुस्मृति, भूमिका, पृ० ७-८ आदि.

९. ऋग्वेद, १/८०/१६; १/११४/२; २/३३/१३.

१०. तत्रैव, १०/६३/७.

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११. मा नः पथः पित्र्यान्मानवादधि दूरं नैष्ट परावतः।

तत्रैव, ८/३०/३.

१२. यद्वै किं च मनुरवदत्तद्भेषजम्।

तैत्तिरीय संहिता, २/२/१०/२.

१३. ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण, २३/१६/७.

१४. शतपथ ब्राह्मण, सेक्रेड बुक्स ऑफ दि ईस्ट, खन्ड—१२, पृ० २१६.

१५. तैत्तिरीय संहिता, २/१/५/६.

१६. महाभारत, शान्तिपर्व, ५७/४३; २१/१२; ३३६/३८-४६.

१७. वेदार्थोपनिबद्धत्वात् प्राध्यान्यं हि मनोः स्मृतम्।

बृहस्पति स्मृति, ५/१३.

१८. पराशर स्मृति, १/२१.

१९. यः कश्चित्कस्यचिद्धर्मो मनुना परिकीर्तितः।
सः सर्वोऽभिहितो वेदे सर्वज्ञानमयो हिसः॥

मनुस्मृति, २/७.

२०. तत्रैव, १२/८६-८८, ९२-९४, ९७-१०३ आदि।

२१. तत्रैव, १२/९५-९६.

२२. जी० ब्यूहलर : पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० ६६-७२.

२३. मनुस्मृति, ९/५९-६३.

२४. तत्रैव, ९/६४-६८.

२५. याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, १/६८-६९.

२६. नारद स्मृति, ७/८०-८३.

२७. ऋग्वेद, १०/४०/९, अथर्ववेद, ९/५/२७-२८; तैत्तिरीय संहिता, ३/२/४४.

२८. मनुस्मृति, ८/३४८-३४९.

२९. याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, ३/३५; विष्णु स्मृति, २/१५; नारद स्मृति, ऋणादान, ५५.

३०. शतपथ ब्राह्मण, ५/१/११/१२.

३१. कौषीतकि ब्राह्मण, ९३-१०४.

३२. आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र, २/८/२०/२२-२३; विष्णु धर्मसूत्र; ७१/८४; याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, १/११५ आदि।

३३. पी०वी० काणे : पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० १४०.

३४. इस कारण की ओर कुछ विद्वानों का ध्यान अवश्य गया है, उदाहरणार्थ, सत्यमित्र दुबे, पूर्वोद्धृत।

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३५. धर्मार्थाविुच्यते श्रेयः कामार्थो धर्म एव च।
अर्थएवेह वा श्रेयस्त्रिपर्ण इति तु स्थितिः॥
मनुस्मृति, २/२२४.

३६. परित्यजेदर्थकामौ यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ।
तत्रैव, ४/१७६.

३७. तत्रैव, १०/८३.

३८. तत्रैव, २/२२१-२२८.

३९. तत्रैव, ९/६४-६८.

४०. तत्रैव, ५/१६२; ८/२२६; ९/४७, ६५, १७६.

४१. एफ० मैक्समूलर : हिस्ट्री ऑफ संस्कृत लिटेरेचर, पृ० १३४-१३५.

४२. जी० ब्यूहलर : पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० १८-२३ और ३१-३९.

४३. पी०वी० काणे : पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० ७९-८५.

४४. तत्रैव, पृ० १३९.

४५. महाभारत, वनपर्व, ३५/२१, द्रोण पर्व, ७/१ आदि।

४६ पी०वी० काणे : पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० १३९-१४०.

४७. एस० राधाकृष्णन : धर्म और समाज, पृ० १३५.

४८. नारद स्मृति, १/१-५ और जॉली : माइनर ला बुक्स, सेक्रेड बुक्स आफ दि ईस्ट, खण्ड—३३, पृ०१-४.

४९. ऋग्वेद, ८/३/९; ६/१८; १०२-४.

५०. ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण, ८/२१-२२.

५१. विश्वम्भरशरण पाठक : ऐंशियेंट हिस्टोरियन्स ऑफ इण्डिया, पृ० १०.

५२. ऋग्वेद २/४/२; १०/४६/२, तैत्तिरीय संहिता, १/८/१८; ४/६/५/२; कौषीतकि ब्राह्मण, २२/४; ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण, ८/२/१/५; सांख्यायन आरण्यक, ६/१५; पंचविश ब्राह्मण, १२/२/२३; ९/१९/३९; प्रश्न उपनिषद, १/१ आदि। द्रष्टव्य, आर० बी० पाण्डेय : हिन्दू धर्मकोश और अरूणः भारतीय पुरा इतिहास कोश में "भृगु" एवं "भागर्व" शब्द।

५३. अथर्ववेद, १/५; गोपथ ब्राह्मण, १/१/३९, २,१८; ३/१/२/४.

५४. विश्वम्भरशरण पाठक : पूर्वोद्धृत पृ०—१२.

५५. एम० ब्लूमफिल्ड : दि हाइम्स ऑफ दि अथर्ववेद, सेक्रेड बुक्स ऑफ दि ईस्ट, खण्ड-४३, पृ०-२७.

५६. भार्गव परम्गरा के विस्तृत अध्ययन के लिए द्रष्टव्य, वी० एस० सुखतनकर : क्रिटिकल स्टडीज इन दि महाभारत; के० एम० मुंशी : अर्ली आर्यन्स इन दि गुजरात; विश्वम्भरशरण पाठक : पूर्वोद्धृत।

५७. विश्वम्भरशरण पाठक : पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ०-३५।

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प्राचीन भारतीय अर्थतन्त्र में स्वायत्तशासी संस्थाओं की भूमिका

(६०० ई०पू० से ३०० ई० तक)

—हरि सहाय सिंह

प्राचीन भारतीय राज्य का चरम लक्ष्य पूजा द्वारा त्रिवर्ग की प्राप्ति का मार्ग प्रशस्त करना था। त्रिवर्ग के अन्तर्गत धर्म, अर्थ एवं काम की गणना की जाती थी जिनका सम्बंध स्पष्टतया लौकिक जगत से था। यह धारणा की प्राचीन भारतीय विचारक लौकिक जगत की समस्याओं से उदासीन थे और वे अर्थ के महत्व से परिचित नहीं थे, युक्तिसंगत नहीं है। यद्यपि अर्थ की प्रधानता कौटिल्य जैसे विचारकों की दृष्टि में राजा और राजतन्त्र के लिए थी तथापि सामान्य जीवन में अर्थ को यथेष्ट महत्व देकर भी सर्वोपरि नहीं माना गया।

ऋग्वेद के काल से ही जन संस्थाओं में विदथ, सभा तथा समिति आदि की चर्चा मिलने लगती है। ऋग्वेद में प्राप्त उद्धरणों के आधार पर इन संस्थाओं को (विशेष रूप से इस काल की प्रारम्भिक संस्था विदथ[1] को) किसी विशिष्ट कार्य क्षेत्र से जोड़ना दुष्कर ही नहीं, अपितु आधुनिक समाजशास्त्रीय शोधों के विपरीत होगा क्योंकि समाजशास्त्रीय अवधारणाओं के अनुसार प्रत्येक आदिम समाज में प्रारम्भिक संस्थाएं सम्पूर्ण जन की, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक एवं सामरिक क्रिया-कलापों का क्रियान्वयन[2] लोकतान्त्रिक ढंग से करती थी। वेदोत्तर कालीन भारतीय ग्रन्थों का अवलोकन करने पर यह तथ्य उभरकर सामने आता है कि जन संस्थाओं के कार्य-क्षेत्र की व्यापकता धीरे धीरे कम हो रही थी और उसी के साथ साथ उनकी भूमिकाओं से विशिष्टीकरण की प्रक्रिया का भी प्रारम्भ हुआ। किन्तु यह प्रक्रिया इन्हें पूरी तरह से विशिष्ट संस्थाओं में नहीं बदल पायी क्योंकि किसी क्षेत्र विशेष से विशिष्ट रूप से जुड़े होने पर भी ये संस्थाएं अन्य क्षेत्रों में योगदान करती थी। प्रस्तुत लेख का उद्देश्य आर्थिक क्षेत्र में स्वायत्त संस्थाओं की आर्थिक भूमिका का एक क्रमबद्ध एवं संक्षिप्त विवेचन करना है।

कृषि और पशुपालन :

भारतीय समाज प्रारम्भ से ही कृषि प्रधान समाज था। वैदिक ग्रन्थों में कृषि तथा पशुपालन से संबंधित बहुत से उद्धरण प्राप्त होते हैं। विभिन्न उपमाओं तथा रूपकों से यह प्रकट होता है कि वैदिक काल में विशेष रूप से युद्ध के लिए रथ और कृषि तथा यातायात के लिए गाड़ी निर्मित करना बढ़ई का एक सम्माननीय व्यवसाय[3] था। परन्तु शिल्पियों के किसी वर्ग का संस्थागत स्वरूप इस काल में उपलब्ध नहीं होता। गौतम धर्मसूत्र[4] में कृषकों एवं

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चरवाहों की श्रेणियों का उल्लेख है। परवर्ती साक्ष्यों में इन दोनों श्रेणियों के सन्दर्भ में कोई विशेष सूचना नहीं मिलती, तो भी यह निश्चित है कि चरवाहों की श्रेणी का सम्बंध पशुपालन से रहा होगा और कृषकों की श्रेणियां सहकारिता के आधार पर आपसी विवादों को सुलझाने के साथ-साथ उत्पादित खाद्य पदार्थों का विक्रय समुचित ढंग से सम्पन्न होने में सहयोग देती रही होंगीं। आर्थिक गतिविधियों का बोध कराने वाला शब्द 'वार्ता'[5] मिलता है, जिसमें कृषि, पशुपालन तथा वाणिज्य तीनों सम्मिलित थे। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि कृषि तथा पशुपालन के क्षेत्र में परवर्ती काल में भी श्रेणियों का विशिष्टीकरण दिखायी नहीं देता। परन्तु इस क्षेत्र में शिल्पियों एवं व्यापारियों की श्रेणियों से सहयोग मिलता रहा होगा जो प्रत्यक्ष रूप से जाहिर नहीं होता, लेकिन यदि उनके द्वारा दिये गये योगदानों का आकलन करें तो तथ्य स्पष्ट हो जाता है। जातकों[6] में अट्ठारह प्रकार की शिल्पियों की श्रेणी संस्था के बारे में सूचना प्राप्त होती है। परवर्ती ग्रन्थों[7] एवं अभिलेखों से इस संख्या में वृद्धि के संकेत मिलते हैं। इन श्रेणियों में बढ़ई, कुम्हार, नाई एवं चरवाहों आदि को ग्रामीण अर्थतन्त्र से जोड़ा जा सकता है। कृषि संबंधी आवश्यकताओं को ध्यान में रखते हुए ही पतंजलि[8] ने प्रत्येक गांव में पांच प्रकार के शिल्पियों के अवश्य रहने की बात कही है। नागेश[9] ने इनके नाम इस प्रकार दिये हैं—कुम्हार, लोहार, बढ़ई, नाई और धोबी। आज भी इस प्रकार के शिल्पी भारतीय ग्रामीण समाज के लिए महत्वपूर्ण हैं तो निश्चित रूप से तत्कालीन अविकसित भारतीय ग्रामीण समाज के लिए कितने आवश्यक रहे होगें, इसका अनुमान सहज ही लगाया जा सकता है।

गौतम धर्मसूत्र में कुसीदकारों[10] की श्रेणी की चर्चा हुई है। ये कुसीदकार जहां एक तरफ शिल्पियों को उनके औद्योगिक कार्यों के लिए ऋण प्रदान करते रहे होंगें, वहीं इस सम्भावना से इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि जरूरतमंद किसानों को बीज तथा कृषि सम्बंधी उपकरणों के लिए ब्याज पर ऋण देते रहे होंगें। यद्यपि महाभारत[11] में राजा को कर देने वाले किसानों को शासन द्वारा ऋण देने की बात कही गयी है, परन्तु प्रयोगिक रूप से यह उम्मीद करना कि दूर-दराज के किसानों को यह सहायता राज्य से तत्कालीन परिस्थितियों में मिल जाती रही होगी असम्भव नहीं तो दुष्कर अवश्य प्रतीत होता है। पाणिनि[12] भी कृषि, गोपालन और वाणिज्य के साथ सूद पर ऋण देने को कुछ लोगों की न्याय जीविका का अंग बताते हैं। वे ब्याज की कड़ी दर को कुसीद कहकर निन्दा करते हैं।

श्रेणी संस्था अपने सदस्यों को संरक्षण देने के अतिरिक्त सदस्य शिल्पियों की अदक्षता या लापरवाही के कारण होने वाली हानि की गारंटी भी लेती थी[13]। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि यदि वस्तुहीन कौटि की है, या उसमें कोई नुकसान हुआ है तो श्रेणी ग्राहक की इस कमी की पूर्ति के लिये जिम्मेदार थी। कौटिल्य के इस मत से ज्ञात होता है कि कृषकों के लिए श्रेणी संस्था या उससे सम्बद्ध सदस्यों से वस्तु क्रय करना कई दृष्टि से उपयोगी था। बेहतर प्रकार का सामान उचित मूल्य में उन्हें समीप ही उपलब्ध हो जाता था।

कृषि उपकरण, जो कुछ स्थानों से पुरातात्विक उत्खनन से प्राप्त हुए हैं, शिल्प संस्था के कार्यों का क्रमिक विकासात्मक विवरण प्रस्तुत करते हैं। तक्षशिला[14] से फावड़ा (जो बनावट में रोमन फावड़े के समान था) कुदाली, रूखानी या छैनी के समान सिरवाला खुरपा, जिसका फल इस काल में चौड़ा हुआ है, प्राप्त हुए हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त घासपात हटाने का कांटा तथा दो स्पष्ट प्रकार की हंसिया जिसमें एक का फल वक्र है तथा दूसरे को मुठिया वक्र है तथा दूसरे की मुठिया वक्र और फल सीधा है प्रथम शताब्दी ई० में मिली है, यद्यपि इन उपकरणों

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का प्रचलन पहले से ही चलता आया रहा होगा। कौशाम्बी[15] से कई किस्म की हंसिया प्राप्त हुई है। खुदाई में विभिन्न स्तरों से प्राप्त उपकरणों में तकनीकी विकास देखा जा सकता है। इसका समय लगभग ५० ई० पू० से १६५ ई० तक है। हस्तिनापुर[16] से तीसरी शताब्दी ई० में एक हंसिये का अंश प्राप्त हुआ है जिसका फल विशेष रूप से चौड़ा है। इसी समय तक्षशिला से बढ़ई का एक वसूला जिसका फल नीचे चौड़ा और ऊपर मोटा है, पाया गया है। उपर्युक्त उपकरणों का महत्व अधिकांशतः कृषि क्षेत्र में ही है। ये उपकरण लोहार एवं बढ़ई के मिले-जुले प्रयास का परिणाम रहे होंगें और उपर्युक्त उद्धरणों को देखते हुए ये व्यवसायी-श्रेणी संस्थाओं में संगठित प्रतीत होते हैं।

उद्योग, व्यापार तथा वाणिज्य :

भारत सदा से ही प्राकृतिक संसाधनों में समृद्ध रहा है। प्राकृतिक संसाधन यथा खनिज पदार्थ, पशु और लकड़ी उसके गौण उत्पादन यहां के लोगों को शिल्प तथा उद्योग की तरफ प्रेरित करते रहे हैं। वैदिक[17] वाङ्मय में श्रेष्ठिन या वणिक् शब्द प्राप्त होता है। ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण में श्रेष्ठी शब्द श्रेणी के अध्यक्ष के रूप में प्रयुक्त हुआ जान पड़ता है।[18] ब्राह्मणों[19] में विभिन्न प्रकार के उद्योगों का अंकन मिलता है। धर्मसूत्रों[20] के काल में शिल्पियों तथा व्यापारियों की श्रेणी संस्था स्थापित हो चुकी थी। जातकों[21] में कई स्थलों पर उल्लिखित तथ्यों से ज्ञात होता है कि व्यापारी संगठित रूप में वाणिज्य सम्बंधी कार्य हाथ में लेते थे। शिल्पियों की श्रेणियों द्वारा वस्तुओं का उत्पादन सम्पन्न किया जाता था। उत्पादित वस्तुओं का स्थानीय उपभोग के अतिरिक्त व्यापारियों के संगठन (निगम) द्वारा देश के विभिन्न भागों में वितरण होता रहा होगा। इस सम्भावना से इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि कुछ कच्चे पदार्थों एवं निर्मित वस्तुओं का निर्यात विदेशों में भी होता रहा होगा। मौर्य काल में सम्भवतः सारे देश में राजनीतिक एकता स्थापित होने तथा यातायात के साधनों में राज्य द्वारा वृद्धि करने से विदेशी व्यापार का एक नया युग प्रारम्भ हुआ जिसका विकास कुषाणों या उनके परवर्ती समय में देखा जा सकता है तत्कालीन समय में यातायात के साधन अपेक्षाकृत कम थे तथा मार्ग प्रायः असुविधाजनक और लूटपाट की आशंकाओं से भरे हुए रहते थे। ऐसी अवस्था में व्यापारियों में सामूहिक भावना उत्पन्न होना स्वाभाविक थी।

मौर्यकाल में उद्योग और व्यापार पर राज्य का पूर्ण अंकुश बने रहने का संकेत अर्थशास्त्र[22] में प्राप्त होता है। इस काल में उद्योग और व्यापार प्रायः राज्य, श्रेणी, संस्था तथा व्यक्तिगत लोगों के द्वारा सम्पन्न किये जाते थे। अर्थशास्त्र की यह संस्तुति कि राज्य को अधिक से अधिक उद्योग और व्यापार अपने नियन्त्रण में ले लेने चाहिए, श्रेणी संगठनों के व्यापक प्रचलन का बोध कराती है क्योंकि व्यक्तिगत गतिविधियों की कठिनाइयों से ऊपर उठने के लिए ही श्रेणी संस्थाओं का विकास हुआ होगा।

श्रृंगवेरपुर[23] के पुरातात्विक उत्खनन से एक अद्वितीय तालाब का पता मिलता है जो ईंटों द्वारा निर्मित किया गया था। इसकी तिथि प्रथम शताब्दी ई०पू० से प्रथम शताब्दी ई० के मध्य निर्धारित की गयी है। विभिन्न स्थलों से पकी ईंटों के मकानों के अवशेष भी प्राप्त हुए हैं। कुषाण काल[24] में सामान्य रूप से लम्बे आकार का ईंटें प्रचुर मात्रा में प्राप्त होती हैं। यद्यपि अभी तक ईट निर्मित करने वालों तथा जुड़ाई करने वाले राजगीरों की श्रेणी का कोई प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं होता, तो भी इतने बड़े पैमाने पर ईंटों के निर्माण एवं जुड़ाई के लिए श्रेणियों के अस्तित्व की सम्भावना की जा सकती है। वैसे भी कुषाण काल तक उपलब्ध साक्ष्यों से अधिकांश व्यवसायों के

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श्रेणीगत होने की सूचना मिलती है जो इस संभावना को बल प्रदान करते हैं कि ईंट बनाने और उसे जुड़ाई करने वालों की भी श्रेणी संस्था अवश्य रही होगी।

अभिलेखीय और मुद्रा साक्ष्यों से भी संस्थाओं द्वारा इस दिशा में किये गये योगदान पर प्रकाश पड़ता है। संभवतः 'श्रेणी' की प्राचीनतम अभिलेखीय साक्ष्य मथुरा से प्राप्त हुविष्क के २८वें वर्ष (१०६ ई०) के लेख[25] में मिलता है। उसमें एक 'अक्षय-नीवि' (अक्षय-दान) का उल्लेख है जो दो श्रेणियों को दी गई थी जिसमें एक श्रेणी आटा पीसने वालों की थी। नासिक के प्रथम अभिलेख[26] सम्वत् ४२ (१२० ई०) तथा दूसरे अभिलेख[27], जिस पर तीसरा शताब्दी में शासन करने वाले राजा ईशान वर्मा का नवाँ वर्ष अंकित है से क्रमशः जुलाहों, कुलरिकों (सम्भवतः कुम्हारों) औद्योगिकों (संभवतः वे कर्मचारी जो जलगति विद्या सम्बंधी इंजिन या जलघड़ियां आदि बनाते थे ?) तथा तेलियों श्रेणी में धन जमा करने का उल्लेख है। जुन्नर के दूसरे तथा तीसरे अभिलेखों[28] में बांस तथा पीपल का काम करने वालों का श्रेणी तथा अनाज के व्यापारियों की श्रेणी के सम्बंध में उल्लेख प्राप्त होते हैं। कौशाम्बी से प्राप्त एक मुद्रा[29] (जिसका समय तीसरी अथवा दूसरी शताब्दी ई०पू० है), इत्र बनाने तथा बेचने वालों की श्रेणी की सूचना देती है। उपर्युक्त अभिलेखीय तथा मुद्रा साक्ष्यों से परिलक्षित होता है कि विभिन्न उद्योगों के लिए विभिन्न प्रकार की श्रेणियां संस्थापित हो चुकी थीं जिनकी साख इतनी अच्छी थी कि उसमें राजा और सामान्य लोग भी धन जमा करते थे।

पूंजी (मूलधन) उद्योग तथा व्यापार दोनों का आधार स्तम्भ है। कुशल निर्देशन में "प्रर्याप्त पूंजी विनियोग" से उद्योग तथा व्यापार में अच्छी सफलता हासिल की जा सकती है। उपर्युक्त उद्धरणों को ध्यान में रखते हुए, श्रेणियों के कुशल निर्देशन में अधिक पूंजी सन्निवेश की पूर्ण सम्भावना थी, जो केवल व्यक्तिगत माध्यम से संभव नहीं था। दो प्रमुख कारक, श्रेणियों को उद्योग तथा व्यापार में चार चांद लगाने का अवसर प्रदान करते हैं। पहला तो यह है कि शिल्पी को इस बात की सुरक्षा थी कि वस्तु उचित मुल्य पर बिक जायेगी तथा दूसरे ग्राहक को उत्तम माल मिलता था। शिल्पियों एवं व्यापारियों के मिले-जुले प्रयास के परिणामस्वरूप उत्पादित माल का वितरण समुचित ढंग से होता था। इस प्रकार दोनों के बीच किसी प्रकार के आर्थिक संघर्ष की परिकल्पना के लिए कोई सबल आधार नहीं है[30]। सामूहिक व्यापारिक संगठनों को उपद्रवी तत्वों से निपटना भी आसान था। यही सब कारण थे कि प्राचीन भारत में शिल्पियों और व्यापारियों के संगठनों ने उद्योग तथा व्यापार की दिशा में महत्वपूर्ण सफलता प्राप्त की।

वित्त एवं मुद्रा :

प्रत्येक समाज में आर्थिक आवश्यकताओं के निदान हेतु लेन-देन एक प्राचीनतम प्रक्रिया है। ऋग्वेद[31] में 'ऋण' शब्द का प्रयोग इसी अर्थ में हुआ है। शतपथ ब्राह्मण[32] में कुसीदकारों के एक स्थान पर एकत्रित होने के संकेत मिलते हैं। गौतम धर्मसूत्र में इनके संगठन श्रेणी संस्था का उल्लेख है। समाज के विकास के साथ-साथ व्यवसाय तथा व्यापार में वृद्धि के अनुसार इस व्यवस्था में क्रमिक सुधार के लक्षण मौजूद हैं, परन्तु इसका स्पष्ट संस्थागत स्वरूप इस काल तक उपलब्ध साक्ष्यों के आधार पर निर्धारित नहीं किया जा सकता। अर्थशास्त्र[33] में श्रेणी संस्था द्वारा ऋण देने का एक अजीब उदाहरण है जिसमें यह कहा गया है कि राजा विशेष आर्थिक संकट में

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हो, तो वह ऐसे गुप्तचर का उपयोग करे जो अपनी साख बनाने के बाद इन संस्थाओं से सोने की सिलें और स्वर्ण मुद्राएं उधार ले और उसी रात चोरी हो जाने का ढिंढोरा पीट कर सारा माल हड़प लें।

उपर्युक्त उद्धहरण से यह स्पष्ट हो सकता है कि मौर्यकाल में श्रेणियां जरूरतमंद लोगों को ऋण देती थी। यद्यपि इस काल में श्रेणियों द्वारा धन जमा करने के साक्ष्य उपलब्ध नहीं है, तथापि इस बात की पूर्ण सम्भावना है कि इनके द्वारा यह कार्य किया जाता था जिसका समर्थन परवर्ती काल के अभिलेखों[34] से होता है।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से यह ज्ञात होता है कि श्रेणियाँ प्राचीन भारत में ऋण देने एवं धन जमा करने की एक महत्वपूर्ण संस्था थीं इसकी तुलना आधुनिक बैंक से की जा सकती है। इनकी यह गतिविधि व्यापार, वाणिज्य और उद्योग के क्षेत्र में सामूहिक और अतिरिक्त पूंजी सन्निवेश तथा सुगम वित्तीय स्थानान्तरण का मार्ग प्रशस्त करती रही होगी।

अर्थशास्त्र में दो प्रकार की मुद्राओं (पणयात्रा) का उल्लेख है : प्रथम व्यापार में प्रयोग होने वाली (व्यवहारिकी) और द्वितीय खजाने में जमा करने के लिए (कोश प्रवेश्य)[35]। रूपदर्शक नाम अधिकारी (सिक्कों का निरीक्षक) मुद्रा के प्रचलन को देखता था। अनियमित मुद्रा के प्रचलन को रोकना उसकी जिम्मेदारी थी।[36] इससे संकेत मिलता है कि राज्य के अतिरिक्त अन्य मुद्राएं भी प्रचलन के लिए स्वीकृत होती थी। इन मुद्राओं का निर्माण बड़े व्यापारी या श्रेणी संस्था द्वारा ही सम्पन्न होता था अर्थशास्त्र में एक स्थल पर सिक्का निर्मित करने पर २५ पण के दण्ड का विधान है। इस सम्बंध में कांगले[37] का विचार है कि यह दण्ड और कुछ नहीं बल्कि मुद्रा बनाने के लिए लाइसेंस शुल्क है। इस उल्लेख से यह भी अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि इस दण्ड का विधान अनधिकृत मुद्रा निर्माण के लिए रहा होगा। श्रेणियां चूंकि मुद्रा बनाने की अधिकृत संस्थायें रहीं होंगी इसलिये उन पर यह दण्ड लागू न होता रहा होगा। अर्थशास्त्र के काल की उपलब्ध मुद्रायें चूंकि लेख रहित प्रकार की आहत मुद्रायें हैं इसलिए उनका निर्माण करने वाले अधिकारी के सम्बंध में ठीक ठीक जानकारी नहीं मिल पाती। फिर आहत मुद्राओं के "विशेषज्ञ विद्वानों"[38] की धारणा है कि इन मुद्राओं पर मिलने वाले अनेक चिन्ह उसकी शुद्धता और सही तौल के गारण्टी थे और उन बड़े व्यापारियों, श्रेणियों और राज्य द्वार अंकित किये जाते थे, जो इन्हें चलाते थे। श्रेणी संस्थाओं द्वारा प्रवर्तित सिक्कों की पुष्टि परवर्ती काल के लेखधारी सिक्कों से भी होती है। तक्षशिला[39] से कुछ सिक्के प्राप्त हुए हैं जिन्हें 'नैगम' सिक्कों के नाम से पुकारा जाता है। ये तीसरी एवं दूसरी शताब्दी ई० पू० के माने जाते हैं। दो सिक्के कौशाम्बी[40] से और चार सिक्के भीटा[41] (इलाहाबाद) से मिले हैं जो व्यापारिक श्रेणियों द्वारा निर्मित किये गये थे।

राज्य अर्थव्यवस्था (State Economy) और स्वायत्त संस्थायें :

राज्य के सप्तांग सिद्धान्त में कोश का समावेश उसके बढ़ते हुए महत्व को समझकर किया गया था। प्रायः सभी प्राचीन भारतीय विचारकों का मत है कि राज्य की समृद्धता एवं सुदृढ़ता के लिए कोश का भरा-पूरा होना आवश्यक है। कोश में धन संचय करने लिए राजा प्रजा पर विभिन्न प्रकार के कर लगाता था। सामान्यतया इन करों में भूमिकर राज्य की आय का सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण स्रोत था "कौटिल्य ने राजस्व की सूची में कारूशिल्पिगण[42] (शिल्पियों की श्रेणी) का उल्लेख किया है" जो प्रत्यक्ष रूप से इस बात का द्योतक है कि संयुक्त रूप से श्रेणियों पर कर लगाया जाता था और जिनके सदस्यों के बीच वितरण का भार उनके प्रशासनिक निकाय पर छोड़ दिया जाता

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थां। परन्तु आपातकाल में कर सामान्य समय से दूना लेने का प्रावधान है जो अर्थशास्त्र में कर निर्धारण का एक महत्वपूर्ण सिद्धान्त है।[43] यही नहीं, विशेष आर्थिक संकट उत्पन्न होने पर कौटिल्य का निर्देश है कि राजा इन श्रेणियों को धोखा देकर धन संचय करे जिसकी तुलना मैकियावेली[44] नीति से की जाती है।

उपर्युक्त सर्वेक्षण से यह विदित होता है कि राज्य को इन संस्थाओं द्वारा सामान्य और आपातकाल दोनों कालों में आर्थिक सहयोग मिलता था। आर० पी० कांग्ले[45] का विचार है कि यद्यपि "कारूशिल्पिगण राज्य की आय का एक साधन है परन्तु राज्य अर्थतन्त्र में इसका योगदान अन्य स्रोतों की तुलना में नगण्य है। आर० सी० मजूमदार[46] एवं श्रीमती वेला लाहिरी[47] का मत है कि शिल्पियों एवं व्यापारियों की श्रेणी से दिया गया कर राज्य की आय का सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण साधन है। कांग्ले की विचारधारा व्यापार वाणिज्य और उद्योग के सीमित विकास और उनसे प्राप्त होने वाले सीमित राजस्व के सन्दर्भ में ठीक लग सकती है, लेकिन अर्थव्यवस्था में उनकी अत्यधिक महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका, पूंजी सन्निवेश और राज्य तक को ऋण देने की उनकी सक्षमता को देखते हुए दूसरा मत भी आसानी से टाला नहीं जा सकता। शिल्पियों द्वारा भवन निर्माण एवं सैनिक कार्यों के लिए उपकरणों का निर्माण आदि ऐसे कार्य हैं जो राज्य की अर्थव्यवस्था को समृद्ध बनाते हैं। शुंग काल में सांची, भरहुत तथा विदिशा में विभिन्न स्मारकों के निर्माण में शिल्पी श्रेणियों के योगदान से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता। व्यापारिक श्रेणियां उत्पादित वस्तुओं का वितरण राज्य के प्रत्येक कोने में तो करती थीं साथ ही विदेशी व्यापार के क्षेत्र में उनका महत्वपूर्ण योगदान था। इस प्रकार ये श्रेणियां जन कल्याण के कार्यों को बढ़ावा देकर राज्य के कार्य में सहयोग करती थीं। कुषाण काल[48] में इन संस्थाओं का महत्व इतना बढ़ चुका था कि इनके प्रमुख राज्य एवं नगर प्रशासन में भाग लेने लगे थे।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से यह स्पष्ट है कि श्रेणी एवं निगम जैसी स्वायत्त संस्थाएं जहां अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से कृषि और पशुपालन के क्षेत्र में सहयोग करती थीं वहीं उद्योग, व्यापार तथा वाणिज्य में इनकी प्रमुख भूमिका होती थी। ऋण देने एवं धन जमा करने के कारण ये आधुनिक बैंक के सामान थीं। इसके अतिरिक्त मुद्रा निर्मित करने, उसके प्रचलन एवं नियमन में भी इनका योगदान रहता था। राज्य की आय का एक साधन होने के साथ-साथ ये सार्वजनिक कल्याण का कार्य भी करतीं थीं। तत्कालीन समाज में विशेष लोकप्रियता के कारण ही राज्य की तरफ से इनके व्यवहार तथा नियमों को मान्यता मिलती थी।

सन्दर्भ एवं टिप्पणियां

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Jajmani System : Socio-Economic Transformation of a Religious Practice

—Y.B. Singh

Certain practices handed down from the ancient past and originating in religion seem to have influenced the socio-economic life of the people and perpetuated themselves in the Indian Society, particularly in the rural areas. The truth is that religion, with its deep hold on popular minds, could not be entirely divorced from economic and environmental considerations and, in consequence, gave birth to complex relationships between the various resident castes in the predominantly rural India. One such example is that of the present-day *Jajmani* system, which, with a religious origin and bockground, continues to this day. Though it does not obtain the same importance in the urban areas, yet it has a very strong traditional hold over the rural masses. However, though the system is fast dying out with the march of education, increasing economic stress and fast-changing life-and-living patterns even in the rural areas, some of its earlier features and its gradual transformation into a customary usage deserve notice.

The Yajamāna (*jajmān*)—priest relationship, dating back to the Vedic ages, has been a subject of considerable notice and comment.[1] But it seems that from the very beginning it had deep economic implications. The priest, generally belonging to the Brāhmaṇa community, was *anyasya ādāyī* or receiver of gifts which were the mainstay of his sustenance.[2] His economic needs were met with by catering to the religious sentiments and proclivities of the *Yajamāna*. Looking at it from the social point of view, one may go a step further ; by performing some merit-accruing or wish-fulfilling sacrifices and rituals for his *Yajamāna*, the priest could even get a suitable bride for himself. Such marriages were accorded a high place in the hierarchy of marriage forms according to Hindu legalists.[3]

Economically too, the practice continued to benefit both the *Yajamāna* and the priest

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so long as the country's economic prosperity was stable. Even in distress the people would turn to propitiation of gods for the restoration of their material welfare which, to their mind, was possible only through the help of the diviner-priests.[4] It did not matter whether the expected redemption from the calamity occurred or not ; the secular dominance of the priestly class could not be questioned. Yet the practice did not prove burdensome as there was no compulsion on the people to perform those elaborate sacrifices.[5]

Certain factors of a socio-economic nature seem to have turned this practice into a system, as the following would show. In the past, economic prosperity largely depended upon agricultural production and smooth functioning of the guilds which were responsible for the industrial turn-over of specific agricultural products. With the growth of occupational castes, there was mutual dependence between the artisans and the agriculturists. Such dependence was often disturbed by political upheavals affecting export trade of India and causing slump in such production by the guilds which factors imposed further burden on agriculture.[6] Being unemployed, the artisans had to fall back on such skills that involved and aided agricultural production and were thereby themselves reduced to dependence on the agriculturists. Since most of the population was concentrated in the villages, the artisan class found easy clientele there.

Rise in population, formation of fresh villages and settlements at the state's initiative scattered the rural families to different areas.[7] Each migrating group had naturally to be served by a similar group of essentially needed artisans. In a way, the priestly Brāhmaṇa and the artisans had common economic interests ; the former, for safety of his own livelihood, would brook no interference from another in his own migrating group and so would the artisans. Both were bound by a vital common necessity for survival. Thus was perpetuated the present-day *jajmānī* system of unique type but quite dissimilar to its earlier form. Interestingly, the artisan class continued to follow zealously the practice of catering to the agricultural and other needs of its own clientele which was deemed his own *jajmānī*. Such unity of the priest and the artisan-*prajā* (corruptly called *parjā*) is to be noticed particularly at times of some sacred social ceremonies like marriages, *Muṇḍana*, births, sacred-thread ceremonies, etc., when they jointly desire to be 'satisfied' by monetary and material rewards which they deem their 'right' in return of their real or supposed services rendered to the parties concerned.

At this stage and for a proper understanding of the organisational base of the village society, a closer look at the composition of the artisan class serving their respective *Jajmāns* or householders is necessary. These include the barber, the water-carrier, washerman, blacksmith, carpenter, bangle-supplier, etc., along with the traditional *Paṇḍit* or *Purohita* included in the upper stratum, and the lowly *Chamār*, *bhaṅgī* and even the *ḍoma* in their

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wake. The functional position of some of them reveals certain interesting and surprising facets. The Brāhmaṇa (priest) would go about in his own circle or sphere of activity collecting cash and kind from his gullible clientele at the harvest time claiming it as share of the 'gods' (*deva-Brāhmaṇa*). Likewise would all the artisans enumerated above in return for the services rendered to the agriculturists during the year. It did not matter with them whether the peasant had a lean crop ; they would take their share as soon as the harvest was gathered for threshing and winnowing. Their economic necessities were amply met with and, far from being exploited, the artisans themselves turn into exploiters of the toiling peasantry.

More than that. In many cases, these artisans themselves own bigger pieces of land for their own cultivation than the farmers. Yet, as Crooke pointed out long back, they would register themselves as belonging to the artisan class at the time of the Census.[9] Possibly, the fear of losing their share of grain from the cultivators might be inducing them to do so. Even at times of the words of harvests, their share was assured ; the actual tiller of the soil may or may not survive the calamity.

Certain aspects of this age-old practice call for further consideration. Formerly, this system rendered the village community a self-sufficient unit ; but the artisan made no definite contribution by improving his own technology to help improve agricultural production. The carpenter and the smith clung to the age-old plough-making and repairing methods, as there was no scope for competition from outside ; the barber and the washerman made their periodic rounds and were content to gather their share. All were well rewarded on ceremonial occasions like the marriages, births, sacred thread ceremonies etc., along with the *Purohita* or the priest by the rich and the poor alike in the village community. Thus, a religious practice, which had altogether different aims in the past at the time of its inception, was debased into a system both by the Brāhmaṇas and the artisans to suit their own ends.

The same malady seems to have affected the Muslim community as well in India. Agriculturists of that community also follow the same practice in relation to the artisan class and some of their sections themselves took to artisanship as their profession. The banglemen (*Churihāras*) carders (*dhuniās*), tailors, etc., belong to this category and they also claim their share from Hindus and Muslims on ceremonial occasions, some of which have been enumerated above.

A possible explanation for the rise and perpetuation of this system in which the priestly community and the artisan class were beneficiaries may be offered on the basis of the structure of the early Vedic society. Prior to the rise of the pernicious caste system, the

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artisan class commanded considerable social respectability. In fact their representative was called upon to offer assent to the choice of a king and participated in the Coronation ceremony as one of the *ratnins* (king-makers).[10] He was also a receiver of gifts from the king-designate along with the priest. This practice seems to have lingered in the minds of the artisan class and, even it was reduced to seek support from the agriculturists, he adhered to the convention of receiving gifts on ceremonials performed by the rural masses. Though his socical position had gone down owing to the multiple growth of the occupational castes, yet it retained the ancient practice (of receiving gifts). Thus, to him, the village community was his master and not the far-off ruler who was no more his gift-bestower.

With the implementation of new ideas and methods in agriculture alongwith changes in the social habits of the people and disenchantment from elaborate rituals, the *jajamānī* system is gradually dying out. But as a system of mutual help in the village community, it has had its own uses and cooperative importance.

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1. Of late the *jajamānī* system has evoked considerable interest amongst western scholars. William H. Wiser (*Hindu Jajamani system*, 1936) has called it 'an established service relationship'. Oscar Lewis in his '*Village life in Northern India*' and others have also dealt with this aspect of Indian rural society.

2. R K. Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 95.

3. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II pt. I, p. 117.

4. Y.B. Singh, *Ceremonialism as Socio-Economic factor*, paper presented at 4th annual conference of Indian History and Culture Society, Patna.

5. P.V. Kane, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II pt. I, p. 109.

6. More emphasis on agriculture, particularly in the post-Gupta period is a well known factor. Cf. also Ghurye, *Class, Caste and Occupation*, pp. 42-111, for the interalia changes in caste structure, etc.

7. Y.B. Singh, *The term padra or padraka* paper presented at Indian History Congress, Bodh Gaya, 1981.

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8. The functions of the upper stratum consisting of the *purohita*, barber, washerman, etc., are well known to merit any detail description. Of the lower stratum the *chamāra*, both male and female performed certain important duties, e.g. cutting of the umblical cord (by the female), removal of Carcass, Cowdung, etc. and even acting as ploughman (by the male). The *bhaṅgīs*' functions are also well known. As far the *ḍoma* he offered 'the fire' to light the funeral pyre at the time of cremation besides dragging away unwanted corpses of animals like dogs and also at the outbreak of epidemics.

9. W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*, pp. 129-30.

10. *Atharvaveda*, iii, 5-7 ; *Aitreya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII 17, 5, etc. The *Taittirīya* texts submit a list of 12 *ratnins* whereas their number seems to have increased to 16 in late texts. Cf. also R.K. Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 102-03.

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Śulka in Ancient and Early Medieval India

—*O. P. Srivastava*

Śulka is a word of wide connotation. It denotes different meanings[1] such as price, price for bride in *ārṣa* marriage, price paid to courtesans and tax. In the present paper on attempt has been made to enquire into the nature and scope of *śulka* as tax. In the *Amarakośa*[2] which has been assigned to the 5th century A.D., *śulka* is used along with *bali* and *kara*. *Bali*[3] is a fiscal term denoting dues to be realized on the produce of fields. *Kara* has been dealt with in detail in the light of the available historical data by L. Gopal[4] and D.N. Jha.[5] While revealing its nature L. Gopal[6] rightly holds that *kara* was a periodical tax to be realized on the property calculated on the basis of land and cattle from villagers over and above the king's normal grain share. D.N. Jha[7] also shares the view. *Śulka* as revealed from the combined evidence of the *Arthaśāstra*,[8] *Mahābhārata*,[9] *Manusmṛti*,[10] *Kātyāyanasmṛti*[11] and the Jūnāgarh rock inscription[12] of Rudradāman (150 A.D.), a king of the western Kṣatrapa dynasty, appears to be an item of revenue different from *bali* and *kara*.

There is a great deal of discussion among scholars about the nature of *śulka*; and it has variously been interpreted by them. Some[13] hold that it is an octroi-duty to be levied on incoming and outgoing merchandise at the city gates. Others[14] take it as customs and excise duties to be charged on import and export of foreign articles and on exit and entry of saleable articles brought from internal parts of the country. Some scholars[15] are of the opinion that it was a royal share to be levied on the merchandise brought into the towns or at the ports; while others[16] are of the opinion that it includes octroi, customs, and excise duties. A few[17] of them distinguishe it from ferry dues. As there is a considerable difference of opinion among scholars regarding the precise meaning of the term *śulka*, it would be worth-while to examine the basis of the relevant evidence.

Though *śulka* had been established as tax by the time of the *Atharvaveda*,[18] yet the early references to it denoting the commercial tax occur in the *Dharmasūtras*, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and some stories of the *Jātakas*. In the *Dharmasūtra* works of Gautama (X. 25), Āpastamba (II. 26.9) and Vaśiṣṭha (XIX. 37) *śulka* is used to denote the familiar fiscal term for dues charged on merchandise. The legends *vāṇijāṁ śuṁkāṁ* (IV. 132) and *caṭūṣu dvāresu*

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suṁkam (VI. 347) occuring in some *Jātaka*[19] stories may be taken to mean toll from merchants to be levied on incoming and outgoing goods at four gates of the city. The term *suṁkadāyikameva bhāṇḍasmiṁ* occuring in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I. 53) has been taken to mean "the payer of taxes on merchandise." In the Pali literature *śuṁka*, sanskrit *śulka*, is used to denote the tolls and customs duties.[20] It is treated at length in the *Arthaśāstra*.[21] *Śulka*, as described by Kauṭilya, was a custom duty to be levied on imports and exports as well as excise duties to be realized on exit and entrance of the merchandise brought from the country side, at the city gates.[22] At another place, he says that trader's merchandise is liable to be taxed according to the current port regulation and duties to be charged on ships sailing on the sea within the prohibited area of the port.[23] From the above pieces of evidence Kauṭilya appears to be enumerating, customs, excise duties, payable at city gates and the port-dues under one item of revenue, i.e. *śulka*. Manu[24] and Yājñavalkya[25] ordain that king should levy duty on saleable articles for fixing the selling price of it. Here they probably mean (speak of) sales-tax.

The first lexicographer of ancient India, named Amarasiṁha[26] says that *śulka* is to be levied at ferry stations and other such places (*ghaṭṭādideyam*). Commenting on the *Amarakośa*, Kṣīrasvāmin[27] explains the term *ghaṭṭādideyam* as tax to be realized at ferry stations, police and military outposts and the market places. The *Daśakumāracarita*[28] of Daṇḍin (7th Cent. A.D.) mentions that traders had to pay road-tax. This gives an idea of the practice of tax realization prevalent in the Vidarbha region in the time of Daṇḍina. Hiuen-Tsiang, a chinese pilgrim who visited India in the 7th Century A.D., informs us that duties were paid at the river bridges and road barriers.[29] Viśvarūpa[30] (9th Century A.D.), a commentator of Yājñavalkya, who flourished in the Malwa region, speaks of *śulka* to be paid on public roads. Vijñāneśvara[31] (11th C. A.D.), the well known commentator of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* in South India, refers to two kinds of *śulka* i.e., earned through land route and water route. Kullūka[32] (12th C. A.D.), commenting on Manu, says that *śulka* is a royal share, to be charged on commercial transactions carried through land and water routes. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*[33] of Somadeva (11th Cent. A.D.) narrates that the traders had to leave their usual route due to fear of excessive-*śulka* (taxation). It indicates that it was mainly collected on the public roads. The *Vaijayantī*[34] of Yādava-prakāśa (11th Cent. A.D.) and the *Dvayāśraya*[35] (12th Cent. A.D.) of Hemacandra reveal that the (amount) which is to be given on the public paths is named as *śulka*. The *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*[36] of Hemacandra (12th Cent. A.D.) states that the term *śulka* denotes ferry charge and the charges alike. The *Śukranīti*,[37] though a late text, gives some information relating to early medieval period and mentions that state should impose a tax (*śulka*) for the upkeep of the roads through which merchandise was carried. In view of the above discussion, the word *śulka* also may be taken to mean road-cess and tolls to be charged at ferry stations and on public roads. In the medieval period, it appears that the incomplete control of the feudal lords at the cities[38] led to the narrowing of the scope of *śulka* which began to be viewed by some authorities as only road-cess.

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There are many pieces of evidence to show that *śulka* was imposed on the retail dealere and Caravan traders. It is also evident from a passage of the *Mahābhārata*[39] that it was a tax to be levied on traders. In this passage Yudhiṣṭira is said to have been advised by Nārada to impose a custom on the traders indulged in distant land trading to gain the profit. The evidence of a Buddhist text, the *Jātakamālā*[40] of Ārya-Śūra, ascribed to the 4th Century A.D. reveals that *śulka* is a tax, to be paid on the transactions of different articles, made between vendors and buyers. The author of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*[41], who composed it in the 5th-6th Century A.D.,[42] says in a simile that the trees appear like merchants, the flowers stand out like saleable articles and the wandering bees seem to be as if the men collecting the tolls. Here *śulka* seems to have been a tax to be realized from the traders in the market. The *Kāśikā*[43] of Vāmana and Jayāditya, a commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, composed in the 6th-7th century A.D. explains that *śulka* is to be charged from traders in lieu of the safety granted to them by kings. Medhātithi[44] interprets *śulka* in general sense of duties to be obtained from merchants. Kullūka[45] (12th Cent. A.D), commenting on Manu, says that (the amount) which is to be realised on saleable articles from the land and sea trading merchants at proper place (custom-house) is *śulka*. According to Somadeva, the author of the *Yaśastilakacampū*[46] (10th Cent. A.D.), *śulka* was taken on all sorts of merchandise coming from distant territories and different corners of the country to the market city. The evidences of a *nīti* work[47] of the same author, the *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha*[48] of Mahāvīrācārya (850 A.C.) and the *Bījagaṇita*[49] of Bhāṣkarācārya (1150 A.D.) reveal that *śulka* was a tax to be imposed on merchants according to their merchandise in the market cities. The *Śukranīti*,[50] which contains some earlier tradition, says that *śulka* was a royal share to be taken from seller and buyer at the market places and streets. If the evidence of the *Purātanaprabandha saṅgraha*,[51] that a son of minister asked his father to set free the detained persons, who were seen with some sort of articles on their heads and were mistaken for merchants by him, is to be believed, it may be taken to mean that *śulka* was realized from the retail traders. We also know some of, miscellaneous duties (*śulka*) to be levied from merchants on their merchandise, such as *sāñtheyaśulka*[52] (fair tolls). Thus, the pieces of literary evidence, shown above, tend to reveal that *śulka* may be taken to denote sales-tax on the whole sale dealers as well as retail dealers and their merchandise.

Port-dues are also enumerated as *śulka*. The *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*[53] (500 B.C.—200 B.C.) speaks of *sāmudra-śulka* to be levied on incoming merchandise at the ports. In one verse Manu[54] tells us that the rules formulated regarding the ferry dues, to be charged at river stations, are not applicable to sea-faring merchants. Commenting on the *Manusmṛti*, Medhātithi[55] (9th Cent. A.D.), who wrote in Kashmir, says that since it is difficult to measure the distance on sea-voyage in absence of measuring points, therefore the fixation (of freight) is not easy. He further says that the time spent in journey, seasons (rainy, winter or summer), weather (fogs, storm, etc.), the depth of water sailing on, and the labour involved on the part of boatmen are the factors to be taken into consideration while estimating the

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sea freight.[56] Another commentator Kullūkabhaṭṭa,[57] who flourished in Bengal in the 12th century, states that in view of the above considerations, a justified amount should be levied on saleable articles *ad valorem*. The *Vivādaratnākara*[58] of Caṇḍeśvara, a late text, charges the portage (*sāmudra-śulka*) on the incoming merchandise from sea-side. The *Uttara Purāṇa*[59] of Guṇabhadra (9th Cent. A.D.), a Jaina text, refers to *śulka* as an item of revenue, to be paid by the sea-faring merchants. The evidence of the *Mānasollāsa*[60] (12th Cent. A.D.) of Someśvara, a king of Western cālukya dynasty, reveals that *śulka* (portage) was to be imposed on ships arriving at the ports. The accounts of Abu-Zaid[61] (916 A.C.), an Arab merchant, also furnishes the evidence to this effect. The informs us that by his time the Chinese ships coming at Quilon to collect waters and provision had to pay thousand *drammas* as duty, while others paid only from one *dīnāra* to the *dīnāras*. This fact is attested to by the epigraphic evidence as well. The Motupalli record[62] refers to the *abhayaśāsana* granted to the merchants sailing on ships by the Kākatīya ruler Gaṇapatideva (1244-45 A.D.). Earlier to it the traders' merchandise were confiscated in case their ships arrived at port owing to stormy whether or strong sea-breezes.[63]

References to *śulka* are also found in the inscriptions. The words *suṁgam*, *suṁkamu* and *ulgu* or *ulku* mentioned in the South Indian inscriptions apppear to be identical with *śulka*.[64] According to Parimelaḷagar[65], the word *suṁgam* means tax on saleable commodities carried in ships or carts. Th.s would probably include tolls and customs. No records of the Vākāṭaka, Pallava (except Hirahadgalli plate), Eastern cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa except Karada plate of Karka II (973 A.D.) rulers supply us with any information about *śulka*. The word *śulka* referred to in the Koha copper plate[66] of Jayanātha (C. 493-496 A.D.) denotes the 'octroi duty'. The Anjaneri[67] records from Nasika district in Maharastra province, which has been assigned to 709-10 A.D., mentions that a concession was granted to the merchants from paying *śulka*. V.V. Mirashi[68] takes it as 'octroi-duty'. It is also mentioned in the Kauthem plate[69] of Vikramāditya (1008 A.D.) and the Miraj plate[70] of Jagadekamalla (1024 A.D.), the kings of western cālukya dynasty, denoting the duties on ingress and egress of merchandise. Some candella records[71] mention *śulka* along with other items of revenue, to denote the 'octroi-duty'. *Śulka* is also referred to in the epigraphs of the Cālukyas of Gujarat.[72] A Tamil inscription[73] from Thanjavur district, issued in the 5th regnal year of Rājendra Coḷa III (1216-1279 A.D.), mentions that toll-tax (*suṅgam*) was levied on loads of merchandise. The term *vartill-ulku*[74] referred to in the Syrian plate[75] appear to be corrupt form of sanskrit *vartani*, meaning a road-cess. In some of the Telugu records,[76] word *āyaśulka* is mentioned along-with other revenue terms. D.C. Sircar[77] takes both *āya* and *śulka* to mean toll and custom. The use of the term '*śulka*' in the Kalegan record (1216 A.D.) of Yādava Mahādeva seems to be custom duties, according to Sircar.[78] The terms *anamubaḍi suṁkamu* (tax on saleable articles, *ammu-kada-sumkamu* (tax on shops) and *Perrikeadla suṁikamu* (tax to be levied on oxen loaded with sacks full of merchandise) are also referred to in the inscriptions of the Kākatīya rulers of the Telengana regions of South India.[79]

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Thus, a critical study of literary as well as epigraphic pieces of evidence, noticed above, reveal that *śulka* does not include octroi, excise and customs duties alone, it is on the other hand a generic term denoting all kinds of taxes on transport, export import, sales, for fixing the prices of saleable articles for providing the safety on roads, and for the upkeep of the roads through which merchandise were carried.[80] On the whole *śulka* amounts to an agreegate of revenue to be given on all kinds of commercial transactions.

An attempt has also been made to find the reasons for levying tax on merchandise. The *Mahābhārata*[81] and the *Manusmṛti*[82] mention that kings used to impose tax on merchants for the services they rendered for the safety of the traders. The *Jātakamāla*[83] of Ārya śūra, a text of the 4th century A.D., explains that the duty to be collected from vendors and buyers for providing the safety is *śulka*. The evidence of the *Kāśikā*[84] (6th-7th century) of Vāmana and Jayāditya, a commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, reveals that *śulka* was charged for protecting the merchants by the state. Medhātithi[85] (9th C. A.D.) emphasizes the point that *śulka* is to be assessed on merchandise after due considerations of expenses incurred on it in making the security arrangements against the plundering and molestation by the ruling princes, robbers and forest tribes while the caravans were passing through the forest regions. The *Śukranīti*,[86] though a late text, which furnishes some idea of early medieval period, also states that the king should enjoy the fruits of duty (*śulka*) for protecting all (the merchants) like a servant. From the pieces of evidences noticed above, it appears that the growing practice of plunder and molestation of the merchants that became noticeable in the post-Gupta times had become a familiar phenomenon from the 9th and 10th centuries onwards. This fact is further supported by the other literary evidences of this period. Hiuen-Tsiang was twice relieved of his belongings.[87] The combined evidence of the *Samarāiccakanā*[88] (first half of the 8th C. A.D.) of Haribhadra Sūrī, the *Upamitibhava-prapañcākathā*[89] (905 A.D.) of Siddharṣi, the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[90] of Somadeva (11th C. A.D.) and the *Triśaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣa-carita*[91] of Hemacandra (12th C. A.D.) give an idea of the merchant's fear for robbers. The *Purātana-prabandha saṅgraha*[92] and the Nansi's *khyāt*[93] mention that prince Lakṣmaṇa of Naḍḍūla had robbed a caravan. The *Rājata-raṅgiṇī*[94] of Kalhaṇa (12th C. A.D.) refers to a robber chief who had become a scourage to wayfarers near Gaya (in Bihar). The *Vastupālacarita*[95] makes mention of a *māṇḍalika* chief, named Ghughul, who indulged himself in plundering the caravans. Though the fear from robbers and the forest tribes were found in the earlier times in varying degrees, yet the fear of molestation and plunder by chiefs and rulers and insecurity on the highways owing to frequent struggles and wars between them were the special phenomenon that emerged in the early medieval period in the wake of the feudal tendencies.[96] On the whole revenue realized through *śulka* may have been reduced to a considerable extent.

The paper also deals with the policy of assessment of *śulka*. Some scholars[97] have been beffled with the different versions of the commentators[97] of Manu that either it should be assessed on cost price of commodities or on profit. Regarding the controversies among

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the commentators of Manu, it can be said that these reflect, to a considerable extent, the change in socio-economic conditions in the particular time and region in which they flourished. The question, whether duty is to be 'assessed' on the selling price of commodities or on the cost price, is to be ascertained. Scholars like Derrett[99] and G.N. Jha[100] give the meaning of a verse of Manu[101] that the king should take 1/20 of the price of saleable articles that has been arrived at by men having experience of custom-house and expert in estimating the value of all kinds of merchandise. Thus, they take *śulka* to mean the duty on sale-price of the merchandise which does not appear to be correct in the case of this passage in the light of the forthcoming discussion.

To deal with the problem, it is necessary to notice here the prevalent rules for fixing the prices of commodities. In this respect Kauṭilya[102] says that price should be fixed by experts, after calculating the cost, rent, interest and other total investments, in the case of the commodities distant in place and time. He further allows 5% profit on indigenous commodities and 10% on foreign, over and above the allowed purchase price (*anujñātakrayādupari*).[104] Here the allowed purchase price and fixed price in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* appear to be the same. The *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*[103] prescribes that the selling price should be fixed after adding profit to the total investment (including cost and all other expenditures) incurred on the saleable articles. Vijñāneśvara[105] (11th Cent. A.D.), a commentator of Yājñavalkya, says that on foreign merchandise a profit of 10% of the total investment should be given. Since Yājñavalkya and his commentators formulate no rule for fixing the prices of indigenous commodities not far distant in place and time and Manu and his commentators also do not clearly differentiate between the indigenous and foreign commodities while charging the *śulka*, this rule may be applied to fix the prices of indigenous commod ties also after adding a profit of 5% on the total investment.[106] Though Manu[107] speaks of several aspects to take into consideration while estimating the prices of commodities, yet he does not mention the rules for fixing the prices as clearly as Kauṭilya[108] and Yājñavalkya.[109] It is a well known fact that Manu was posterior to Kauṭilya and anterior to Yājñavalkya ; therefore, the same procedure, which we noticed above, may have been in vogue in the time of the *Manusmṛti* also. In view of this, if we follow the rendering of relevant verse of Manu by Derrett[110] and G.N. Jha,[111] we find that the merchants who carried trade in indigenous articles of above category were left with no margin of profit, instead they had to suffer the loss even on the total investment already incurred on saleable articles. On the contrary, if we asses the duty on cost price of saleable articles, they would have certainly been left with some margin of profit. Thus, in the light of the above discussion, we can say that the basis of assessment of duty would probably have been the cost price of commodity but not the market price (i.e., sale-price).[112] It is further supported with a verse of the *Mitākṣara*[113] (11th cent. A.D.), a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, written in South India. It states that for fixing the sale price (*argha*)[114] the king should realize 1/20 of the original value (*mūlyādaviṁsatitamaṁśaṃ*)[115] of commodities. The

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testimony of this fact is also attested to by the commentaries of Maskari[116] (11th Cent. A.D.) and Haradatta[117] (first quarter of the 12th Cent. A.D.) on the *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*, composed in South India. They state that the king should charge as duty 1/20 of vendible articles, i.e., cost price (for making the basis of taxation). In India this practice was in vogue before the end of the 11th century A.D. ; but in the south the trend of this policy appears to have continued even afterwards.

So far the assessment on merchants' gain is concerned, it can be said that this policy was the outcome of the discrepancy that had crept into the policy of assessment on cost price owing to growing feudal tendencies which, for the first time, was noticed by Viśvarūpa[118], a commentator of Yājñavalkya, who flourished in the Mālwa region in the 9th century A.D. Viewed in the same context he might have formulated a new policy that duties should be realized on sold articles (*vikrītānāṁ*) from vendors and buyers both, which is manifested in its complete form (present form) in the works of Govindarāja[119] (last quarter of the 11th Cent. A.D.) and Kullūka[120] (12th Cent. A.D.), the commentators of Manu. This practice had acquired a prevalence in South India in all probability earlier than the second half of the 12th century. The *Vivādaratnākara*[121] of Caṇḍeśvara (14th Cent. A.D.), native of Mithilā, commenting on the *Viṣṇu-smṛti*, says that duties should be assessed on the profit earned by merchants after the payment of all the dues on commercial transactions. Thus, the practice of assessing the duty on profit, the traces of which may be found at least a few centuries earlier, had gained a momentum in the 11th and 12th centuries and onwards.

The change in the policy of assessment appears to have been brought about in some definite politico-economic context. The arbitrary[122] and excessive[123] imposition of *śulka* on mercantile communities by local ruling chiefs and the *sāmantas* and consequently the growing tendency of tax-evasion[124] by merchants must have hampered the trade and commerce resultantly the revenue of the rulers from this source must have been reduced. Most probably in order to check the local lords and the *sāmantas* from becoming a powerful rival by amassing the riches on the one hand and to minimise the uncertainity of revenue which is to be obtained from the merchants on the other, the kings might have shifted the basis of assessment of taxation from cost price to profit. This appears to have been connected with the revival of trade and commerce.

The most striking aspect of *śulka* is the percentage to be assessed on saleable articles in the different periods. Kauṭilya[125] recommends 20% of the merchandise, while Manu[126] and Yājñavalkya[127] prescribe 5% of the cost of commodities. The injunctions laid down by Manu and Yājñavalkya were probably followed in practice up to the 10th century A.D. *Govindarāja*[128] (in the end of 11th C. A.D.) and Kullūka[129] (12th C. A.D.), the commentators of Manu, mention that a tax of 5% of the profit should be realised from merchants. Some scholars,[130] being baffled with the data shown above, hold that a draconic measure had been

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enforced to realize the tax in the time of the author of the *Arthaśāstra*. Thus the rules formulated by Kauṭilya have been taken to be more opressive than those of Manu and Yājñavalkya. This view does not seem to be correct in the light of the following discussion.

The pieces of evidence, noticed above, reflect the changing socio-economic situations. So far the oppressive and less oppressive feature of taxation is concerned, one cannot draw the conclusion on the basis of percentage only, that is to be paid by merchants. The percentage of profit they have been left with after paying all the dues on their commercial transactions has also to be taken note of. Thus, the profit ultimately gained by the merchants would be the determining factor as regards the nature of the taxation. We have noticed earlier that Kauṭilya[131] allows 5% profit on indigenous and 10% on foreign articles. On the contrary, Manu[132] and Yājñavalkya[133] leave a profit of only about 1% on indigenous and 6% on foreign merchandise to the traders. We, again, witness a change in the 11th and 12th centuries. Govindarāja[134] (end of the 11th C. A.D.) and Kullūkabhaṭṭa[135] (12th A.D.) assess the duty on the profit of the merchants and thus they allow about 4.75% profit on indigenous and 9.5% on foreign commodities. The *Vivādaratnākra*[136] of Caṇḍeśvara, a late text, also allows the same percentage to the traders transacting in indigenous and foreign articles.

Now, the question that crops up here, is how to reconcile the situations with the data mentioned above in the changing socio-economic state of affairs in historical perspective. In fact, the data pertaining to different times give the reflection of increase and decrease of volume in commercial activities of the periods which they belong. As we know, in ancient India, for the first time, the stable political unity was brought about by Candragupta Maurya in the 4th century B.C., by founding an empire, practically, comprising the whole of India, some regions of modern Pakistan and Afghanistan, leaving the far south regions of Indian peninsula. Kauṭilya, who composed the *Arthaśāstra*, is generally regarded as the prime-minister of great Candragupta Maurya. It is more likely that in such a state of affairs, Kauṭilya would have thought to bring forth a permanent and longer stability to the Mauryan rule, which was not possible without a strong state economy, one of the most important constituents of the state, as described in the *Arthaśāstra*. Trade and commerce is an essential feature of economic life. Therefore, it appears that in order to tempt the merchant-community to participate more and more in commercial activities, he would have become liberal towards merchants. No doubt, consequently the merchants and traders had increasingly started participating in trade activities which might have reached the culmination by the time of Manu and Yājñavalkya (between 2nd C. B.C. and 2nd C. A.D.).

A number of pieces of evidences, both indigenous and foreign, reveal that the period 200 B.C.—200 A.D., in which Manu and Yājñavalkya flourished is known for its brisk trade.[137] The accounts of Strabo[138] (2nd century B.C.), Eudoxous[139] (the end of the 2nd century B.C.), Periplus[140] (Ist century A.D.) and Athenaus[141] (Ist century A.D.) also show

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that India witnessed a vigorous increase in trade and commerce during this period. It was the time when Pliny[142] (1st C.A.D.) had made a complaint against the heavy drainage of Roman money for the Indian merchandise of luxury. This fact is attested to by the discovery of Roman imperial coins in South India in the early centuries of Christian era.[143] North India which was ruled by the Kuṣāṇas, perhaps, would have been provided with some of the metal for issuing the gold coins The excavation at Arikamedu[144] near Pondichery in Madras further strengthens this view. In such a state of increased commercial activities, had the mercantile community been allowed the same percentage of profit what Kauṭilya had allowed (5% on indigenous and 10% on foreign articles), the merchants would have become the main gainers and the king's share would have been, more or less, the same (that was obtained in the time of Kauṭilya). Under these circumstances, there was every possibility of the emergence of the wealthy merchants becoming rivals of the then rulers by amassing the riches. Viewed in this context, it seems that Manu and Yājñavalkya would not have become so liberal in their policy of taxation as Kauṭilya was. Thus, we find that the merchants in the times of Manu and Yājñavalkya had to bear more burden of taxation than those in the time of Kauṭilya.

About the conditions of later dates nothing can be said with precision. Nārada (100 A.D.—300 A.D.), Bṛhaspati (200 A.D.—500 A.D.), Viṣṇu (300 A.D.—600 A.D.) and Parāśara (600 A.D.—900 A.D.) speak nothing of the profit, which is to be given to the traders. We, therefore, have to take into consideration the other factors responsible to determine the tendencies of trade and commerce in the Gupta and the post-Gupta times. The decline of cities,[145] as revealed from archaeological and literary evidences, scarcity of coins[146], declining state of guilds,[147] Chino-Tibetan rivalary to occupy the Central Asian route[148], down-fall of the Gupta empire leading to frequent struggles and wars by feudal lords and their *sāmantas*[149], the growing relation of domination and subordination between feudal lords and the people living in their territories,[150] increased character of *viṣṭi*[151] and the developing tendency towards natural economy[152] characterized by local and closed agrarian set-up indicate that the commercial activity was on the decline. The decline of Roman empire[153] and the Persian rivalry with Byzantine empire[154] and the Hūṇa invasion of India[155] added an impetus to the declining tendency of trade and commerce which lasted till its revival by the 10th and 12th centuries.

Again we witness increase in the rate of profit, ultimately to be earned by the merchants in the 10th and 12th centuries than in the Gupta and post-gupta times. This change reflects the trend of increase in trade and commerce which appears to be a natual sequal to the rising urban economy. The declining state of economy characterized by local and closed agrarian set-up was incapable of serving the growing needs of feudal chiefs and their *sāmantas* in equipping them with up-to-date war weapons and paraphernalia[156] such as Persian swords, Arabic, Persian horses etc., the growing demands for luxury articles for

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pleasures[157] and the uncertainity of revenue owing to growing high handedness of subordinate rulers[158] might have compelled the ruling kings to think in terms of improving their resources in general and trade and commerce in particular. To achieve this end, it would have been found necessary that duties should be levied as such so that the merchants even after making the payment of all dues, may be able to gain a higher percentage of profit than that of the preceding centuries. This befitting policy of assessment must have given a fillip to trade activities during the second phase of early medieval period (10th-12th century). This view is supported by the other developing tendencies of economic life of this period. That the arrival of Arab merchants and their active participation in foreign as well as indigenous trade,[159] the revival of coinage[160] system due to invasion of Mahmūd Ghazanavī (997 A.D.—1030 A.D.) which brought out money and jewels hoarded in temples, in circulation and eventually the growth of cities and urban centres [161] provided a suitable environment to the rising trend of urban economy, especially trade and commerce as well as industry in the 11th and 12th centuries A D.

It is necessary to examine in this connection the mode of payment of *śulka* by the merchants and its implications. It is well known that cash and kind were two types of payment of duties. The payment in cash on a large scale was not possible in the absence of a stable currency system. The estimation of cost and sale price of commodities by Kauṭilya[162], Manu[163] and Yājñavalkya[164] and the assessment of profit in percentage by Kauṭilya[165] and Yājñavalkya[166], as noticed above clearly shows that in their time (4th C. B.C.—2nd C. A.D.) the tax was largely realized in cash. This form of payment indicates that there was a well established coinage system. This argument is supported by the literary as well as numismatic evidence. From the *Jātakas*,[167] wherein the mention of the prices of common things like a pair of oxen, dog and fish in coined money has been made, the findings of a large number of 'Punch-marked' coins, of different metals[168] and the coins of Indo-Greek,[169] Kuṣāṇa[170] and Sātavāhana[171] rulers, it is evident that the period ranging between 4th century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. witnessed a fairly good currency system, through which most of the commercial transactions were made. Besides, a good number of Roman coins, *denarius*, were also seen serving the needs of Indian market, especially in South as the medium of exchange in the early centuries of the Christian era.[172] It was a time when India was not only enriched with coins of different types and metals but also witnessed a brisk trade with western world.

Nārada (100-300 A.D.) speaks nothing of the mode of assessment of *śulka*, price and profit. Bṛhaspati[173] (200 A.D.—500 A.D.) says that traders should give 1/20 from vendible article as *śulka*. From this piece of evidence it appears that the tax was collected in kind. Similar idea is found in the *Viṣṇusmṛti*[174] (300 A.D.—600 A.D.). It is mentioned in this law book that the king should levy as duty 1/10 of indigenous and 1/20 of foreign articles. Medhātithi[175] (9th C. A.D.), a commentator of Manu, explaining the use of valuation of

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commodities, says that in case of a few articles, such as cloth pieces, it would not be possible to realize the duty without tearing each piece and hence valuation would become necessary. This piece of evidence clearly indicates that the duty was largely paid in kind ; however, the payment in cash was not unknown. In view of the above references to the mode of payment, it can be inferred that *śulka* was largely collected in kind, from the late Gapta times to the first phase of the early medieval period (8th C. A D.—10th C. A.D.). It is also evidenced by the literary[176] and epigraphic[177] data pertaining to the period. In the *Yavana-jātaka* of Sphujidhvaja, composed in A.D. 269/270, a work on horoscopy, we find the prediction of rules for the gain of coins, but Varāhamihira (6th-7th C. A.D.), who wrote three books (the *Bṛhatsaṁhita*, *Bṛhajjātaka* and *Laghu-jātaka*) on horoscopy, formulates no rule regarding it.[178] This certainly reflects the decreasing significance of coinage in economic life in the time of Varāhamihira.[179] The *Devī Purāṇa*,[180] composed in the 9th century A.D. in Bengal, alludes to the scarcity of coins by referring to the exchange of vendible articles (*paṇya*) in kind, that were brought into the fortified city from outside. The piece of numismatic evidence reveal that, after the down-fall of the Gupta empire there was a paucity of coins, especially gold.[181] The tradition of the gold coinage was revised by the Kalachūrī king Gāṅgeyadeva (1019-1040 A.D.) after a long gap.[182] Silver coins were also rarely issued during this period.[183] The records of the period 500 A.D. to 900 A.D., mentioning the payment of *śulka* in cash are much less in number than those to the subsequent period. Thus the weak currency system characterized by the payment of duties in kind bears the testimony of the declining state of of commercial activities which lasted till its revival in the 11th and 12th centuries.

The references to payment of *śulka* in cash can be traced in the commentaries[184] of the *Manusmṛti* and the *Gautama-dharmsūtra*, composed in the second phase of the early medieval period (11th and 12th Cent. A.D.). We have also noticed earlier that in India during the 11th and 12th centuries, the 'profit-based' policy of assessment of *śulka* was in vogue.[184] Thus, money appears to have begun to play a significant role in the payment of *śulka*. The literary[186] and inscriptional evidences[187] also confirm this. The issuing of gold, silver and copper coins in abundance by the rulers of the Kalacūrī, Gāhaḍavāla, Candella, Paramāra, Cāhmāna, Cālukya of Gujarat, Western Cālukya, Coḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kākatīya dynasties,[188] which flourished in the 11th-12th Century, further strengthens this view that the payment of *śulka* in cash may have witnessed an increase in this period.

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23. Cf. S. K. Maity, *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

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24. *Manusmṛti*, VIII, 398. The verse reads *śulka-sthāneṣu-kuśalāḥ sarvapaṇyavicakṣaṇāḥ Kuryurargham yathāpaṇyam tato viṁśati nrpo haret*. J.D.M. Derrett (ed., idem, *Bharuci's commentary on the Manusmṛti*, Vol. II, *WIESBADEN* (Germany), 1975 VIII, 396/398, p. 206) and G. N. Jha (tr. idem, *The laws of Manu with Bhāṣya of Medhātithi*, Vol. IV, Part II, verse 398) give the meaning of word *tataḥ* 'from that', which does not seem to be applicable to this verse in the light of a verse of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (II.261). Yājñavalkya clearly mentions that *śulka* should realized for fixing the price. We, therefore, may take the word *tataḥ* to mean 'for doing that'. This interpretation is also confirmed by the rule of pāṇini (*Aṣtādhyāyī*, 2.3.25, *hetauvibhāṣāpañcamī*). Monier Williams gives the different meanings of word *tataḥ*, such as 'for that reason', 'for doing that', 'in consequence of that' which appear to be more appropriate in case of this verse of the *Manusmṛti*. Moreover, the discussion about the policy of assessment of *śulka* also reveals that it was a tax for fixing the price (see infra.). Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, a commentator of Manu, explicity states that duty should be charged for fixing the price (*arghakaraṇanimittam*, VIII, 398). Similar rule is laid down in the *Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara* II.261), a commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*.

25. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, II.261.

26. *Amarkośa* II, 8.27.

27. *Amarkośodghāṭana* of Kṣīraśvamid on *Amarakośa*, (II.8.27) ed., T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum.

28. Ed., M. R. Kale, Delhi, Reprint (1979). Act. VIII, p. 192.

29. *HRS*, p. 304.

30. On Yāiñ. II, 258.

31. Vijñāneśvara on Yâiña. II, 263.

32. Kullūkabhaṭṭa on Manuy VIII, 398. *sthalapatha-jala-patha-vyavahārato-rājagrāphyo-bhagah-śulkam*.

33. VI.3.10.5., Nirany Sagar Press, Bombay, 1930. tr. C. H. Tawney (*The Ocean of Stories*) Calcutta, 1880-87.

34. Ed. H. Sastri, Varanasi, 1971, VI.5.89 (*pathideye-śulkam*).

35. XVII, 55, vide S. P. Narang, *Dvayāśraya : A literary and cultural study*, New Delhi, 1972, p. 176.

36. Ed. Nemichandra Śāstri, Varanasi, 1964, III.388, p. 178, *śulkastu-ghaṭṭādideyam*.

37. Tr. B. K, Sarkar, Jhansi, 1975 (reprint), Vv. 257-258, p. 149. Though it is a taxt of the nineteenth century yet there is some definite evidence to show that it incorporates some ideas of early medieval period. Cf. L. Gopal, *The Śukranīti; A Text of Nineteenth Century*, Varanasi, 1978, p. 108.

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38. K. Antonova, G. Bongard-Levin, G. Kotovsky, *A History of India*, book 1, Moscow, 1979, p. 194.

39. *Sabhā parva* (II.5.155)

40. Ed., H. Kern, Delhi, 1972. XXIII, 67, The verse reads *vicitra-paṇya kraya-vikrayāśrayam vaṇigjanam paurajanam tathā nṛpaḥna pāti yaḥ ś lkapathopakāriṇam virodhamāyāti sa kośa sampadā.*

41. Ed., M. R. Kale, Delhi, 1972, (third edition), act, VII, 1.

42. There is some definite evidence to show that this work belongs to the post Gupta times. In a passage of the *Mṛcchakatika* (VII, p. 88) it is stated that formerly a son of *gahapati* or trader (for the meaning of the *gahapati* see S. C. Bhattacharya, *Some Aspects of Indian Society*, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 131-32.) of pāṭaliputra had to earn his livelihood by profession of a shampooer in Ujjayinī. This shows that in pāṭaliputra region trade and commerce was on the decline. This tendency may be compared to the situations prevailing in the time of the down fall of the Gupta empire which led to the frequent wars and the rise of feudal states. It may also be noted that though, Buddhism was on the decline yet we find the allusion to its patronization by the ruling kings and princes in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (II, p. 94). The Bhikṣus appear to have generally been respected. However, a certain prejudice prevailed against them among the upper classes (VII, p. 250). Trend of patronizing Buddhism had fairly become noticeable by the time of the later kings, such as Buddhagupta, Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya and Vajra, of the imperial Gupta dynasty which might have served as an important factor to the decline of the Gupta rule. This fact becomes evident from the act of setting free to Mihirakula, the Hūṇa king, who was taken as prisoner by Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya, on the petition of her mother. This act of pity, as revealed in the travel-accounts of Hiuen-Tsiang, led the forces causing devastation to the rule of the late Gupta kings. (T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travel in India*, Delhi 1973 (second edition) pp. 288-289). Again we witness corresponding similarity between the rules laid down in the *Nārada-smṛti* on 'the plaint' (Ch. III) and in all essential features of the judicial trial described in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (Act. IX) ; which has very ably been brought out by J. Jolly (ed., F. Max Muller. *The Sacred Book of the East* (*SBE*), Vol. XXXIII, Part I, 1977, P. XVII). Thus, in view of the above characteristics date of composition of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka may be assigned to the 5th-6th century A. D. However, this topic needs a separate consideration.

43. Ed., A. Sharma, Haiderabad, Vol. II, 5.1.47, 1713.

44. Medhātithi on Manu, VIII, 307.

45. Kullūka on Manu, VIII, 307.

46. Ed., and tr. by S. L. Sastri, Varanasi, 1971., Vol. II, VII, pp. 326-327.

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47. *Nītivākyāmṛtam* of Somadeva Sūri, VIII, 11, p. 37, tr. by R. C. Malaviya, Varanasi, 1972.
48. Ed., A. N. Upadhye and H. L. Jain, J.S.S.S. Sholapur, 1963, VI. 160-133.
49. Ed., V.G. Apte with *Navāṁkura commentary of Kṛṣṇadaivajña*, Poona, 1930, VII, 10, p. 122.
50. B. K. Sarkar, *Op. cit.* vv. 212-13, p. 147.
51. Ed., Jinvijaya Muni, Singhi Jain Series, No. 2, Calcutta, 1936, p. 103.
52. This aspect has been dealt with in detail by A. Appadorai in the *Economic conditions in Southern India* (1000-1500 A. D.), Vol. I, Madras, 1936, pp. 415 ff.
53. I.10.15-16.
54. *Manu*, VIII, 406.
55. Medhātithi on Manu, VIII, 406.
56. *Loc. cit.*
57. Kullūkabhaṭṭa On Manu, 406.
58. Ed., Mm. K. Smṛtitīrtha, Asiatic Society of Calcutta, 1931, p. 305.
59. Ed., P.L. Jain, Varanasi, 1968, 60.125-128.
60. Ed. G. K. Shrigondekar, G.O.S. No. 28, Baroda, Vol. I, vv. 374-76, p. 62.
61. See, P. Niyogi, *Contribution to the Economic History of Northern India* (From the Ninth to Twelfth Century A.D.), Calcutta, 1962, p. 146.
62. *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 195.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 195 f.
64. T. V. Mahalingam, *South India Polity*, Madras, 1967 (Second edition), pp. 441, 444.
65. K.A.N. Sastri, *Op. cit.*, p. 331.
66. *E.I.*, Vol. III, No. 17, p. 122 & 11.
67. *EI*, XXV, p. 237 ; V. V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Part I, No. 31, p. 151, le. 48 ; *ibid.*, No. 32, p. 158, 1.32.
68. V. V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 154.
69. *I.A.* (*Indian Antiquary*), Vol. XVI, p. 24.
70. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 18.
71. *EI*, X, p. 99 cited by B.N.S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century* (*SCNI*), Allahabad, 1973, p. 290.
72. Ghoshal, *HRS*, p. 256 ; *C.P.S.I.*, p. 158 ff. cited by B.N.S. Yadava, *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

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73. Ed., B.K. Thapar, *Indian Archaeology : A Review*, Delhi (1979), published in 1974-75, No. 35, p. 58.

74. Cf. K.P. Velayudhan, "Trade Guilds and the character of State in Early South India", in *P.I.H.C.* (*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*), 39th Session, Vol. I, Hyderabad, 1978, p. 202.

75. *P.I.H.C.* Vol. I, 1978, pp. 202-203.

76. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (*I.E.*), Varanasi, 1965, p. 404.

77. *Loc. cit.*

78. *Ibid.*, p. 400.

79. Ed. G. Yazadani, *Dakana kā-Prācīna Itihāsa* (tr. M. N. Singh and K. M. Srimali), New Delhi, 1977, p. 656.

80. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Varanasi, 1966, p. 327 ; D. R. Das, *Economic History of the Deccan*, Delhi, 1969, p. 69 ; D. N. Jha, *Op. cit.*, p. 76.

81. XII.71.10.

82. VIII, 307.

83. XXIII. 67.

84. Vol. II, 5.1.47/1713, The verse reads *vaṇijam rakṣā-nirveśo-rāja-bhāgaḥ-śulkaḥ*. I-tsing, a chinese pilgrim who visited India in 671 A.D. has noticed in his travel-accounts that the *Kāśikā* was prescribed in the prospectus of the Nālandā University. Therefore, its date can not be later than first half of the seventh century A.D. See. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. III, part II, Varanasi, 1967, p. 433.

85. Medhātithi on Manu VII, 127. See also Vandyaghaṭīyam on *Amarkośa* II.8.27.

86. B.K. Sarkar, *Op. cit.* v. 259, p. 149.

87. S. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* by Shaman *Hwui Li*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 60 f., 73 f., 86, 198 ff.

88. Bombay, 1938, II, pp. 91 ff.

89. Ed., Peterson, Calcutta, 1899, p. 863.

90. *K.S.S.* VI.3.117 ; VII.2.75.

91. Tr., H.M. Jhonson, Vol. I, Gaekavada Oriental Series Nos. L1 (1931), p 8.

92. PP. 101-102 ; also see D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, Delhi, 1975, pp. 139.

93. Sharma, *Loc. cit.*

94. VII, 1009.

95. Yadava, *SCNI*, p. 272.

96. Cf. L. Gopal, *Op. cit.*, pp. 101, 103 ; Yadava, *Op. cit.*, pp. 271 ff.

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97. D. N. Jha holds that the assessment of the duty, to be made on the basis of cost of commodities or on the profit derived therefrom has been a matter of great controversy among the commentators of Manu (idem, *Revenue System in Post-Maurya and Gupta Times*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 72). U. N. Ghoshal opines that this particular tax mentioned in the *Manu*. (VIII, 398 and *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (II, 261) is an impost upon the net profit (idem, *HRS*, p 116).

98. Medhātithi and Sarvajñanārāyaṇa assess the duty on cost of commodities while Govindarāja and Kullūkabhaṭṭa prescribe that *śulka* should be levied on profit gained by traders.

99. Ed., idem, *Bhāruci's commentary on Manu*, VIII, 396/398.

100. Tr., Idem., *The Laws of Manu with Bhāṣya of Medhātithi*, Vol. IV, Part II, Calcutta, VIII, 398, p. 419.

101. *Manusmṛti*, VIII, 398.

102. *Arthaśāstra*, 1.2.36.

103. *Ibid.*, 4.2.28.

104. *Yājñā*. II, 253.

105. *Mitakṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara, II, 253. The passage reads *deśāntarādāgate paṇye deśāntaragamanapratyāgamanabhāṇḍagrahaṇa śulkādisthāneṣu yāvānupayuktoarthas-tāvantamartham parigaṇya paṇyamūlyena saha meliyitvā yathā paṇaśate daśapaṇo lābhaḥ sampādyate tathā kretṛvikretroranugrahakāryargho rājñā sthāpanīyaḥ.*

106. *Ibid.*, II.252., *evam ca yathārgha nirūpite paṇaśate pañcapaṇo lābho bhavati, tathaivārgho rājñaḥ svadeśapaṇyaviṣaye sthāpanīyaḥ.*

107. *Manu*, VIII, 401.

108. *Arth.* 4.2.36 and 4.2.28.

109. *Yājña*, II, 253.

110. *Op. cit.*, p. 206.

111. *Op. cit.* p. 419.

112. Cf. D. N. Jha, *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

113. *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara, II, 261.

114. It is estimated value (*iyataḥ paṇyasyeyanmūlyaṁ ityarghaḥ*, vijñ. on Yājñ., II, 261) denoting cheapness or dearness of a commodity from its original value (*ibid.*, II, 249, *rājnirūpitarghasya hrāsam vrddhiṁ-vā*). Also see M. Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Delhi, Reprinted (1976), p. 89.

115. *Mūlya* indicates the original price of a commodity. Cf. Vijña, on Yājña. II, 253 (*paṇyamūlyena sahameliyitvā*). For its meaning also see M. Williams *Op. cit*, p. 827.

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116. Quoted in the Vyavahārakāṇḍa of the *Dharmakośa*, Vol. II, ed. by Laxman Shastri, Satara (India), 1938, p. 1662.

117. *Gautam-Mitākṣarā* of Haradatta, X, 26-29.

118. On Yājñ, II, 266.

119. On Manu, VIII, 398.

120. On Manu, VIII, 398.

121. *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

122. R.S. Sharma, *Bhārtīya Sāmantavāda*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 53, 54, 123 ; idem, *Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 52, 53, 119-20. Yadava, *SCNI* (*Society and Culture...*), pp. 299, 301 ; The *Indian Historical Review* (*IHR*), Vol. I, No. 1, 1974, p. 24 ; A. K. Majumdar, *Chalukyas of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1956, p. 251 ; D. D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1975 (second edition) pp. 310, 362 ; *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1-2 (Sept. Dec.) 1979, p. 83 ; *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, VIII, 2010 ; *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (Sanātanaśāstram) Calcutta, B.S. 1372, VI, 1, 34-35 ; *Puṇyāśrava Kathā-kośa* of Sri Rāmacandra Mumukṣa, ed. by A. N. Upadhya and H. L. Jain, Sholapur, 1964, p. 63.

123. *Rhythm of History* (Journal of Rajasthan University) Jaipur, 1976-77, p. 55. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, VII, 1, 34-35 ; *Puṇyāśrava-kathā kośa*, p. 63 ; *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* VI.3.105 ; cf. R.S. Sharma, *Op. cit.*, p. 129 ; idem, *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 125-126, Yadava, *SCNI*, p. 298 ; A. K. Majumdar, *Op. cit.*, p. 362 ; Kosambi, *Op. cit.* p. 362, P. Niyogi, *Contribution to the Economic Histary of Northern India* (900-1200 A.D), Calcutta, 1962, pp. 196, 220-221 ; *Nītīvākyamṛiam of Somadeva Sūri*, VIII, 11.

124. *Puṇyāśrava-kathā-kośa*, p. 63, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* VII, 1, 34-35 ; *Uttara-Purāṇa*, 60.125-28.

125. *Arth.*, 2.22.1-2.

126. *Manu* VIII, 398.

127. *Yājñ.* II, 261.

128. Govindarāja on Manu VIII, 398.

129. Kullūka on Manu VIII, 398.

130. D. D. Kosambi, "Indian Feudal Trade Charters", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of Orient*, Vol. II, p. 292, A.N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1967, p. 90.

131. *Arth.* 4.2.28.

132. See supra.

133. See Supra.

134. See Supra.

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135. See Supra.

136. See Supra.

137. See, O.P. Srivastava, "Slave Trade in Ancient and Early Medieval India" published in *P.I.H.C.* Vol. I, (39th session), Hyderabad, 1978, p. 124.

138. *Geographia*, XIV, 5-2, vide 'Mob voilence in the late Roman Republic', Heaton p. 12.

139. *Ibid*, II.5.12 quoted by H.P. Chakraborty, *Trade and Commerce of Ancient India* (C. 200 B.C.—C. 650 A.D.), Calcutta, 1967, p. 185.

140. Ed., Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, New Delhi 1974, Nos. 31, 34, 35, 36, 48, 49.

141. *Athenaus Diepnosophisto*, IV, 4, 6 and V, 2, 39 ; Cf. Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and the Western World, Cambridge*, 1969, p. 93.

142. *Hist. Nature*, VI, 23 as cited by K.V.R. Aiyangar, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Economic Thought*, Varanasi, 1965, p. 87, fn. 1.

143. Vidya Prakash, *Coinage of South India*, Varanasi, 1968, pp. 20-23, C.J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, Delhi, 1973, p. 58 ; P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, New Delhi, 1979 (Second revised edition), p. 49.

144. *Ancient India* No. 2, p. 18 ff.

145. Y.D. Sharma, "Exploration of Historical Sites", *Ancient India* No. 9, 1953, pp. 116-69 ; R. S. Sharma, "Decay of Gangetic Towns", *Proceedings of the I.H.C.*, 33rd session, Muzaffarpur, 1972 ; idem, *Journal of Indian History*, Golden Jubilee volume, 1973, pp. 135 ff.

146. R.S. Sharma, *Op. cit.*, pp. 91, 157 ; idem *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 87-88, 132.53 Yadava, *Op. cit*, p. 275 ; B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency System in South India*, New Delhi, 1977, Chapt. VII ; V. Prakash. *Op. cit.*, Chap. III ; *ibid.*, pp. 52, 77, 93 ; R. S. Sharma, *Op. cit.*, pp. 91, 157 ; A. S. Altekar *The Rāṣtrakūṭas and Their Times* ; Poona, 1967 (second revised edition), p. 364 ; *Rhythem of History*, pp. 59-60.

147. Yadava, *SCNI*, p. 273 ; *Rhythm of History*, p. 55 ; L. Gopal, *Op. cit.*, pp. 81 ff, For the absence seals of guilds see K. K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, Lucknow, 1972 ; *Journal of Indian History, Golden Jubilee* Volume (1973). p. 277 ; D. C. Sircar, *EI*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 31, pp. 184 ff.

148. L. Gopal, *Op. cit.* pp. 106-107.

149. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103, U.N. Roy, *Gupta Samrāṭa aur Unkā Kāla*, Allahabad, 1976, Ch. XIV.

150. B.N.S. Yadava's Presidential Address, entitled "The problem of the emergence of Feudal Relations in Early India" section I of the 41st Session of *I.H.C.* Bombay, 1980 pp. 6 ff.

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151. *Ibid.*, pp. 32 ff ; G.K. Rai, "*Forced Labour in Ancient and Early Medieval India*", *I.H.R.*, Vol. III, No. 1, July 1976, pp. 28-35, 41.

152. R.S. Sharma, *Op. cit.*, Chapts. I and III ; idem, *Indian Feudalism*, Chapts. I & III ; Yadava, *SCNI*, pp. 250 ff.

153. *Rhythem of History*, p. 57.

154. S.K. Maity, *The Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta period*, Varanasi, 1970, p. 181.

155. U.N. Roy, *Op. cit.*, pp. 354 ff.

156. The paucity of horses attracted the attention of foreign observers and traders at all times. See, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ed., R.C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1955, pp. 403 f ; ed. idem, *The struggle for Empire*, Bombay, 1957, p. 523 ; *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 184 ff ; Vijña. On Yājñavalkya, II.30, *heḍāvuka* (horse-dealer), etc.

157. *Proceedings of I.H.C.* 39th Session, Vol. I, pp. 126 ff ; Yadava, *SCNI*, Chap. VII.

158. See Supra.

159. *P.I.H.C.*, 39th Session, Vol. I, pp. 125, 279-284

160. L. Gopal, *Op. cit.*, Chap. IX ; B.D. Chattopadhyaya, Op. cit., Ch. VIII ; L. Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin Type of Northern India*, Varanasi, 1966 ; Yadava, *SCNI*, pp. 282-283; R.S. Sharma, *Op. cit.*, pp. 262 ff; idem, *Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 255 ff.

161. B.N.S. Yadava, *Op. cit.*, pp. 240 ff. 275 ff. In South India also, as noticed by B. Stein, there was a rise of towns during the 12th century (idem, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 250, 251). The evidence quoted by him (ibid., p. 249) suggests that this tendency, in all probability, must have been in vogue during the 11th century. K.R. Hall is also of the view that the process of expansion of trade and towns started in 10th and 11th centuries under the Coḷa Kings (idem, *Trade and state craft in the Age of Coḷas*, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 162 f.).

162. Supra.

163. Supra.

164. Supra.

165. *Arth.*, 4.2.28.

166. *Yājñ.* II, 252.

167. *Jātakas* II, pp. 247, 305-6, 424-425 ; VI, p. 343.

168. P.L. Gupta, *Op. cit.*, Chap II ; C.J. Brown, *Op. cit.* Chap. I.

169. P.L. Gupta, *Ibid.*, Chap. III, C.J. Brown, *ibid.*, Chap. II ; A Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, Delhi, 1970, pp. 258 ff.

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170. Gupta, *Op. cit.*, Chap. IV ; Brown, *Op. cit.*, Chap. III.

171. P.L. Gupta, *ibid.*, Chap. V ; V. Prakash, *Op.* cit., pp. 7 ff.

172. V. Prakash, *ibid.*, pp. 21 ff.

173. Ed., B. Bhattacharya, G.O.S. No. LXXXV, Baroda, 1941, VI, 6 (*Āpaddharma* section).

174. III, 29-30.

175. Medhātithi on Manu, VIII 398.

176. Supra.

177. Supra.

178. B.N.S., Yadava, "The Problem of the Emergence of Feudal Relations in Early India," p. 54.

179. Cf. Yadava, *Loc. cit.*, p. 54.

180. Critical edition by P.K. Sharma, New Delhi, 1976, 72.96 vide Yadava, *ibid.*, p. 28.

181. *SCNI*, p. 275, R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 129 ff.

182. L. Gopal, *Op. cit.*, p. 183 ; idem, *Early Medieval Coin...*, pp. 36, 72 ; Yadava, *SCNI*, p. 282, R.S. Sharma, *Op. cit.*, pp. 235, 262 ff ; idem, *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 256 ff, 261-262.

183. *SCNI*, pp. 275, 282.

184. Supra.

185. Supra.

186. R.S. Sharma, *Op. cit.*, pp. 256, 265 ; *idem*, *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 250, 258 ; Yadava, *SCNI* pp. 294-295 ; L. Gopal, *ELNI*, Chap. IX ; also See Supra.

187. *EI*, III, pp. 56-57, 296-97 ; VII, pp. 131-132 ; IX, p. 63, fn. 8 ; I, p. 97 ; XIII, p. 26 ; XII, p. 120 XLI, p. 203 ; Yadava, *SCNI*, pp. 290 ff ; L. Gopal, *Op. cit.*, Chap. IX ; etc.

188. L. Gopal *Op. cit.*, Chap. IX ; idem, *Early Medieval Coin....* ; B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Op. cit.*, Chap. VIII ; V. Prakash, *Op. cit.*, Chaps. IV, V and VI ; *SCNI*, pp. 282 f.

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Mining and Metallurgy in Early Medieval India

—*Lallanji Gopal*

As in earlier period, mines were regarded as the property of the king in the early medieval period. The *Mānasollāsa*[1] observes that Brahman arranged that the king was to be the owner of all wealth, specially wealth that is inside the earth. Elsewhere,[2] the same text speaks of the gift by a king of mines of silver, gold or precious stones. It advises the king to guard mines of gems, gold and silver and to collect taxes from all that comes out of them.[3] Ladṣmīdhara,[4] associated with the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom, also refers to the king granting fixed amounts from mines and other similar sources. Medhātithi justifies the injunction in Manu[5] that the king is entitled to a half of the ores from the mines because he gives protection and is the lord of the earth. The story of the copper mine found by king Jayāpīḍa in Maḍavarājya, as given in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*,[6] all suggests state owership of mines. The rights transferred by the king to the donees in the Gāhaḍavāla land-grants include that over the metal and salt mines.[7] The land-grants of the feudatories of the Cedi and Candella kings were also generally accompanied by the right over mines [8] In Assam we find kind Ratnapāla claiming to have derived a considerable revenue from copper mines (*Kamalākara*).[9]

We find that in the early medieval period the system of state-worked mines gradually went out of practice. The mines appear to have been generally worked by individuals who paid a share of the profit by way of tax. The *Mānasollāsa*, as we have seen, requires the king to collect taxes from the produce of mines of gems, gold and silver.[10] An inscription from Samoli in Mewar dated 646 A.D.[11] refers to a community (*mahājana*)[12] headed by a certian Jentaka starting an *agara (ākara)* in Araṇyakūpagiri which became a source of livelihood for the people.

We do not find many references to mine officers in the records of our period, though their appointment is recommended in the *Arthaśāstra*. This may be explained on the assumption that the number of mines which were being worked in our period was small and they were confined to a few regions. It is also that the officers of the administrative divisions in which the mines were situated dealt with the mines alongwith their other functions and thus the necessity for having a separate officer for mines was dispensed with.

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However, in the Chandravati Plates of Gāhaḍavāla king Candradeva[13] the list of officers addressed to includes a superintendent (*adhikāripuruṣa*) of the mines (*ākara*) also.

Unfortunately we do not have much evidence to determine the areas which yielded metals in our period. We can, however, utilise *Dhātukriyā*, a late Tantric text of the sixteenth century, as it may fairly be supposed to contain much traditional information going back to our period. The sources of gold and auriferous ores mentioned in the text are Pāvakādri (?), seaside countries Sindhu, Kāmarūpa and others.[14] Ibn Khurdadba[15] refers to Kāmarūpa having plenty of gold. Native gold, associated with quartz-veins or reefs, occurs in Kolar district (Mysore State), Hubli gold-field of former Nizam's dominions and Anantpur (Madras). The former existence of gold at other places in the Peninsula besides these is revealed by many signs of ancient gold-working in diggings, heaps of crushed quartz,[16] and stone-mortars. It would appear that washing of gold from the rivers was very common in this period. The names *gāṅgeya*, *jāmbunada* and *vaiṇava* or *veṇutaṭaja* applied to gold in the dictionaries[17] of the period refer to the rivers as their source. In the Tezpur grant of Vanamāla[18] the Lauhitya is described as carrying down gold dust from the legendary gold boulders of the Kailāśa mountain. Gold is reported from many rivers in Assam[19] and we learn from the rather late text *Fathiya-i-Ibriyad*[20] that about ten thousand people were employed there in the washing of gold and each man mad on an average a *tola* of gold per annum. Alluvial gold-washing is carried on in the sands and gravels of many of the rivers of Madhya Pradesh and in sections of the Indus Velley at Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit, Attock etc.[21] The Arab narratives refer to reports of gold and silver mines in the Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom of Kanauj[22] and speak of gold and silver to be found in the kingdom of Rahma,[23] generally identified with Bengal.[24] Obviously not much reliance can be placed on these vague and inconclusive statements lacking cornoboration.[25] The statement indicates that the identification of Rahma with Bengal is doubtful and that the Arab accounts of Rahma have jumbled Bengal with lower Burma and Pegu where these metals are found.[26] It is, however, interesting to note that the *Ain-i-Akbari* in sixteenth century mentions silver mines near Agra and in Kashmir.[27] Likewise, we find that one of the names of silver given in the *Vaijayantī*[28] associates it with Bengal (*baṅga-jīvanam*). But India must have received its silver mostly from import. With the exception of the quantity of silver won from the Kolar gold-ores, the Zawar lead-ores and the rich argentiferous lead-zine ores of the Bawdwin mines of Burma, no silver is produced in the country.[29]

The *Dhātukriyā* mentions Nepāl, Kāmarūpa, Bengal, Madaneśvara (?). Gaṅgādvāra (?), Malādri (?), the country of the Mlecchas, Pāvakādri (?), Rūma (Constantinople) and the country of the Phiraṅgas (Portuguese and Europeans) as the sources of copper.[30] Curiously enough the alchemic texts of the early medieval period do not refer to any place in India as having copper mines. It appears from them that Nepal was the chief supplier of copper.[31] The second and inferior variety of copper mentioned in the *Rasaratna-samuccaya* is that dug out of mines of other countries and designated *mleccha*.[32] The names

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mleccham and *mlecchāsyam* applied to copper in the *Vaijayantī*[33] would suggest that India was importing considerable quantity of copper in this period. It, however, appears that foreign copper could not have sufficed for the great demand of copper in manufacturing many objects. There would be a strong presumption that native mines were also being worked. This is supported by stray[34] references in many sources. Thus, the *Rājatarangiṇī* refers to copper mines of Kashmir. The Bargaon grant of king Ratnapāla[35] speaks of a copper mine in Assam. Al Kazwini[36] refers to a mine of copper at Kulam (Quilon). According to the *Rasaratnasamuccaya*[37] Kanauj yielded the superior variety of copper pyrite, which, as we have seen elsewhere, was used for making copper. From Ṭhakkura Pheru we learn of copper being mined at Babbera (in Jaipur).[38] Extensive slag-heaps and refuse "Copper Workings" at the Rajputana, Sikkim and Singhbhum mines suggest a flourishing copper industry in India in former years.[39]

The *Dhātukriyā* names Lohādri, Gayādri, Gautamādri, Vindhya, Nalādri, Tryambaka and sea-side places as the source of iron.[40] The lexicons of the period mention iron as the essence of hills (*girisāram*).[41] Al Idrisi[42] refers to the existence of some well-known iron mines in the mountains of Kabul.

The names associated with lead in the *Dhātukriyā* are Nepāla, Kedāra, Karmakanda, Tryambaka and Tripura.[43] From the *Vaijayantī*[44] it would appear that there were mines of lead in Surāṣṭra. Ancient workings indicate that formerly lead was produced on a large scale at Mewar, Jaipur and Zawar (near Udaipur), in parts of Bihar like Hazaribagh and Manbhum, and also in some districts of Madhya Pradesh. Lead was found, besides in Bawdwin in upper Burma, at a number of places in the Himalayas.[45]

The sources of zine mentioned in the *Dhātukriyā* are Kumbhādri, Kamboja, Rūma, Balkha and Bengal.[46] Zine is found in the Bawdwin mines of Burma, Zawar mines of Mewar and occurs in the Riasi district of Kashmir, Shigri and Sikkim.[47] The name *saurāṣṭram*[48] or *saurāṣṭrakam*,[49] applied to bell metal in the lexicons, would suggest that Surāṣṭra produced bell metal also. Likewise, tin is associated with Bengal.[50] Tin ores occur in Palanpur and Hazaribagh and also the Mergui and Tavoy districts of Lower Burma.[51]

The period witnessed a remarkable growth in metallurgy. The advance in the use and knowledge of the chemical properties of metals was helped and reflected in certain subsidiary practices which became popular in this period. As against the earlier period, when herbs and vegetables, with a few simple and readily available minerals, were commonly used as drugs, the early medieval period is characterised by an increasing use of metallic preparations. From the tenth century synthetically prepared compounds of metals came in for a common use for medicinal purposes.[52] Another reason which helped the development of the chemical study of metals was the practice of alchemy. Alchemy in India, as elsewhere, was partly cultivated for artificial gold-making[53] but mostly as a search for the elixir of life.[54] The typical pictures

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of contemporary social life as depicted in the *Deśopadeśa* include one of an alchemist (*dhātuvādī*) who is busy with his preparations to gain vitality and becoming rich by making gold.[55] Though evidence indicates knowledge of alchemy in some passages of the *Vāsavadttā* and *Daśakumāracarita*,[56] it was under Tantric influences that the practice of alchemy in India reached its highest development. Alchemical (*rasaśāstra*) texts, however, had a separate existence and were not given the status of the Tantras.[57] Alchemy appears associated with Tantricism even in the *Kubjikātantra*, of which there is a manuscript from Nepal in Gupta characters;[58] but Tantricism and alchemy gained in importance after the seveth century.[59] It is difficult to explain the Tantric interest in gold making. Satya Prakash[60] suggests that it may have been prompted by a desire to attract ignorant common man through a show of miraculous powers or else it was an effect of the contemporary world wide attempts at gold-making. But evidence is lacking to prove or disprove the suggestions. The Tantric emphasis was on the search for the elixir of life. This is brought out very clearly in the introductory parts of the *Rasārṇava*[61] wherein the ideal of *jīvanmukti* (liberation in one's own life) is advocated, but its meaning is different from that in other systems of philosophy. Maintenance of youthful form and vitality are essential for experiencing divine bliss in this very life. *Siddhi* is obtained due to birth, medical elixirs, magic syllables, penance or meditation.[62] According to Tantricism in order to achieve liberation in one's life one has to preserve the body with the aid of mercury and medicaments beside breathing exercises. Hence some of the Tantras, such as the *Mātṛkābheda tantra* and the *Rasārṇavakalpa* (of the *Rudrayāmala*) are full of alchemical recipes and other chemical information.[63] The earliest reference to the use of chloride of mercury is found in the *Rasārṇava*[64] and its use for medicinal purposes also became popular only from the twelfth century.[65] The existence of these Indian texts is supported by Marco Polo,[76] who tells of a class of extremely long-lived *yogīs* who drank every mouth a beverage of sulphur and quicksilver mixed together.

The interest in mineralogy and alchemy and its development is reflected in the long list of works on the subject composed in the early medieval period.[67] Some of these are *Siddha-yoga* of Vṛnda, *Cakradatta* of Cakrapāṇidatta *Rasahṛdaya* of Govinda Bhāgavata, *Rasārṇava* and *Rasaratnākara* of Nāgārjuna, *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* of Somadeva, *Rasaprakāśasudhākara* of Yaśodhara, *Rasakalpa* in the *Rudrayāmalatantra*, *Rasasāra* of Govinda, *Rasaratnasamuccaya*, *Rasarājalakṣmī* of Viṣṇudeva, *Rasaratnākara* of Nityanātha, *Rasanakṣatramālikā* of Mathana Siṃha, *Sārṅgadhara-saṁgraha*, *Dhāturatnamālā* of Devadatta and *Suvarṇavarga* in the *Madanapālanighaṇṭu*.[68] Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya[69] mentions four Sanskrit treatises on alchemy which were translated into Tibetan : (1) *Rasasiddhiśāstra* (2) *Dhātuvādaśāstra* (3) *Sarveśvararasāyana* and (4) *Dhātuvāda*.

The process of (*māraṇa*)[70] 'killing' metals copper, tin, iron, silver, lead and gold has been given in many texts such as the *Rasārṇava*[71] the *Rasahṛdaya*[72] and the *Sarveśvararasāyana*.[73] The *Rasārṇava* describes an apparatus used for killing metals[74] and states that a metal is

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regarded as being pure if, on being melted in a crucible, it does not give off sparks bubbles or spurts, nor emits any sound, nor shows any lines on the surface but is tranquil like a gem, which indicates its tranquil fusion.[75]

The process of the extraction of copper from copper pyrites (*mākṣika*) appears eariest in the *Rasa-Rasārṇava*[76] which says that *mākṣika*, repeatedly soaked in honey, oil of *Ricinus communis* (*Gandharva*), urine of the cow, clarified butter and the extract of the bulbous root of *Musa sapientum*/ (*Kadalīkanda*). and heated in a crucible, yields an essence in the shape of copper.[77] The same process has been described in the *Rasakalpa* section of the *Rudrayāmala tantra*[78] and in the *Rasaratnasamuccaya*.[79]

Another device extracted copper from blue vitriol (*sasyaka*). It has been described in the *Rasārṇava*,[80] *Rasaratnasamuccaya*[81] and *Rasacintāmaṇi*.[82] The *Rasaratnasamuccaya* lays down the procedure as follows : Take blue vitriol and one-fourth of its weight of borax (*saubhāgya*) and soak the mixture in the oil expressed from the seeds of *Pongamia glabra* (*karañja*) for one day only and then place it in a covered crucible and heat in a charcoal fire.

In the texts of this period we find devices to prepare sulphide of copper (*parpaṭītāmra*). The method, as given in the *Siddhayoga* of Vṛnda, is to pound sulphur, copper and the pyrites along with mercury, to roast them in a closed crucible and then to administer with honey the product thus obtained.[83] In the *Cakradatta* of Cakrapāṇi we find the method of preparing powder of *copper-compound* (*tāmrayoga*) in pure state with the help of a thin leaf of copper and powdered sulphur.[84]

The *Rasārṇava*.[85] *Rasaratnasamuccaya*,[86] *Rasakalpa* in the *Rudrayāmalatantra*[87] and *Rasaprakāśa-sudhākara*[88] give the process of the extraction of zinc from calamine. According to the *Rasaratnasamuccaya* bell-metal (*Kāṁsya*) is made by melting together eight parts of copper and two parts of tin.[89] The same text speaks of *vartaloha* being made from bell-metal, copper, brass (*pittala*), iron and lead.[90]

The *Rasaratnasamuccaya* mentions two kinds of tin, *Khuraka*, which is endowed with superior qualities and *miśraka* which is not suitable for medicinal uses.[91] It deseribes lead (*sīsaka*) as readily fusible, very heavy, presenting a black and bright appearance on fracture, of foetid odour and black exterior.[92] It divides brass (*pittala*) into two kinds, the one, which, on being heated and plunged into sour gruel, turns copper-coloured, is *rītikā*, while *kākatuṇḍī* turns black.[93]

The properties of mica were understood and it was used along with other metals. According to the *Rasaratnasamuccaya*[94] mica does not combine with mercury and the one which is consumed by mercury was used along with other metals for medicinal purposes. It,

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mentions four varieties of mica. *pināka*, *nāga*, *maṇḍūka* and *vajra*. The colour of mica is stated to be white, red, yellow or black. It appears from the text that the mica generally preferred was the one whose layers could be easily detached.

REFERENCES

1. I, p. 61, v. 361.
2. I, p. 121, v. 1022.
3. I, p. 59, v. 332.
4. *Kṛtyakalpataru, Vyavahāra Kāṇḍa*, p. 652—*Ākarādau rājādidattaṃ niyataṃ labhyam.*
5. VIII. 39.
6. V. 617.
7. U. N. Ghosal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 261.
8. *Idid.*, p. 254. A. S. Altekar, *Raṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 241.
9. Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla—P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī* p. 88 ff, line 45.
10. The system envisaged in the *Śukranīti*, IV. 2. 118-19 contemplates the mines as worked by private agencies. It requires the king to be paid one-half of gold, one-third of silver, one-fourth of copper, one -sixth of base metals, tin as well as lead, one-half of precious metals and one-half of salt, after the expenses of production have been deducted in each case. But, as the text, in its present from seems to have been compiled towards the middle of the nineteenth century the details given above cannot be used for the early medieval period.
11. *E. I.*, XX, p. 99.
12. The term has two broad usages, first as a great or eminent man, the chief or head of a trade or caste, or a merchant, and second as a great multitude of man or the populace —M. Monier-Willams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 795 columns 3, *S. V. Mahājana.* Both the usages can be supported by references in epigraphic and literary records. But, there is no exhaustive study of the references. In many records of the period *mahājana* seems to signify a general assembly of town, village unions of villages—D. Sharma,

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Early Chauhan Dynasties, pp. 203-4. In the present case it is clear that *mahājana* was a corporation, but its exact nature cannot be determined It could have been a corporation of financiers or a corporation of workmen or a local commune.

13. *E. I.*, XIV, p. 194, line 15.
14. B. K. Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, p. 96.
15. Elliot and Dowson. *History of India as told by its own Historians, I*, p. 14.
16. D. N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, pp. 474-75.
17. *Vaijayantī*, p. 42, lines 40-43; *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, vv.173- 4.
18. *JASB*, IX. 766 f
19. P. C. Choudhury, *The History of civilisation of the people of Assam*, p. 370.
20. *JASB*, XXX. 49 ff.
21. D. N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, p. 476.
22. Sulaiman in Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, I, p 4.
23. Sulaiman in Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit*,, I, p. 5.
24. R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), *History of Bengal*, I, p. 122.
25. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar (Ed.) *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 403.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 409. n 36.
27. B. K. Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, p. 97.
28. p. 43, line 47.
29. D. N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, p. 479.
30. B. K. Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, p. 98. Copper occurs in Singhbhum and Chota Nagpur in Bihar, Nellore and Kistna districts in Madras; Ajmer, Khetri and Alwar in Rajputana and at several places in the outer Himalayas in Sikkim, Darjeeling, Kumaon and Nepal. Native copper occurs at some places in south India and in Kashmir in the bed of the Zaskar river. D. N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, p. 473.
31. Cakrapāṇidatta's *Cakradatta* referred to by P. Ray, *History of chemistry*, p. 110.
32. V. 44.
33. p. 43, line 49.
34. V. 617.
35. P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvalī*, pp. 98 ff, line 45.
36. Elliot and Dowson, *op, cit.* I, p. 96.

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37. II. 77-81.

38. D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 319.

39. D. N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, p. 473.

40. B. K. Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, p. 99. Iron deposits are found at Salem, Madura, Mysore, Cuddapah and Kurnool in south India, Singhbhum, Manbhum, Sambalpur, Bastar and Mayurbhanj in Bihar and Orissa, Burdwan in Bengal, in Assam, Jabalpur, Drug, Raipur, Bilaspur and Khandeshwar hill in Madhya Pradesh, Goa and Ratnagiri, the Kumaon region in the Himalayas and Riasi in Jammu and is gathered from the laterite and the magnetite sands of rivers draining the trap districts in Bombay—D. N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, p. 477.

41. *Vaijayantī*, p. 43, line 67; *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, v. 171.

42. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 92.

43. B. K. Sarkar, *loc. cit*, pp. 100 f.

44. p. 43, line 58.

45. D. N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, p. 478.

46. B. K. Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*,pp. 101 f.

47. D. N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, p. 486.

48. *Vaijayantī*, p. 43, line 58.

49. *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, v. 170.

50. *Ibid*, v. 172; *Vaijayantī*, p. 43, line 61.

51. D.N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, p. 482.

52. P. Ray, *History of Chemistry*, p. 108.

53. *Dhūrtākhyāna*, III. 1-2; *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 22; *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*' p. 93, lines 19-20.

54. *Samayamātṛkā*, II. 103.

55. *Samayamātṛkā*, II. 103.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

57. B. Bhattacharya, *Sādhanamālā*, II, p. XXX.

It is interesting to note that, as in the case of the Tantras, these texts are in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Śakti, in different forms and speak of the eigat practices and association of ladies in the preparation of alchemy.

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58. It is suggested that Indian Tantricism absorbed mercury-based alchemy from China between the third and the seventh centuries A.D., but within a century or two adopted itself to characteristically Indian mythico-religious practices—D. M. Bose (Ed), *A Concise History of Science in India*, pp. 317 f.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

90. *Prācīna Bhārata men Rasāyana kā Itihāsa*, p. 307.

61. I. 8-17.

62. *Yogasūtra*, 50.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

64. XI. 24. P. C. Ray regards the text to be a twelfth century work.

65. P. C. Ray, *Hindu Chemistry* I, p. 250. The Siddha system of medicine, popular in Tamilnadu, accepts mercury based alchemical ideas for longevity; but its history has not been properly investigated—D. M. Bose (Ed.) *op. cit.*, pp. 335-38.

66. II. 300.

67. P. Ray, *History of Chemistry*, p. 128 observes that it is searcely possible to submit an exhaustive list.

68. B. K. Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, pp. 70 ff, 87-90.

69. *Acharyya Ray Commemoration Volume* (*Calcutta*, 1932), p. 121.

70. Before a metal was used as a constituent of a medicinal preparation it had to undergo this process. *Rasaratnākara* quoted by Satya prakash, *Prācīna Bhārata men Rasāyana kā vikāsa*, p. 316, f n. 2. It was in the nature of a purification process for removing deleterious principles present in the natural metal, but in effect it amounted to the addition of some extraneous material and hence the 'killed' metal was generally a sulphide.

71. P.Ray, *History or Chemistry*, pp. 138-9.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-43.

74. *Ibid.*, pp. 135 f.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

76. P. Ray, *History of Chemistry*, p. 130.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 137. Information of this type should be analysed by a trained mineralogist or metallurgist so that the precise nature of the advance made could be determined and then placed in a proper historical sequence.

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78. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 375.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 376.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
83. P. C. Ray, *History of Hindn Chemistry*, I. p. 58.
84. P. Ray, *History of Chemistry*, p. 110.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 138,
86. *Ibid* , pp, 171-2.
87. *Ibid* , p. 157.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 392.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*, p. 390.
92. *Ibid* , p. 391. This is common knowledge nowadays. The passage seems to indicate that lead was comparatively rare.
93. *Ibid.*
94. II. 5-14.

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Position of Potters in the Socio-Regional Stratification of Early Medieval India

—A.P. Ojha

Though pottery going back to Neolithic times presupposes the existence of potters in that epoch, the social dimensions of the group engaged in the production of earthenwares are not available before the availability of literary data in the Vedic age. References to potters under the name of *Kulāla*[1] occur in the entire range of the Vedic literature. Judging from them, it can be safely maintained that the artisans of this trade enjoyed a respectable pasition in the early as well as the Later Vedic Society, Salutation has been offered to them.[2] Their presence in the context of Vedic Sacrifices[3] undoubtedly makes their position a privileged one. This state of affairs is quite understandable in view of the fact that the vedic society was emerging from the tribal state and the position of specialists in the wake of the process of division of labour leading to initial social differentiation is always respectable. With the growth in the degree of differentiation and the increasing complexity of socio-economic nexus, potters were naturally sidetracked to the back-waters of rural life and their trade too consequently earned a lower repute for itself. Reflection of this trend is amply visible in the works of Buddhist and other literature spread over a long period of time. Till the advent of early medieval period, therefore, potters had already came to occupy a lower position[4] in society as compared to their former status which they enjoyed in the Vedic times. But still their position in the ancient period was not so low as in the early medieval period. The most important reasons of why they could withstand the process of degradation in their social status and the status of their trade was probably their organization into guilds[5] and economic prosperity.

The sources of early medieval times both literary and epigraphic, bring into prominence some new words used for the potters. Among these new terms mention may be made of *cakkiya, kumbhālika, vetakovan* and *kummari.* The word *cakkiya*[6] occurs in *Kuvalayamālākahā* of Udyotana Sūri (c. 779 A.D.), a Jain kathā work which reflects the social and cultural history of ancient Rajaputana. It reminds us of the Sanskrit word *cākrika* applied for potters (sometime for oilmiller also) in the commentaries of Bhaṭṭotpala[7] on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*

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(c. 10th A.D.) and of *Aparārka*[8] on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (c. 12th A.D.) who has quoted Saṅkha (prose) and Sumantu. The *Vaijayantīkośa* of Yādavaprakāśa (c. 11th A.D.) also gives this term.[9] Bhaṭṭotpala was a native of Kashmir whereas Aparārka was a Śilāhāra king of south India. Yādavaprakāśa flourished in Tamil Nadu in the 11th century.[10] It may therefore be concluded that the word *cakkiya* or *cākrika* was prevalent both in the north as well as south. *Kum'bhālika*[11], *vetakovana*[12] and *kummari*[13] as well were other new terms used for the potters known from various south Indian inscriptions. Thus, it is obvious that these three words were in vogue only in south India. The old terms *kulāla*, *kumbhakāra* and *cākrika* were not restricted to any region or part of the early medieval India but were in prevalence all over the country as usual because they have been used in many sources relating to the various regions The illustrative list is as under :—

Region of the source	*Source*	*Term/Terms used for potters*
Kashmir	Bhaṭṭotpala on Bṛhatsaṁhitā[14] (c. 10th A D.)	Cākrika Kumbhakāra
Kashmir	Rājatataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa[15] (c. 12th A.D.)	Kulāla Kumbhakāra
Rajasthan	Kaman Stone Inscription[16] (c. 8th-9th A.D.)	Kumbhakāra
Gujarat	Jambū-dvīpa-prajñapati[17]	Kumbhakāra
Gujarat	Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa-Carita of[18] Hemcandra (c. 12th A.D.)	
Gujarat	Prabandhacintāmaṇi of[19] Hemcandra (c. 12th A.D.)	Kulāla Kumbhakāra
Western India	Kathākośa-prkaraṇa[20] of Jineśvara Sūri (V. S. 1108)	Kumbhakāra
Madhya Pradesh	Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira[21] (c. 6th A.D.)	Cākrika, Cakracara, Ghaṭakāra, Ghaṭakṛta.
Uttar Pradesh	Siyaḍoni Inscription[22] (Lalitpur) (c. 10th A.D.)	Kumbhakāra
Uttar Pradesh	Kamauli Copper Plate (Varanasi)[23]	Kumbhakāra
Assam	A Copper Plate[24]	Kumbhakāra

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1	2	3
Bengal	Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa[25] (c. 19th A.D.)	Kumbhakāra
Bengal	Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa[26] (c. 13th A.D.)	Kumbhakāra
Bengal	Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa[27] not later than (c. 13th A.D.)	Kumbhakāra
Orissa	Kendupatana Plates of[28] Narasiṁha II (c. 1294 A.D.)	Kumbhakāra
Orissa	Nagari Plates of Anaṅgabhīma[29] III (c. 1231 A.D.)	Kumbhakāra
Andhra Pradesh	Dibbida (Vizagepatanam)[30] Plates of Arjun (c. 1269 (A.D.)	Kulāla
Tamil Nadu	Vaijayantīkośa of Yādava[31] Prakāśa (c. 11th A.D.)	Kulāla Kumbhakāra Cākrika

The importance of the potters in this period lies in the fact that they were one of the five chief village artisans (pañca-kāruakānām)[32] viz. the carpenter, the ironsmith, the potter, the barber and the washerman who used to live in almost all the villages and received handfuls (bācakāni) from peasant. This tradition was not a new one. The institution of *pañcakārukī* (five artisans) can be traced back at least upto the time of Patañjali.[33] It is significant to note that the artisan guilds (*prakṛtis* or *śreṇis)* had on the whole lost their character of occupational groups in the early medieval period and were being fossilized into castes.[34] Potters were related to the śūdra varṇa and thus were at the lowest stratum in the caste hierarchy of early medieval India beyond any doubt. The question which crops up in our mind here is : what was their position within the śūdravarṇa ? According to Uśanas[35] and Vaikhānasa[36] (c. 600-900 A.D.) the potters were the born of clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa male and vaiśya female. The *Parāśara Saṁhitā*[37] and the *Parāśara Paddhati*[38] state that they were the offspring of a carmakāra female and a gardener male as well as an oilmiller female and a *paṭṭikara* (silk-weaver) male respectively. Thus they are shown as being born of the promiscuous unions. But the mention of their regular parentage in the *Parāśara Saṁhitā* and *Parāśara Paddhati* rules out clandestine unions as their only source. In the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*[39] the potters are regarded as *uttama sankaras*. One born of a union of a Brhhmaṇa male and a vaiśya female is no doubt an *uttama sankara* inasmuch as

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he is born of an *anuloma* union. It appears, therefore, that the clandestine part of the statement of Uśanas and Vaikhānasa was not universally and in all localities acceptable to the tradition. The value of this evidence is not more than its being an indication of their degradation in a certain region or locality. The Commentary of *Aparāka*[40] (on Yājñavalkya) quoting the *Brahma Purāṇa* forbids one to take the food from the hands of a potter. Sumantu[41] quoted in *Parāśara Mādhavīyam* too makes the food from a potter (cākrika) unfit for a brāhmaṇa. Among the list of *bhojyānna* śūdras—*dāsa*, *nāpita*, *gopāla*, *kulamitra* and *ardhasīrī* (share-cropper)—furnished by the *Smṛtis* like *Parāśara*,[42] *Bṛhadyama*[43] and *Vedavyāsa*[44] (c. 600-900 A D.) mention has not been made of potters. This is not a new phenomenon as it can be traced back to the time of Manu and Yājñavalkya.[45] Side by side with the list of the groups of *bhojyānna* category there are also available in these *smṛtis* a paralled list of the groups of *abhojyānna* category. This rules out the assumption that those who were not included in the *bhojyānna* category belong necessarily to *abhojyānna* variety. It appears that there was a natural zone between these two as well, and the potters occupied the neutral zone[46] between the *bhojyānna* and *abhojyānna* categories. Their place is, however secured in the *bhojyānna* category by the commentary of Vijñāneśvara[47] which may be taken to be a newly emerging trend of south India in the 12th century But Aparaka[48] belonging to the same period and to the same region counts potters in the class of *abhojyanna* śūdras in his commentary on the same text on which vijñāneśvara also commented. It appears that in the 12th century south the position of potters with regard to *bhojyanna* or *abhojyānna* category had become controversial among the interpreters of the law.

A regional survey in the social status of potters is still a desideratum. We propose to attempt the same in the early medieval times. The *Bṛahannānadīya Purāṇa*[49] (c. 9th A.D.) places the potters higher than Carmakāra, Cāṇḍāla, Vyādha and Rajaka but lower than Lohakāra, Suvarṇakāra and Tantravāya (weaver) in the social hierarchy. In the *Bṛahaddharma Purāṇa*[50] (c. 13th A.D.) which divides the mixed caste into *ūttama*, *madhyama* and *adhama* sankaras, they were reckoned among the *uttama sankaras* and permission has been granted to śrotriya brāhmaṇas to function as priests for them. The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*[51] (not later than c. 13th A.D) enumerates the potters in the list of nine good-śūdra artisans (*navaite śilpakāriṇaḥ, satśūdraḥ*) All these three Purāṇas composed in Bengal reflect the social norms of that region. It is also proposed that the potters formed a major socio-economic class in Comilla region in south-east pre-Muslim Bengal.[52] The recent archaeological discovery of the pottery pieces of considerable quality at the Mainamati Lalmai hills, makes it highly probably, says Professor Tarafdar, that the earthernwares were being exported from South-east Bengal to South China, Pegu and South-East Asia.[53] This probable export trade of sophisticated pottery appears to have been the main reason of their being counted among the sat-śūdras, as it must have contributed to their comparatively sound economic position and thereby to their higher status among the śūdras.

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The Jambū-dvīpa-prajñapti[54] a Jain work composed in the Gujarat region in the early medieval period categories the caste guild of potters into *nāruā* and *kāruā* varṇas which mean touchables and untouchables respectively and includes them among the touchables i.e., *nāruā varṇa*. The *Kathakośa-prakaraṇa*[55] of Jineśvara Sūri (V. S. 1108) another Jain work reflecting the conditions of western India, declares the members of the potters 'guilds as *ahamā* (degraded) one degree higher than *ahamāhamā* (highly degraded) consisting of Cāṇḍālas and others. According to the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa-cārita*[56] of Hemacandra who flourished in the Gujarat in the 12th century, the occupation of potters was of little blame. The *Vīsaladeva Rāso*[57] composed in Rajasthan in the early medieval period, refer to the daily use of earthen-wares supplied by the potters. Available remains[58] of ornamented pottery from Sambhar leave no room for doubt about the specialized technique and the industy of this town. The Kaman stone inscription[59] (c. 8th-9th A.D.) informs us about the existence of a potters' guild living at Kāmyaka with whom endowments were deposited. The economic prosperity of these potters is also proved by the fact that everyone of them were paying a permanent cess at the rate of one *paṇa* per wheel per month. We may be permitted to recapitulate that the potters enjoyed a good social position in the Gujrat and Rajasthan and were at the upper stratum within the śūdra-varṇa. There is no trace of abomination and untouchability attaching to their person or craft. Their organization into guild at Kāmyaka indicates that merchant-cum-artisan guilds was flourishing near the city though there was a general decline of artisan guilds in this period.

A story in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[60] of Kalhaṇa (c. 12th A.D.) which throws light on the social life of Kashmir, tells us that the queen of Kashmir king Toramāṇa gave birth to prince Pravarasena II somewhere in a potter's hut (*Kulālanilaye kvacit*). The story further reveals that the potter's wife accepted the prince as her child, as the she-crow to the young-cuckoo (*kākeva pikśāvakaḥ*), and brought him up properly. This story tends to show that they were still far from being untouchables and enjoyed an honourable social position in thir region also. That the potter's craft was in flourishing condition in Kashmir in the early medieval times is proved by a good number of earthenvessels excavated at Avantipur.[61] Kṣemendra's (c. 11th A.D.) *Narmamālā*[62] speaks of clay earrings used by the women of poor classes. This is further corroborated by the fact that earthenwares were among the principal items of trade within the country.[63] These pieces of evidence tend to show that the potters of Kashmir may have enjoyed a good status socially and economically.

The rest of northern India also provides good evidence of potters. The *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭ[64] who flourished in Kancuj in the 7th century A.D., places the potters among the skilled artisans called to work on the eve of Rājyaśrī's marriage. It also shows that friend-ship[65] between a Brāhmaṇa like Bāṇa and a potter was still not a thing to be looked down upon. The archaeological evidence of a marked degree of improvement in the technological aspect of pottery[66] in this period has also come to light from the excavation of Ahicchatra

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situated in the Bareilly district of U. P. We have definite evidence of potters' guilds at Siyadoni[67] (near Lalitpur, U.P.) with whom permanent endowments were deposited. But it should be borne in mind that these guilds of potters must have been merchant-cum-artisan guilds flourishing round the temple complex at Siyadoni. Thus, by virtue of their economic prosperity and organization they must have enjoyed the same position in these areas of northern India as they did in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Kashmir.

In Deccan the potters are shown to have formed a separate community named as *Kummari Kula*.[68] References have been found to *Pedda Kummari* (head potter) and *Kummari Malla* in the temple records.[69] Some inscriptions from Andhra[70] an Orissa[71] include the potters among those artisans who have been given away with the landgrants to the donees.[72] This phenomenon was in prevalence in northern India also.[73] A. P. Sah[74] in the background of Orissa's trade relations with Magadha, Madhyadeśa and other neighbouring states of Palas, Senas, Kalcuries, Colas and Eastern Calukyas opines that the townships of Purāṇagrāma and Jayanagaragrāma inhabited by a number of artisans, including potters, clearly indicate that the earthen-wares were also the articles of internal trade. The potters have also been mentioned in a votive inscription of Liṅgaraja temple at Bhuvaneśvara.[75] The social position of potters in Deccan, therefore, appears to have been characterised by two opposite trends, (1) that of their localisation and bondage resulting from their attachment to landgrants and temples and (2) that of their better social and economic position within the śūdra varṇa indicated by the fact that earthenwares were being included among the articles of internal trade. But is noticeable that long distance trade of earthenwares must not have been in vogue in all the regions.

Belonging to the *idaṅgai* i.e. left hand caste[76] the artisans formed the middle stratum among the social classes in the Tamil Nadu.[77] The *Vaijayantīkośa*[78] of Yādavaparakāśa composed in this region in the 11th century speaks of potters in the *śūdrādhyāya*. But at one place Yādavaprakāśa has assigned the function of potters to Ayogavas.[79] Since Ayagavas themselves, were (a group of) *antyajas*, as shown by *Mitākṣarā*,[80] and the potters work came to be assigned to them by the *Vaijayantī*, it leads us to conclude that the potters were being regionally relagated to the position of outcastes and untouchobles (*antyajas*).[81] Thus their enumeration as *antyajas* in this area is striking. The historical explanation of this development may be sought into the trend of increasing subjection of artisans in the Cola period,[82] emergence of big temple states and landed aristocracy to which artisans including the potters were often attached.[83] But in the 11th centuries we find a few examples of merchant-cum-artisan guilds of potters in some regions of south India.[84] Professor T. V. Mahalingam shows that some such guilds of weavers and potters were enjoying social privileges duly sanctioned by the king.[85] The reason of this importance and prosperity of potteas guild is amply explained if we notice the stgnificant piece of evidence furnished by Nadavi. While discussing Indo-Arab relations in the light of the observations of Muisar Bin Muhalhil who visited South

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India in A. H. 331 (A.D. 943) he writes that porcelains "*gazāyara*" were being exported to Arab countries from south India. He further tells us that it was locally prepared and was not imported to from China, however, it was known as Chinese ware in the country to which it was exported.[86] It was probably to its significant place as an article of overseas trade that the potters of south India owed their extraotdinary importance.

The foregoing discussion of the social status of potters in the period of our study shows that their social position was not uniform throughout the country or throughout the period.[87] While they enjoyed a better status in Comilla region now in Bengaladesh they were condemned to untouchability in south India. The emergence of Urban centers like Kāmyaka and Siyadoni may have partly connected with the economic prosperity while in the rural areas their economic prosperity decline to such an extent that they were often donated with the piece of land or village being granted and were thereby put to the service of the donee. Specific mention of potters among such donation in Orrissa and Andhra demarcates these regions from those areas in which landgrants make mere mention of *aṣṭādaśaprakṛtayaḥ*. Chronologically their condemnation to untouchability even in the south is a late development. The 12th century controversy between Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka, both commentators of Yājñavalkya from south India about potters being put into the *bhojyānna* or *abhojyānna* categories is interesting.

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3. They were listed among the victims of *puruṣamedha* sacrifice. See *Vājsanevi Saṁhitā* XXX. 5-22; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* III. 4.2.17; *Śatapath Brāhmaṇa* XIII. 6 vide, Basu, Jogiraj, *India of the Age of Brāhmaṇas*, Calcutta, 1969, p. 72.
4. They were called *hīna-jāti* in the *Mahāvastu Avadāna* I.321. 11. *Vinaya Piṭaka* calls the potters' craft as *hīna-sippa* (low craft) IV, p. 7; see also *Suttavibhaṅga Pācittiya* II. 2.1.
5. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV, pt. 1, p. 3; Jātakas also furnish a good deal of information about potters guilds.
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7. On *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (BS) X. 9, 12.
8. Aparārka on *Yāj*, pp. 1175-76 vide P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, 1974 (II edn.), Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 80.
9. *Vaijayantī*, II.9.27.
10. *Vaijanatīkośa*, ed. H.G. Shastri, Varanasi 1971, p. 17.
11. *Epigraphia Indica* (EI) XX, No. 2, p. 90. See T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, Modras 1954, p. 394.
12. *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Glossary, p. XCI and *Tamil Lexicon*, p. 3831 vide Stein, Burton in *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Delhi, 1980, p, 121.
13. *South Indian Inscriptions* (*SII*), IV, Nos. 677, 1288.
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16. *EI*, XXIV, p. 335.
17. B.N.S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India* (*SCNI*), Allahabad, 1973, p. 42.
18. *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa-carita* (*TSPC*), Vol. II, p. 118, Vide *SCNI* p. 42f.
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20. *Kathākośa-prakaraṇa*, Introduction, pp. 116-17; p. 115 (text) vide *SCNI*, p. 54.
21. *BS*, x 9, 12; XV.1; XVI. 28.
22. *EI*, I, p. 174, l.9.
23. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 135.
24. *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 41.
25. *Bṛhannāradīya Purāna* (*BNP*), 30.2.
26 *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* (*BDP*), III,13.
27. *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* (*BVP*), Chapter X-20, 90, 97.
28. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 195.
29. *Ibid*, p. 256.
30. *Ibid*, V, pp. 110-12, v. 22.
31. *Vaijayantī*, II.9.27.
32. *Lekhāpaddhati*, ed. C.D. Dalal, Baroda (Central Library) 1925, p. 1[illegible]. *Sūtradhāralohakārakumbhakāraprabhrti pañcakkruakānāma.....*; also *SCNI*, p. 267.
33. *Mahābhāṣya*, I 1.48; P.D. Agnihotri, *Patañjali Kālīna Bhārata*, Patna 1963, p. 324. *...tatra cāvarataḥ pañcakārukībhavati.*

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34. B.N.S., Yadava, *The Problem of the Emergence of Feudal Relations in Early India* (*EFR*), Presidential Adress, Section I, Indian History Congress XLI Session, Bombay, 1980; p. 50; R.S. Sharma, "Problem of Transition from Ancient to Medieval in Indian History", *Indian Historical Review* (*IHR*), Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 6.

35. Uśanas verse 32.

36. Vaikhānasa X 12 cited by Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

37. *Parāśara Saṁhitā*, cited in *Śabdakalpadruma*, Varanasi, 1967, Vol. II, p. 154.

38. *Parāśara Paddhati* cited in *ibid.*

39. *BDP* I I. 13, See also *SCNI*, p. 47.

40. *Aparārka on Yājñavalka*, pp. 1177-79 quoted in M. K. pal, *Crafts and Craftsmen in Traditional India*, New Delhi, 1978, p. 114.

41. Vide Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

42. *Parāśarasmṛti*, XI. 22.

43. *Bṛhadyama Smṛti*, III. 10.

44. *Vedav āsa Smṛti*, III. 55.

45. *Manu Smṛti*, IV. 253; *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, I. 166.

46. The artisans included in the *abhojyānna* category are carpenter, weaver, blacksmith, goldsmith, bambooworker, washerman and *kāru* (Manu, IV. 210, 214-215, 219). It may be pointed out that though the general meaning of *kāru* is artisan the use of *kāru* in the Vedic texts (*Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda*) has been in the sense of ministrels i.e., one who sings the parise of others M.M. Willianms, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Delhi 1976 (Reprint), p. 275). As Manu in this context enumerates individual artisan groups as *abhojyānna* condemnation of the whole class of artisans would have defeated the purpose of discrimination. There can be no doubt, therefore, that manu deemed by *kāru* here a particular type of artisan and not their whole class. Yājñavalkya counts among the artisans of *abhojyānna* category bambooworker, goldsmith, blacksmith, weaver, washerman and oilpressure only (Yāj I. 161, 163-165). It may be noted that the enumeration of *bhojyānna* category of artisans be Yājñavalkya (I. 166) include the same type of artisans which figured in the *bhojyānna* category of Manu viz., *ārdhika*, *kulamitra*, *dāsa*, *nāpita* and *gopāla* (IV. 253). Other artisans as for example stonecutter, architect, mason etc. occupy the neutral zone who are neither *bhojyānna* nor *abhojyānna*. A comparative study of the list of *abhojyānna* artisans in Manu and Yājñavalkya would also show that while Manu places carpenter in the *abhojyānna* category Yājñavlkya omits his name in his enumeration of *abhojyānna* category. If it is not a mistake Yājñavalkya appears to have assigned him the neutural eategory. Thus, the possibility of potters occupying this neutral zone cannot be denied.

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47. *Mitākṣarā*, I. 166.
48. Supra, fn. 40.
49. *BNP*, 30.2, *SCNI*, p. 46.
50. Supra fn. 30.
51. *BVP*, Chap. X, Verses 8, 9, 20.
52. M.R. Tarafdar, "Trade and Society in Early Medieval Bengal", *IHR*, Vol, No. 2, p. 278f.
53. *Ibid.*
54. Vide *SCNI*, p. 42.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
56. *Ibid* , p. 42 f.
57. *Vīsaldeva Rāso*, I, 48 & II, 24 quoted in R.B. Singh, *History of the Cahamanas*, Varanasi 1964, p. 400.
58. *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sombhar*, p. 54, vide R.B. Singh, *Ibid.*
59. *EI*, XXIV, p. 335.
60. Supra fn. 15.
61. S.C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, Delhi 1970, (IInd revised edn.), p. 126.
62. *Narmamālā*, I.75 cited by Ray, *Ibid.*
63. S.C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
64. V. S. Agrawal, *Harṣacarita : Eka Sānskritika Adhyayana*, Patna 1964, (IInd edn.), p. 72.
65. *Harṣacarita*, I, pp. 41-42.
66. B P. Mazumdar, "Industries and Trade in Early Medieval North India" a paper submitted to the seminar on Socio-economic formation in the Early Middle Ages of Indian History, organised by the Deptt. of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeoly, A.U., Dec. 1-3, 1980, p. 4.
67. *EI*, I, p. 174, 1.9. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, "Trade and Urban Centers in Early Medieval North India", *IHR*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 219.
68. A. Vaadehi Krishanamoorthy, *Social and Econamic conditions in Eastern Deccan* (A. D. 1000-1250), Secundarabad 1970, p. 48.
69. *SII*, IV, Nos. 677, 1288.
70. *EI*, V, pp. 110-12, also L. Gopal, *Economic Life of Northern India*, Delhi, 1964, p. 22.
71. Supra fn, 28 & 29.

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72. R. N. Nandi opihes that potters donated to the temples in Deccan in this period were "like European serfs, who were attached to the manors of their lords", idem, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan* (C.A.D. 600-1000), Delhi, 1973, p. 28.

73. There was a widespread practice of transfering the artisans with other humble folk in the Candella Kingdom (Bundelkhand) : sa-kāru-karṣaka-vaṇing..... ; *EI*, XX, No. 14, 1.10; R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, Delhi 1965, 233. For this practice in other regions of northern India see B. N. S. Yadava, *EFR*, p. 13.

74. A.P. Sah, *Life in Medieval Orissa* (C.A.D. 600-1200), Varanasi, 1976, p. 107.

75. *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, II, No. 3-4, p. 53 vide Sah, *ibid.* p. 103.

76. Burton Stein, "Right and left Hand Castes", idem, *op. cit*, p. 196.

77. Y. Subbarayalu, "Tamil Nadu (C. 750-1350 A.D.) Ke Ārthika Evam Sāmājika Itihāsa Main Ūr Kā Sthāna" in *Praāchīna Bhārata* ed. Sankalia, H. D. and others, Delhi, 1978, p. 172.

78. *Vaijayantīkośa* Chapter 9.

79. Vide *SCNI*, p. 39.

80. *Mitākṣarā* on *Yāj.* III. 260 and 265.

81. The weavers were also being relegated to the status of *antyajas* in some regions in this period. See A P. Ojha, "Weavers in Ancient Indian Society and Economy". *The Journal of the Ishwari Prasad Institute of History*, Allahabad, Vol. II Part II, Jan-Dec. 1980, pp. 87-98.

82. Y. Gopala Reddy, "Socio-economic Tensions in the Cola period", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXIX, Pt. 1-2, p. 76; Yadava, B.N.S. *EFR*, p 51.

83. *Ibid*, B. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 158; D. N. Jha, "Temples as Landed Magnates in Early Medieval South India (C.A.D. 700-1300)" in R. S. Sharma, ed. *Indian Society : Historical Probings*, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 203-16.

84. B.N.S. Yadava, *EFR.*, 51 fn.; T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 395 f.

85. *Ibid.*

86. Sayyad Sulaiman Nadavi, *Arab Aur Bhārata Ke Sambandha* (trns. in Hindi, Babu Ram Chandra Varma), Allahabad, 1930, p. 56.

87. If we analyse all the sources we find some improvement in the social status of potters during the second phase (11th & 12th centuries) of early medieval India due to the increasement of economic conditions. For the enhancement in the social status of artisans associated with the *idaṅgai* in south India particularly in Andhra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, See B. Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 f.

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Aspects of Socio-Economic Changes in Northern India between the 8th and 11th Centuries A.D.

—*B.N. Puri*

The eighth century A.D. heralds the setting up of the Arab power in Sind while the end of the 12th century witnesses the eclipse of the Hindu power in the North and a little more than a decade later the first Muslim kingdom with its sudden expanding boundaries emerges on the political horizon. These two *terminus a quo* and the *terminus a quem* points in India's political and cultural history characterise so many changes apart from the shift of the political pendulum from the disintegrated States to a more centralised political authority. This was not a sudden change. In fact, it took more than four hundred years for the forces of Islam to consolidate their authority and extend it over the Indian Sub-continent, when in less than a hundred years, from the death of the Prophet, these were successful in overrunning the area from Spain and Gaul to Central Asia. The Arabs, no doubt, were not slow to make incursions into the central belt of the country but they were contained by the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Chalukyas, as recorded in inscriptions and equally noticed by the Arab historians. The credit for impeding the progress of alien political forces in India was due not only to the stabilised political situation in the country but also due to changes in cultural ethos. It provided a good response to the challange posed by these external elements motivated by both political and religious zeal. This span of a couple of centuries was naturally one of commotion demanding change in ethos, and resulting in clash between the orthodox and heterodox principles and perspectives. It may, therefore, be suggested that the period was notable for transition from traditional values to those apparently appearing as modern in the Medieval period. It is the study of these changes—cultural and economic—which might now be made on the basis of available source material—epigraphic and literary, with particular reference to the period of the Gurjara-Pratiharas.

The problem arising out of the Arab incursion in Northern India was not merely political, but equally of socioreligious and even economic importance. The reclamation of Hindus lost to Islam engaged the attention of Devala, the great jurist of the time then living

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at the bank of river Sindhu. The era of assimilating foreighers into the Hindu fold seems to have ended. The Muslims with their religious zeal were in no way prepared to toe the line of the earlier invaders. In fact, the main purpose of their invasions was the expansion of Islam with force. Any king of the India standing in their way was considered a foe, in the words of Arab writers, and the king of Jurz (Gurjara) was one of them (Eliot & Dowson, I, p. 64). In this struggle—political and ideological—both the sides, indigenous and foreign, were well fully prepared. If the political forces of Islam could not establish themselves firmly in India, for well nigh five hundred years, it was due to the political stability in the country with a strong centralised power as also because of the changed socio—religious outlook by welcoming back those lost to the alien faith. The Arab chroniclers too have recorded this fact, and the *Devala Smriti* sanctions their reconversion to Hinduism. Thus, Utbi speaks of Nawab Shah, formerly Sewak Pala or Sukhapal, one of the relations of Jaipala who had been forcibly converted to Islam and had been appointed as governor over some of the territories conquered by Mahmud, again apostatizing towards the pit of plural worship. He had thrown off the slough of Islam and was holding conversation with the chiefs of idolatory respecting the casting off the firm rope of religion from his neck. (ibid. II. p.33).

The *Devalasmriti* notices cases of those whose parents had embraced Islam—called in this Smriti in the Mlechha religion, as well as those women who had been ravished and had even conceived. The Smriti prescribes purificrtory rites for such person and also ensures their position in society as respectable persons without any taboo. Such women became pure after a period of menstruation (*rejasvala*) with a three days fast. 'The foetus in the womb of such women', according to Devala, 'is like a thorn (*salya*) in her body, and when this foreign substance is removed, and she has had her courses, she became pure as gold.' (*Vinihsrite tatah salye rajaso va' pi dar' sane tada tatah, sa suchyati nari vimalam kancanam yatah.* V.51). The Smriti also prohibits visits to some frontier provinces, like Sindha and Sauvira, which one coulled only do on pain of performing *Suddhi* on return. (*Tripatidipa*, V. 239; Kane—*Dharma Shastra*. II. Pt. I, p.391).

The Arab historians Biladuri and Al—Biruni also mention this social phenomenon. This bemoan that attempts were made to reclaim back the Hindus who were converts to Islam. Junaid, the governor of Sind, had sent expeditions into the interior of India which spread terror in Rajasthan and Gujarat. This naturally stiffened Indian attitude towards Islam and its protoganists. In the time of Tamin and Junaid, many converts went back to their original fold. "While Hakim was the governor, writes Biladuri, 'the people of Al-Hina apostatized and returned to idolatory except those of Kassa, and the Muslamans had no place of security in which they could live'

The reclamation of the Hindus seemed to have been a regular feature till the time of Al-Biruni (c A.D. 1024). 'I have been repeatedly told', says the Muslim Chronicler, 'that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries escape and return to their country and religion,

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Hanans order that they should fast by way of expiation.' The *Devalasmriti* also mentions keeping fasts like *Candrayana* and *Paraka* and *padakricchāa* in similar circumstances. The contemporary and equally Independent sources thus corroborate each other with regard to the elastic attitude of the Hindu social order at the face of Islamic challenge. Devala was instrumental in providing an appropriate answer to this extrmal threat. The next question which one might pose is; Did the re-entry of the converted people cause any further division into caste stratification or the original four-fold form of social structure continued with the reclaimed Hindus back to their original caste?

The usual classification was no doubt maintained, as the epigraphic records of the Pratihara period suggest. The Una inscription (EI. IX. p. 6) refers to Brahmanas. *mahattaras* and merchants while the Major inscription (IA. XIX. p. 22) records *mahattaras, mahattamas,* merchants and *pravanis.* The *mahattaras* and *mahattamas* were no doubt elders of the locality and could be of any *dvija* caste. The Ghatiyala inscription of Kakkuka (EI. IA. p. 280) No.II refers to the houses of Brahmanas *(Vipras)*, Vaisyas and *prakriti*—translated by Bhandarkar as Ksatriyas—corresponding to *Payai* of ihe Matakitae inscription (v. 20), who were provided means of lovelihood. In this context reference might be made to Ibn-Khurdadba's classification (Eliot and Dowson. I.P. 16-17) which is more elaborate and provides functional details as well. He mentions seven classes of Hindus : 1. *Sabkufria*—men of high castes from whom kings were chosen; *Brahma*—who totally abstained from wine and fermented liquor; *Kataria*—who indulged in drinks and who could give their daughters in marriage to the sons of the Brahma class; *Soundaria*—by profession husband men; Basuria artificers and artisans; *Sandalia*—performers of menial duties and *Lahud*—entertainers with their women fond of adornments. Al-Idrisi (end of 11th cent),—Eliot. Op. cit, 74ff) and Marvazi (c. A.D. 1120) confirm this classification with minor variations regarding functions and attitudes. Inscriptions and texts no doubt confirm inter-caste marriage of the *anuloma*—type between Brahmin and Ksatriyas. Haricandra Rohilladi—a Brahmin had both a Brahmin as well as a Ksatriya wife while Rajasekharas wife whs the Ksatriya Avantisundari. There is, however, no reference to a Ksatriya marrying a Brahmin lady, thus confirming Arab testimony of Ibn—Khurdadba.

Caste did not impose any restriction on its members taking up vocation associated with an inferior caste. In appears from the accounts of Arab historians that some of the Ksatriyas were following the professson of the Vaisyas (Al-Idrisi and Marvazi). The Gwalior inscription of the time of Bhoja I (EI. I.159) mentions Mammaka, son of the Ksatriya Devavarman cultivating a field, while Icchuvaka and the oil-milier Jayasakti, probably Ksatriyas according to Hultzsceh were trader and oil-miller respectively. The Ahar inscription (E.I. XIX. pp 58—No. 6) also mentions a Ksatriya merchant Sahaka, son of Icchuka. Further, in Ibn Khurdadba's division, *Sudaria*, the fourth calss, is assigned the profession of the Vaisyas. This is something abnormal and the mistake occurs even in later accounts.

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According to Manu, (X.95.6) the occupation of higher castes could never be adopted by the people of the lower castes, though in times of adversity it was possible to do just the other way. The *Sandalia*—forming the sixth class and performing menial functions, seems akin to the candalas class—the lowest of men. The last class of *lahud* might constitute of gipsy women and their menfolk performing acrobatic feats.

The epigraphic records of this period also bring out further sub-divisions of castes, based on geographical factors and academic distinctions. The Bhatas and the Caturvaidyas—modern Caturvedi or Chaubey were sub-castes among the Brahmins—the former being conversant with all the four vedas. The *gotras* and *Sakhas* of the Brahmanas are also mentioned, but not those of the Ks triyas or Vaisyas. The Pehewa inscription (EI.I.186) refers to *thakurs*, a ksatriya group, while another term *prakriti* figures in the Mata-ka-sal record. One Ahar record (No.2) mentions the donor Bhadraprakasa, son of Ansuvaka of the Vanikvarkkata caste who had migrated from Bhillamalla to the place. Another record (No. 10) from the same place, mentions a merchant named Madhava, son of Devahaga, who was a seller of perfume *(gandhika)* and beonged to the Mathur caste of this social group *(Gandhika-mathura-jatiya vanik)*. It is interesting to find people recording their original homeland even after mig antion and settlement at another place. This group conscionsness seems to be a notable featurs in the social life of the immigrants to a new place. Thus, Nagabhata of the Gwalior inscription had come from Anandapur in the mandala, and Bhadrapakasa from Bhillamala. Acyuta of the undated Pehewa record (EI.I 244) was the chief Bhata of the town of Kanauj. The emigration of persons and their families from distant place, was likely to create some problem in the new area of their immigration. If done on a mass scale it could have posed rehabilitation problem and probably caused some economic disturbance as well. It is quite likely that there might have been exodus of people from vulnerable area due to social and political insecurity, consequent to Arab inroads. It is suggesed that some 18,000 people had migrated from Bhimal to Anandpur *(Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. I appendix p. 739). If we accept the correctness of this statement then we have to presume that some unusual event had caused this exodus which could be the attacks of the Arabs. The conclusive evidence on this point is, however, wanting. Earlier, all the foreigners who came to India were assimilated in the social scheme with proper status assigned to them. It, however, took sometime for the Hunas to be merged in the social milieu. For the Arabs or other Muslims from Afghanistan it was different story.

On the whole the social tendency in this period was towards rigidity and insularity aiming at preserving the *caturvaruya* division. Society, no doubt, took a broad and healthy outlook in respect of those lost to the alien faith to put a brake on the thinning process of Hindu society. Apostatization was, thus, encouraged. Consolidation and compactness in social groups were also notable features with wider areas of economic activities. In his gloss on Manu (VIII-221) relating to the rules prescribing punishment for breaking village and caste groupings, Medhatithi, the commentator supposed to be of this period, defines such

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groups or federation as those of various castes or of men belonging to the same castes following different avocations. The upheaval in the social order had certainly affected the life of the people in general, and need was felt for taking steps to prevent caste groups from disintegration.

The economic life in Northern India during this period is characterised by several notable features. Emphasis is laid on guilds or corporate bodies enjoining all its members to a voluntary levy on purchase and sale transactions. Vocational mobility is, however, encouraged and internal and external trade are properly regulated with the utilization of natural resources for productive purposes. A fairly advanced stage of agricultural production is evident from a reference to several types of crops and an improved method of irrigation through the use of Persian wheel *(agraghata)*. Thus, ground was being prepared for the emergence of a new economic order yet to follow in which fendalism plays a more effective role. Evidence on these aspects of economic life is provided by the inscriptions—Pratihara and those of contemporary ruling families, works of Rajasekhara and Madhatithi's commentary on Manu, as also by the account left by Arab chroniclers.

Guilds or *s'renis*—implying trade or professional bodies were not new to this period. Despite the long passage of time from the Sixth century B.C. to c. 1000 A.D., or even later, these organized guilds exercised proper control over their membrs. Some old guilds had ceased to exist while quite a few new ones were also formed. The Gwalior inscription dated in the year 933 of the Vikrama are (EI I. 159-66) records a perpetual endowment *(aksayanivi)* with the stipulation that as ordered by the chief of the oil-millers *(tailika-mahattaka)*. The members were to provide one *palika* of oil per mill (*Kolhuka*) on a specific day. These oil-millers were not merely from Sri Saravesvarapur but also from other areas as well. Another guild from the same place—Gwalior (EI I 159) records a perpetual endowment by the guild of gardners or garland makers *(malakara)* providing fifty garlands everyday for the purpose of worship. This guild is also noticed in another racord—Kaman (EI XXIV. pp. 3-9 ff) for providing sixty garlands to be delivered at the temple of Visnu and the Camunda shrine. There are also referance to guilds of potters (*kumbhakara*) and artisans (*sthapati*) (EI III 266). The members of the former agreed to a permanent cess of one pana per wheel to be paid every month, and of the latter to one *drama* per month Medhatithi refers (Trans. Part I, p. 188) to guild laws (*S'renid'harmah*) enjoining the traders to make declaration before the ruler and agreeing to pay a fix rate of tax on their profits. Violation of the laws was punishable. Guild laws in later times seem to have been stringently enforced. According to *Smritcandrika* (Yadava : *Society & Culture in the 12th cent p.* 285), the s'renis had authority to regulate the activities of their members even to the extent of prohibiting the sale of a particular commodity on a specific day. Members violating the guild rules could be banished.

Like the professional guilds, traders on the move, called *sarthavaha* were also subject to certain rules and regulations of their organized body. The Pehewa inscription (EI.I. p. 186ff) records the meeting of those dealers from different places at that place and voluntarilly

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agreed to a cess of two *dharmas* on the seller and one on the buyer (the exact vaiue of a *dharma* being known) per animal in the categories of horses, mares, mules and other animals for the temples situated at Kanyakubja, Gotirtha, Bhojapura near Kanauj, and Prithudaha. The money accruing from the cess was vested according to the stipulation in different *gosthis*—the endowment managing bodies Evidence is also adduced by the Ahar stone inscription (No. 71) (EI.XIX p. 59) on the corporate spirit of the *Sauvarntka* traders together with the two immigrants for a joint purchase of an *avari* shop and assigning it to a temple.

In the field of agriculture, even Brahmins and Ksatriyas resorted to it as an avocation. The Rajor inscription (EI III p 266) records Gurjaras as cultivators. In most cases it was tilled personally but labour was available. The Haddala inscription (IA. XXIII. p. 114) endorses the right of the proprietor of land to extract forced labour *(visti)* which was transferred along with the gift. This transfer of the village by way of reward for learning (*vidyadhanam*) to Mahesvaracarya carried with it the rights and privileges of the land-holder, namely the share of the produce *(sedani bhogabhagah)* and of forced labour *(vistika)*. This phenomenon is also noticed in the Sanjan copper plate of Amoghavarsa (EI. XVIII. p. 235) which mentions *vistake* or forced labour as the right accruing from the ownership of land, and it was transferred to the donnee. Change of tenaour is equally noticeable. Thus, the Kaman inscription refers to these plough measures of land in the village of Untata, previously under cultivatian by three Brahmanas, at the time of making the gift of these were under one Eduvaka. Exploitation of tenancy rights was closely associated with feudalism which was coming up. The emergence of the Samanta system along with a class of landed aristocracy was a new phenomenon in agricultural economy.

Form the above account it appears that the period under review witnessed several changes in the socio-economic spheres. One could notice some form of dichotomy with a flexible attitude towards the reclamation of those who were lost to the alien religion and at tne same time adopting a more rigid attitude in controlling the activities of members of any guild or the professional class. Caste rules seemed to have been rigid and fixed but there was also possibility of vocational mobility. There are references to Brahmin cultivators as also horse dealer (Pehoa inscription) and as betel seller (Siyadani). According to Alberuni, (Sachau II. p 132) in his time, Brahmins could trade in clothes and betel nuts. There might have certain external factors responsible for the migration of people from vulnerable areas compelling them to resort to activities other then those prescribed for them. The emergence of a new class of landed aristocracy was a phenomenon which was stiffing up with the exploitation of the labour class through forced labour. This concept is noticed much earlier in the *Saddharmapundarika* and also in the Kharosthi records from Niya and Enedre & Loulon in Central Asia. A fuller study of the data from other areas as well might paesent a more comprehensive picture of the socio-economic changes in this period of transition from ancient to the medieval period of Indian History.

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Indian Contribution to Steel Making in Antiquity

—*H.C. Bhardwaj*

Various hypotheses have been put forward regarding the origin of steel making in Old world giving its credit to Chalybes, Greeks, Parthians and Chinese.[1-3] In this paper an effort has been made to assess these evidences briefly and examine the contribution of India in steel making during antiquity and to place it in the general setting of the comparative history of steel.

Once the effective metallurgy of iron was established in 2nd millennium B.C., soon the process of hardening wrought iron by case carburization was innovated in various cultural areas of the Old world. My premise is that Chalybes, Greeks, Parthians and Chinese never made steel proper (at least in Prechristian period) but made only the case hardened carburized iron. Steel has been defined as an iron which has been fused in the process of manufacture and contains from 0.15 to 1.5% combined carbon dissolved in the form of of cementite, Fe_3C.

Fame of the so called steel of Chalybes was on account of the fact that their iron was smelted from manganiferous ores of iron. Indeed their carburized iron would produce better edge due to small amount of manganese than other carburized irons. This justifiably explains the reputation and superior quality of Chalybic iron.[4] But this can not be taken as steel.

The recent tentative hypothesis of Bakhuizen, that the effective steel making originated in Greece during 9th-8th Cent. B.C. has yet to be tested on the anvil of chemical and

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1. Singer, C., et al., *A History of Technology*, Vol. II, Oxford p. 60 (1957).
2. Bakhuizen, S.C, Greek Steel, World Archaeology, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 220-234 (1977-78).
3. Forbes, R.J, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, Vol. IX, Leiden, pp. 211, 219 (1964).
4. Aitchison, L., *A History of Metals*, Vol. I, London, pp. 112-113 (1960).

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metallographic examination.[5] Recent metallographic examination of a chisel unearthed from a Greek trading colony of Al Mina (Coastal Turkey near Syrian boarder) datable to 4th Cent. B.C. reveals it to be made of only case hardenen iron.[6] Further, Warmington[7] mentions of a special treatise in Greek on the tempering of Indian Steel. This is a pointer to the fact that steel was imported by the Greeks from India.

Parthian (Persian)* and Seric (Chinese) steel, have been proved to be of Indian origin.[7-8] The best steel known to the Romans was the so called 'Seric Iron', which they supposed to be Chinese. It was actually Wootz—a high carbon crucible steel, which reached Rome via Abyssinia from South India.[9] Further, there is evidence of importation pf Wootz steel from India to China in 5th-6th Cent. A.D.[10] However, Chinese had improvised two methods of steel making around 5th-7th Cent. A.D. The first . the so called 'method of hundred refinings' which depended on oxidising cast iron and the second : the method of 'co-fusion' in which wrougt iron and cast iron were heated together.

Undoubtedly Chinese have a good claim to be the first people to have made practical use of cast iron 5th Cent. A.D. onwards and were the first to produce heavy castings requiring technical skill both in founding and moulding around 1000 A.D.[11]

Rich material heritage of India in Iron mettallurgy is well attested by the famous Iron pillar of Delhi (4th Cent. A.D. weighing more than 6 Tons. This proves the thriving fron metallurgy and well equipped workshops in Ancient India.

Let us now examine the role of India in steel making taking into account the following :

1. Literary evidences (both Indian and foreign accounts).

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5. Bakhuizen, S.C., Op. Cit. (1977-78).
6. Maddin, R., et al., How the Iron Age Began, Scientific American, (1980).
7. Warmington, E.H., *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, pp. 257-258 (1928).

* Persian expression for steel is al-hindi or al-hinduwani. (the Indian) (Forbes, R.J., Studies in Ancient Technology, p. 274, Leiden (1964).

8. Aitchison, L., op. cit., p. 137 (1960).
9. Derry, T.K. and Williams, T.I., *A Short History of Technology*, Oxford, p. 120 (1960).
10. Needham, J., Clerks and Craftsmen in China and the West, Cambridge, pp-108-111 (1970).
11. Needham, J., *The Development of Iron and Steel Technology in China*, Cambridge (1964).

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2. Archaeological evidences including chemical and metallographic investigations.
3. Production of steel by the tribal smiths by old indigenous methods, and
4. The Indian technique of making steel proper, popularly known as 'Wootz' steel during antiquity.

1 Literary Evidences :

Indian Accounts :—The use of steel In Rigvedic age datable to C. 1500 B.C. has been alluded by Banerjee [12] Rigveda mentions the use of certain types of wood and wings of birds to make steel. There materials with considerable nitride content* were taken as special carburiiing agents to make steel of the Woolz type.

There is also a reference to nitro-corburization of iron for producing steel in the Kautiliya Arthashastra, a work on Ancient Indian polity datable to 4th B.C.[13]

Foreign Accounts :—Ktesias (6th cent. B.C.) a Greek Physician serving at the Royal court of Persia mentions of having received two swords of remarkable quality manufactured from Indian Steel.[14] Quintius Curtias[15] mentions that Alexander the great (326 B.C.) accepted a gift of about 30 lbs. of Indian stetl (Ferrum candidum) from Indian King Porus to seal the treaty with him. In contrast his army left behind thousands of arrow heads and spear heads during its plunder of Persian Persepolis.[16] This may be a pointer to the fact that former was a 30 lbs. steel ingot and the latter were made of wrought iron. First century work 'The Periplus of the Erythracean Sea'[14-17] mentions that Indian iron and steel was imported into African ports and Abyssinia. Plimy[18] (1st Cent. A.D.) refers to fine swords made of Indian steel. It may be emphasized that Pliny's Ferrum Sericum allegedly the best on market was an

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12. Banerjee, M.N., Iron and Steel in Rigvedic Age, Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol, 5, pp. 443-440 (1929).

* It is notegorthy that cyanogen and cyanides are supposed to play an important role in the conversion of wrought iron into steel.

13. Kangle, R P., *The Kautiliya Arthshastra*, Pt. II, Bombay, p. 107 (2:12:11) (1963).
14. Warmington, E.H. op. cit. (1928).
15. Quintius Curtias, IX, 24.
16. Schmidt, E.F., *The Treasury of Persepolis*, Chicago (1939).
17. Schoof, W.H , *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea; Travel and Trade in Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century*, Translated from Greek and annotated, etc., Longman Green, New York, p. 12 (1912).
18. Pliny, Natural History, 34, 145.

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Indian product and Indians deliberately confused their customers by describing their product as being of far eastern (Chinese) origin.[19]

2. Archaeological, Chemical and Metallographic Evidences :

In India, iron has been reported from various cultural horizons datable to 1000 B.C. or a century or two earlier but these artifacts have not yet been analysed and it is difficult to know the metallurigical nature of there objects. However, iron objects datable to 600-400 B.C. from Rajghat[20] (Ancient Varanasi) include case carburized object as attested by chemical (Table 1) and metallographic examination (Plate 1). There is also evidence of preparation of case carburized iron tools by forged welding of carburized iron plates as evidenced from the examination of iron hoe of Dhatwa (district Surat, Gujrat) datable to the middle of first millennium B.C.[21]

TABLE—1

Analyses of Ancient Indian Steel Objects

1.	Date	Provenance	Object	Carbon%	Micro-stucture	Hardness	Remarks
1.	600 B.C.	Rajghat IB (Ancient Varanasi) U.P.	Nail	1.10	Equiaxed ferrite grains; small amount of iron carbide at the grain boundaries		Case hardened steel
2.	Circa 500 B.C.	Dhatwa, Distt. Surat, Gujarat	Hoe	—	—	Surface : 117—123 Inside : 99—107	—do—
3.	700-600 B.C.	Mahur-jhari, Distt. Nagpur	Axe	0.90	—	—	Steel

19. Aitchison, L., op. cit. (1960).
20. Bhardwaj, H.C., Aspects of Early Iron Technology in India in *Radiocarbon and Indian Archadalogy*, Agrawal, D.P. and Ghosh, A , (eds.), Bombay, pp. 391-400 (1973).
21. Hegde, K.T.M., 'Early Stages of Metallurgy in India in *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology*, Agrawal, D.P. and Ghosh, A. (eds.), Bombay, pp. 401-405 (1973).

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4.	600 B.C.	Wurrigáon, M.P.	frag-ments of cast steel weapons	—	—	—	Cast steel These object are housed in British Museum
5.	100 B.C.	Prakash, Distt. Dhulia-Maharastra	Axe	0.90	Equiaxed ferrite grains with small amount of pearlite at grain boundaries. Amount of pearlite is fairly constant over the whole examined.	—	Low grade steel
6.	125 B.C.	Besnagar, District, Vidisha, M.P.	Piece of a broken sword	0.70	Elongated and irregularly disposed crystals of pearlite upon ferrite ground mass	Brinell hardness 146	Steel After quenching from 850°C in water specimen becomes martensitic
7.	100 A.D.	Taxila, W. Punjab, (Pakistan)	Double edged sword	1.3-1.5	Slightly elongated grains of ferrite and spheroidal carbide, the result of decom-position of cementite	Brinell hardness 235	High Carbon steel
8.	100 A.D.	Taxila, W. Punjab (Pakistan)	Carpen-ter's adze	1.23	—	—	High Carbon steel
9.	100 B.C.	Kausambi, U.P.	Arrow head	0.74	Grains of pearlite throughout the section	—	Steel

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It looks that innovative Indian metallurgist was soon disatisfied with the practice of case carburization and discovered a process of converting wrought iron into steel by the so-called crucible method which became famous under the name of wootz steel This is corroborated by the cast steel weapons and fragments dated to 600 B.C. as were reported from the graves of Wurrigaon[22] (M.P.). These are now supposed to be housed in British Museum, London but no analytical studies have been reported. In addition an iron axe from Mahurjhari (district Nagpur, Maharastra) datable to 700-600 B.C. has been reported to be made of steel and contains 0.9% carbon (cf. Table 1),though no metallographic study has been published.[23]

Chemical and metallographic examination of archaeological objects e g. axes, swords, arrow heads and carpenters tools from Prakash (Dhulia district. Maharastra), Besnagar (district Vidisha, M.P.), Taxila (West Punjab, Pakistan), Kausambi (district Allahabad, U P.) show regular composition of steel with carbon content varying from 0.32 to 1.5% (Plate 2). Their metallographic sections show the characteristic pearlitic stucture distributed throughout the section, brinell hardness of these varies from 146-235 (cf. Table 1). It is worth mentioning that sample of Besnagar when heated to 850°C and quenched in water and the resultant structure was found to be martinistic, thus confirming it to be steel.[24]

3. Tribal Smithy :

It may not be easy to reconstruct the early method of wootz production. Yet, well known conservatism of Indian people must have served a strong safeguare against any appreciable change of original process and it is likely to have been the same that was practised by various iron smelting tribes comprising of Agarias, Mahali Asurs, Khuntia chokhs, Marias and Mnrius of Madhya Pradesh; Birs, Birjhia and Agaria-Assurs of Bihar and Gonds, Telis and Mannewars of Maharashtra during the 18th and 19th cent.[25-26]

4. Production of Wootz* Steel :

Production of Wootz steel required three stages. First : the ores were reduced to wrought iron as in normal bloomary process. Second: the wrought iron thus produced was

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22. Pearse, G., Notes on the Excavations of a Stone Circle near Kamptee Central provinces of India, Jour. Ethnological Society of London, Vol. I, pp. 207-217 (1869).
23. Deo, S.B , Mahurjhari, Excavations (1970-72), Nagpur, p. 77 (1973).
24. Britton, S.C., Nature, p. 240 (Aug. 1934).
25. Elwin, V., *The Agaria*, Oxford (1942).
26. Leuva, F.K., *The Asura* (1962).

* The term 'Wootz' is supposed to be derived from Kannada wo d 'Ukku', meaning steel. It was introduced into English by Pearson in (1795) (refer—Yule, H. and Burnell, A.C.), *Hobson Jobson*, London (1903).

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broken and placed in clay crucibles (crucibles were made of red loam which is very refractory), mixed with a large quantity of charred rice. Each crucible was packed with about 2 lbs. of iron and one tenth of this weight with chopped wood and leaves of specific plants. Crucibles were then placed together in the form of a cone in the furnace and heated strongly with a powerful blast for about 4 hours. As a result, an iron-carbon alloy was thrown out of solution. This was steel, running down to the bottom of the curcible and crystallizing in the form of a round cake. Curcibles were allowed to cool and then broken, yielding cakes of wootz steel. These cakes had the following composition—

Carbon (combined)—1.33%, Carbon (uncombined)— 0.31%
Si—0 045%, S--0.181% and As—0.037%

Wootz is a typical very high carbon steel slowly cooled from its melting point (which would be about 1450°C). Its micro-structure (Plate 3) agrees well with the composition Third: In the third and final stage the round cakes weighing about 2 lbs. (5″ in diameter and about 1/2″ thick) were then heated and forget for several hours in a current of air, so as to expel excess of carbon and hammered into short bars for sale to traders.

Making of Steel Blades from Wootz :—The bars of Wootz thus made were provided appropriate heat treatment and mechanical working (flowing the metal in two or more directions with light blows of harmmer). The blader were then annealed and quenched to obtain the required hardness and then polished and etched. This brought to the surface the Damask pattern[27] inherent in the wootz.

The microstructure of the Damascened steel blades shows spherodisation of the cementite.[28] Though in the original wootz the cementite was in the form of needles in big agglomeration. This spherodisation of needles was achieved by providing right heat treatment, without which wootz steel would have been difficult to forge. This is well attested by the metallographic examination of steel swords from Taxila excavations as examined by Sir Robert Hadfield.[29]

Wootz Steel: an original idea:—Indian wootz steel is the original idea of some Indian genius who understood that iron could be converted into cast steel by fusing it in a closed vessel in the presence of specific vegetable matter wchich would at once provide both hydrocarbon gases and carbonaceous principal for carbon monoxide from the burning of vegetable

27. Belaiew, N., Damascend Steel, Jour. Iron and Steel Institute p. 417 (1918).
28. Desch, C.H. and Roberts, A.T., Some Properties of Steel with Globular Cementite, Jour. Iron and Steel Institute. pp. 249-266 (1923).
29. Marshall, J., *Taxila*, Vol. 2, Cambrige, p. 536 (1951).

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matter. Further, the use of very high temperature would complete the conversion of wrought iron into steel in a few hours. Thus their method had anticipated the principles underlying the method of steel making of D. Mushet[30-31] (1802) and Charles Mackintosh[32] (1825).

Indian Ingenuity and Dexterity:—It lied in (i) production of wrought iron free from sulphur and phosphorus, (ii) preparation of fine clay crucibles able to withstand high temperature (1500°C) (it must be remembered that it was a major problem for Huntsman to prepare such crucibles in 1751), and (iii) use of wood (*Cassia auriculata*) and green leaves (of *Asclepias gigantia*) particularly rich in hydrocarbon gases in place of solid carbon. This shows their appreciation of the fact that puee carbon free from gases does not penetrate iron and that hydrocarbon gases produced during heating helped in converting wrought iron into steel in a few hours what was achieved in move than a week by cementation process in 17th century. Crucible method of Benjamin Huntsman (1751) was only a rediscovery of Indian Wootz method.

30. Mushet, D., in J. de Mines, XIII, pp. 421-423 (1802-03).
31. Mushet, D., Experiments on Wootz Philosophical Transactions, XCV, pp. 163-175 (1805).
32. Heath, J. M., On Indian Iron and Steel, Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc., Vol. V, p. 396 (1959).

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Incarnatory Forms of Vishṇu-Krishṇa

—Pranabananda Jash

Vaishṇavism, or the worship of Vishṇu, the principle of preserva and permanence, is one of the three popular and well accepted religious sects in Hinduism. Vishṇu is worshipped by his followers in various anthropomorphic and theriomorphic forms, including his different incarnations. In fact, an important feature of Vaishṇavism is the worship of Vishṇu's various incarnatory forms (*avatāra*) in India

Some scholars believe that the origin of the doctrine of incarnation can be traced back to a *Ṛg-vedic* passage (VII. 100.6) but this is not acceptable to all.[2] In fact, there is nothing in earlier Hindu thought that would seem to be a natural and sufficient source of the conception of incarnation. The doctrine of incarnation seems to have evolved with the identification of Nārāyaṇa-Vishṇu with the hero-god Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, who thus came to be looked upon as the human incarnation of the former; and this was not possible before the biginning of the Christian era.

According to this doctrine Vishṇu is said to have come down to earth several times, assuming various forms for the performance of specific acts, all connected with his specific functions as Protector and Preserver of the universe. The *Bhāgavad-gītā* (IV. 7-8) which contains an early exposition of this tenet, enunciates that the god-head incarnates himself with a purpose to destroy the wicked and protect the righteous. The god has also taken births from age after age in order to protect *dhrama* which is, according to Śaṅkarācārya and Rāmāṇuja, *varṇāśramadharma.*

The importance and significance of the statement recorded in the *Gītā* can be judged from the historical perspective. India has been singularly fortunate that whenever there some need to re-establish *dharma,* some great reformer appeared at the crucial juncture to give a new life to our religion. Hinduism, being a religion of hoary antiquity, with the efflux of time as well as with the admixture of different alien cultures, many evils crept into it. Some saints were needed from time to time point out these aberrations, try to revitalize this

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religion and bring back its pristine glory. From the oldest time we have had religious reform movements. Buddhism and Jainism were both reformist movements with the object of removing some of the abuses and social evils that had come into the then Hindu society. Superstition and rigid ritualism had taken the place of the lofty ideals of Brahmanism. These religious movements brought about in their train a social revolution which seems to have been considerably influenced by the Buddhist concept of the former Buddhas whose prime attribute is compassion. The Buddhist doctrine has a chronological priority; some of the former Buddhas are to known to have been worshipped as early as the third century B.C. J.N. Farquhar has thus rightly pointed out that the Vaishṇavas "were led to it by the example of the Buddhists, who had already raised Buddha to divine powers and honours and had created a series of precedent Buddhas stretching away into the distant past."[4] In fact, the Buddhist conception of the *pratyeka-Buddhas* might have influenced the development of the theory of incarnation (*avatāra-vāda*) of the Vaishṇas in Hinduism.

Though the conception of incarnation is associated with other gods on earth,[5] Vishṇu is by far the most popular and well-known. The number of the incarnatory forms is varied in different texts. The *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* includes three lists containing the various numbers of the incarnations—the first one enumerating six, the second only four, while the third which is deemed to be a late interpolation, mentions ten incarnations of the deity. The account runs thus : "Appearing in the forms of a swan, a tortoise, a fish, I foremost of the twice-born ones, I shall then appear as a boar, then a man-lion, then as a dwarf, then as Rāma of Bhṛgu's race, then as Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, then as ṛishṇa, the scion of the Sātvata race and lastly as Kalki."[6] The number was not static or fixed one, rather it was gradually extended showing that this theory was still in its fluid stage and in the later works (i e. in the *Purāṇas*) the number is given as ten, twelve, sixteen, twenty-two, twenty-three. Among these names of *avatāras* we find at least two names—Ṛshabha and Buddha, who undoubtedly belong to the group of the non-Brahmanical deities. The *Pañcarātra Saṁhitā*, a Vaishṇava treatise par excellence, enumerates as many as twenty-four and twenty-nine incarnations of the deity. In this list one can not only recognise the accepted ten names as well as other *avatāras* in the Purāṇic list, but also find the other names such as Vāgīśvara and Lokanātha deities belonging to the Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon. It is thus interesting to note that Ṛshabha and Buddha were not the only two non-Brahmanical deities in the list of *avatāras*, but there were others too.

Jayadeva, the author of the famous Vaishṇavite work *Gīta-Govinda*, seems to have made contribution to the systematisation of the theory of ten incarnations of Vishṇu (*Daśāvatāra*).[7] Matsya (Fish), Kurma (Tortoise). Varāha (Boar) Narasiṁha (Man-lion), Vāmana (Dwarf), Paraśurāma (a hero of the Bhṛgu's race), Rāma (the son of Daśaratha), Balarāma (elder brother of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa), Buddha and Kalkin. This has since been the standard list of *avatāras* and has been widely accepted.

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A brief but critical account of the various incarnatory forms of Vishṇu is indispensible for knowing its impact on the theology of the Vaishṇavas :

Matsya and Kurma (Fish and Tortoise) : In almost all the sources Fish and Tortoise first appear as an incarnation of Vishṇu. The *Mahābhārata*[8] mentions the fish who saved Manu, and the tortoise[9] who supported the earth on his back at the time of the churning of the ocean, but it does not connect them with Vishṇu, showing that they were not included in the fold of incarnatory system. They might have been considered only the totems of some tribes. It may be noted that during the age of the *Brāhmaṇas*, both figure as forms of Prajāpati, the creator of god, and it appears that they were originally totems of some tribes,[10] and later on the Brahmanic tradition incorporated them and bestowed them symbolic significance.

Varāha (Boar) : By far the most popular incarnation of Vishṇu was Varāha (boar). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIV. 1.2) states how Prajāpati in the form of a boar raised the earth from the bottom of the ocean. The *Taittariya Āraṇyaka* (X. 1.8) also represents the earth as having been raised from the waters by a hundred-arm black boar.[11] In this case we also find the reflection of the totem. Here Prajāpati is described as a boar and the same description of Vishṇu in the *Taittarīya-saṁhitā* simply discloses that while Vishṇu on the one hand was absorbing the totems of the non-Aryan people of India, he was gradually absorbing in himself, the elements of Prajāpati on the other. While analyzing all these incarnatory forms of Vishṇu A B. Keith points out that the transfer of myths from Prajāpati to Vishṇu is illustrated in an interesting way in the case of his incarnations in the post Vedic literature. The fish which, according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, in the flood legend saved Manu, is identified in the *Mahābhārata* with Prajāpati, but in the *Purāṇas* becomes Vishṇu, and, while in the *Brāhmaṇas* Prajāpati is stated to have become a tortoise, moving in the primeval waters, when about to create offspring, the *Purāṇas* turn the tortoise into an incarnation of Vishṇu, devised in order to recover various objects which were lost in the deluge."[12]

Narasiṁha (Man-lion) : Its etymological meaning is Man-lion-*nara* (man), *siṁha* (lion), i.e., a hybrid between a man and a lion. Though the earlier texts are not silent about the reference to this form of Vishṇu, yet the myth of this incarnation is first found in an amplified from in the *Harivaṁśa* (III. 41-47) and the *Purāṇās* (viz. the Bhāgavata, Matsya, Vishṇu, etc.). The legend runs like this : Once the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, after performing severe penance, acquired a boon which assured him protection against gods and demons, gandharvas and yakshas, human beings, evil spirits and beasts. He remained safe in heaven or the nether world. He could only be murdered by one who was capable of killing him merely with a single stroke of his hand. This all powerful demon became a terror to the gods and consequently they approached Brahmā who directed them to Vishṇu. Vishṇu having assumed the formed of a Man-lion, tore out his entrails by his sharp claws. In some of the Purāṇic texts

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the legend is narrated in a slightly different form, but Narasiṁha is always represented as killing the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu.

While analyzing the episode of the Man-lion incarnation of Vishṇu, P.V. Kane observes that some elements of the story are derived from the legend of Indra and the Namuci.[13] In this connection we may mention what Marshall has pointed out that in Mahenjodaro we find the figure of half man and half-bull joined together resembling Ebani of Sumer who helped the king Gilgamesh. If we agree with the view of R.P. Chanda that the Yādavas came to India from Syria and Mesopotamia, then it may be assumed that they brought with them the conception of such a figure which in India took the form of Man-lion or Narasiṁha. It is probable that Narasiṁha was originally an independent dreadful god like the Viṇāyaka to be propitiated for his wrath. He is also known by the name of Purusha-siṁha who is worshipped along with Vishṇu, Viśvakarman, Kṛishṇa, Bhava and Vibhava in the same breath for an antidote against the entry of evil spirits in a house.[14] In fact, there are innumerable literary works which throw considerable light on the independent cult of Narasiṁha.[15] And from the Gupta period onwards in this cult we can clearly discern tantric elements (like narasiṁha diagram, *mantras*, etc.) showing how gradually tantricism was expanding its sway over Vaishṇavism, or, showing how the Vaishṇava sect was gradually adopting tantric practices.[16]

Vāmana (Dwarf) : The Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu is anticipated in the three strides of Vishṇu as described in the *Ṛg-veda* (I. 155.5), and in the story of Vishṇu the Dwarf growing so large as to encompass the whole earth and thereby securing it for the gods as stated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I. 2.5). But it is the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 27, 12-14) where we find, for the first time, the more evolved form of the myth of the king Bali and Vāmana. Vishṇu assumed the form of a dwarf in order to subdue the pride of the Asura king Bali. He approached him at the time when he was performing a sacrifice and asked for the gift of land measuring the size of his three steps. When granted the boon, he enlarged himself into a wonderfully giant form and measured the entire earth with his three steps. King Bali was finally sent to rule the nether world.

The *Harivaṁśa* (III. 58-68) and the *Purāṇas* (Matsya, Agni, Vāmana, Padma, etc.) mention the legend of the dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu, the contents being almost similar in all of them. The inclusion of the Dwarf incarnation probably hints at the suppression to and assimilation of this minor cult into the fold of Vaishṇavism by depicting Vishṇu's supremacy over Bali.[17] Though the cult of Vishṇu began with the deification of a human hero Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa and a few of his kinsmen, but in course of time it absorbed the veneration rendered to a few other Vedic and Brāhmaṇical as well as non-Brāhmaṇical and non-Aryan deities. This absorption was one of the most potent factors contributing to the growth of the religion.

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Three Rāmas : Bhārgava Rāma (better known as Paraśurāma), Rāghavarāma (the son of Daśaratha) and Balarāma (also known as Baladeva and Saṅkarshaṇa), are the next three members of the standard list of incarnations.

Paraśurāma is generally believed to be a historical figure, a great warrior of a particular tribe or clan, and later on deified and exalted to the position of an incarnation of Vishṇu.

The character of Paraśurāma is represented unfavourably in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 71). He is defeated by the Dāśarathī Rāma, which may be the result of an attempt to establish the supremacy of the Kshatriyas over the Brāhmaṇas. Sukthankar[18] has tried to show that the glorification of Paraśurāma was not approved of by a section of the Brāhmaṇas, who were the custodians of the *Rāmayaṇa* epic, and this epic invariably presents the Bhārgavas, and particularly Paraśurāma, in an unfavourable light. Thus, with the appearance of Rāma Dāśarathī, the Kshatriya king of Ayodhya, the *avatāra*-hood left Paraśurāma and it passed to the former.

The antiquity of the identification of Rāghava Rāma with Vishṇu goes back to the days of the composition of the first and last books of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (i.e. second-third centuries A.D.). In the subsequent centuries he was first considered as a great hero and then was adored as an incarnation of Vishṇu, but still not the object of any particular cult which is of late origin, probably in the Gupta or post-Gupta period.

Of the three Rāmas, the popularity of Balarāma is inestimable. He is known by the names of Baladeva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Balarāma in different texts. From the nature of the description of these names it appears that originally these three were local divinities, and then an arrangement was made to bring them into relation with Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa so as to form a combined sect.

Buddha : Of the ten incarnations of Vishṇu, Buddha, the founder of Buddism, is regarded as the ninth one. The reason assigned in Brahmanical literature for Vishṇu's appearance in this character is that he wished to mislead the enemies of the gods by false teaching, or that out of compassion for animals he preached the abolition of Vedic sacrifices. From the historical perspective it is very plausible that with the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Buddha had become as much an object of worship and pious devotion as any other deity of the Hindu pantheon. Hindu views had infiltrated Buddhism, and the Buddhists also respected the *varṇa* rules and the Brāhmaṇas, and made large donations to them. The Buddhist text, *Lalitavistara*[19] which sheds interesting light on the transformation of the Buddha into an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa-Vishṇu, shows first sign of a rapproachement between Buddhism and Vaishṇavism. This was probably brought about "when degenerate Buddhism offered no objection to deification and mythology."[20]

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Kalki : Kalki who is yet to appear at the end of the *Kali-yuga* on a horse-back, is recognised as the tenth incarnation of Vishṇu. According to the predication of the *Agni Purāṇa* (49.9) he will be holding the sword, the conch, the disc and the mace. His mission is to sweep away the *mlecchas* in order to establish *dhrama*. Eliot believes that this incarnation of Vishṇu will appear as Messiah, a conception possibly influenced by Persian ideas.[21] We are not in a position to share with the views propounded by Eliot, but the conception may have been inspired by the idea of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future.

A chronological sequence of the list of standard ten incarnations of Vishṇu discloses that these incarnatory forms may be interpreted in terms of evolution of life in a gradual upward incline : that is, from fish (Matsya), residing in water, through tortoise (Kurma) residing in water and earth; boar (Varāha) on earth; Man-lion (Narasiṁha)—an intermediary stage from animal to man; Vāmana (Dwarf), Balarāma representing as an agriculturist, Paraśurāma, Dāśarathīrāma, Buddha (human form) and Kalki future incarnate.

There is no denying the fact that the theory of incarnation reveals an admixture of several earlier conceptions mixed up with the theology centering round Vāsudeva-Vishṇu. Jacobi[22] has classified them into three specific groups :

i. Those developing from the mythical feats of Vishṇu frequently mentioned in the Ṛg-veda and other earlier texts ;

ii. Those developing from the legends centering around Prajāpati in earlier literature ; and

iii. Those developing from the feats of heroes having originally no connection with Vishṇu.

The doctrine of incarnation played a major role not only in mitigating regional and tribal separatism and extending Brāhmaṇism to the people of the indigenous tribes, but it also attracted foreigners to imbibe into its religious fold (cf. Heliodorus in the Besnagar record). The story of the *avatāras* of the god in the form of fish, tortoise, boar, etc., shows that these were originally totems of the people like Proto-Austroloids who were now being gradually merged into the Aryan society, with this merging their gods also came to be merged with the Aryan gods. While analyzing this point Prof. S. Chattopadhyaya, thus, rightly explained that ' the fact that these totems were being absorbed in the cult of Vishṇu demonstrates that Vishṇu, along with Rudra-Śiva, was gradually becoming the deity of the general masses, and thus when sectarianism emerged in Hinduism naturally Vishṇu and Śiva became the supreme gods."[23]

In fine, it may be noted that an echo of the doctrine of rebirth and/or *Karman* (action) is to be found on the development of incarnation theory. Vishṇu Krishṇu became an

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objective demonstration of the same spiritual essence being manifested in different living beings, like—fish, tortoise, boar (the lower forms of life) assumed by him became an affirmation of metempsychosis on the human level. Incarnation and metempsychosis seem to have interacted, each confirming the other. A man is reborn due to his own spiritual shortcomings or *Karman*, while Vishṇu was reincarted to redeem man and creation, to rescue the good and to destroy evil.

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6. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 340.100.
7. Jayadeva, *Gīta Govinda*, canto-1, verses 5-15.
8. *Mahābharata*, III. 185.
9. *Ibid.*, I. 16.10-11.
10. E.W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 201.
11. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 41.
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15. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III. 119.13, III. 123.8-9; *Puraṇdara-śānti*, II. 19.7-8, I. 196.37 ff.
16. J.N. Farquhar, *op.* cit , p. 188-89.
17. Independent worship of Bali was prevalent among the ancient Indians for Varāhamihira gives instruction for making the image of this cult-god. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, 50.30.
18. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVIII, p 69.
19. Buddha is also invoked here as Nārāyaṇa-Sthārṇavan. *Lalita-vistara*, chapters, XV, XXI.
20. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, p. 148.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
22. Jacobi, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. VII, p. 193-194.
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Nature and Significance of the Silence of Buddha

—Avinash Kumar Srivastava

The silence of Buddha has led to a lot of speculations about its reasons and relevance. His setting aside the metaphysical questions has been a subject of controversy and different views have been expressed about the meaning and significance of it. I shall, in this essay, examine defferent views and try to find out the appropriate one.

The ten metaphysical questions on which Buddha is either silent about (Bhagvā tuṇhi; S. IV, 400) or which he rejects (māhevam; A. II, 161) or brushes aside (na kallo panho, S. II, 61) are :

1. Sassato loko (The world is eternal)
2. Asassato loko (The world is eternal)
3. Antavā loko (The world is finite)
4. Anantovā loko (The world is infinite)
5 Tam Jīvam taṁ sariram (The soul is identical with the body)
6. Aññaṁ jivam aññaṁ sariraṁ (The soul is different with the body)
7. Hoti Tathāgato parṁ maranā (The liberated one exists after death)
8. Na hoti Tathāgato parṁ maranā (The liberated one does not exist after death)
9. Hoti na ca hoti Tathāgato paraṁ maranā (The liberated one does or does not exist after death)
10. Neva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato paraṁ maranā (The liberated one neither exists nor does not exist after death).

The above mentioned ten questions are enumarated in the Pāli Cannon[1] under the name of *Abyākatā Pañhā* (Unanswered questions). Of these the first two questions are related with the duration of the world, third and fourth are related to the extent of the world, fifth and sixth are regarding identity and different between soul and body and seventh on ward pertain to the existence and non existence of a liberated saint after death.

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It is recorded that whenever the above questions were put before Buddha he keps mum. What could be the reason of his silence ?

The reason behind setting aside these questions may be the same in all cases or may not be the same in all cases. Some question may have been set aside for some reasons and others for different reasons. Therefore a clear analysis of the various considerations should be taken into account. The unanswered questions may be divided inro two groups. (i) May be answerable, (ii) may not be answerable. If they are answerable it is possible that Buddha may not be have known their answer (Scepticism, Naive agnosticism), or he may have deliberately avoided them even while knowing their answere as they are irrelevant in the practical world (Pragmatism). If they are unanswerble they are so either because of the limited capacity of human mind (Rational agnosticism) or due to inherent inappropriateness or meaniglessness of the questions themselves (logical positivism). Now it is proper to discuss and criticaly examine these probabilities.

1. Answers not known (Scepticism or Naive agnosticism) :—According to this view Buddha did not have a clear knowledge of reality. Dud to this reason only he kept mum on the metaphysical questions. This view has been supported by A.B.Keith and A J. Bahm. According to them the reason behind Buddha's silence was his lack of clear knowledge about the reality. Keith says "It is quite legitimate to hold that Buddha was a genuine agnostic and that he had no reasoned or other convictiou on the mattes,"[2] Keith is led to the conclusion that "agnosticism in these matter is not based on any reasoned conviction of the limits of knowledge it rests on uhe twofold ground that the Buddha has not himself a clear conclusion on the ruth on these issues, but is convinced that disputation on them will not lead to the frame of mind which is essential for the attainment of Nirvan,"[3] A.J. Bahm is also of the same view. He says, "Indeed it is quite central to the nature of the Philosopoical interp ises..... to grasp what is ultimate regarding the ability and inability of men to understand each other. Gautama did not wholly understand reality, and it may be something to his credit, not that he did not try but that he recognised, after trying, that expecting more understanding wll lead to unhappeness.[4] Thus A.J. Bahm credits Buddha for recognising the limits of knowledge. Supporting this view Jacobi is of opinion that Buddha was influenced by contemporory agnosticism.[5] He finds in Buddha an element of agnosticism analogous to that of sanjaya. This agnostic method was adopted by him in order to influence and win the people, which was similar to that of Sanjaya whose agnosticism was based on utter ignorance and he was characterised as "most stupid and foolish of all on recluses and Brahmins."[6]

Now, the authenticity of this view should be examined. Apparently this view seems to be true, that due to ignorance about the real nature of the reality Buddha used his silence regarding those questions as a camoflage for concealing his ignoranç. But after going through

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the Pāli texts thoroughly it seems that this view is not tenable because it does not find any support from the Tripitaka. These texts rather ascribe Buddha to be an omniscient.

The parable of sismpa-leaves mentioned in Samyutta Nikāya proves just opposite to what Keith holds. Here we find that Buddha himself says "O monks what I know and have not taught is greater and what I have taught is very little. The several passages of Pāli canon describe Buddha as all knowing[8] and having the highest wisdom.[9] Bahm seems to ignore the superrational or paranormal knowledge attained and taught by Buddha. He only took to consideration the rational and intellectual knowledge as constituting the limits of human understanding. It is true that Buddha recognised the limitation of normal conceptual knoledge but he does not consider such knowledge to consitute the limits of human understanding. He does speak of non conceptual paranoamal knowledge beyond reason.[10] It is indispensable for the attainment of highest goal. It leads, not to unhappiness but to supreme happiness or Nibbana (Nabbānaṁ paramaṁ Sukhaṁ, Dhammapada verses 203 and 204).

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As regards Jacobi's view he seems to be wrong in holding the view that Buddha was influenced by the contemporary agnostics. Neither he deliberately adopted the agnostice method nor his intention was to win the people as Jocobi believes. He appears to have wrongly put Buddha's silence and that of Sanjaya's agnosticsm at a per. Jacobi to support his view quots passages from "Digha Nikaya"[11] and Samyutta Nikaya[12] where questions in identical terms were put before Sanjaya and Khema by Ajātasatru and Pasenadi respectively.[13] It is found there that Sanjaya expressed his sheer ignorance while giving negative answers to all the alternativs questions about the existence and non-existenece about Tathāgata.[14] But Khema clearly pointed out the improgriety of the questions in the supramundne context and gave ample suggestions to indicate the profundity of the state realisd by the Tathāgata. The five aspects of personality through weich one is cognized or determined in terms of existence or non existence are said to abandoned by the Tathāgata, and thus he is said to go beycond the sphere of existence or non existenee and become profound, incomprehensible and unfathomable (gambhiro, appameyyo duppariyogaho, Samyutta Nikaya Vol. IV, 376-9).[15] Thus, we find that the view of Sanjaya are based on his ignorance and stupidity (mandatta Momūhattā. Digha Nikaya Vol I, 27.) where as those of Buddha (as represented by nun Khema) are based on his direct experience of the highest state. Therefore it is wrong to see similarity of views merely on the basis of resemblance of questions put to them.

Besides these some other evidences are also available in the Pāli canons which hing that Buddha was not an agnostic. In the Cūḷa Sakuludāyi Sutta we find that Buddha claims to know the answers to the questions pertaining to begnining and end (pubbaṅtaṃ and aparantaṁ)[16] which he does deliberately answer. He points out that those who have the capacity to see the past and future without limit can surely answer these questions satisfactorily. Here it is important to note that Buddha offers to satisfy only those who have acquired the higher

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knowledge of retrocognition and clairvoyance. This clearly indicates that metaphysical gone beyond the level understood by those who have acquired higher faculty of knowing and answeres can be of mere conceptual knowledge. It may be also one of the reasons of keeping mum over those questions.

II. *The pragamatic reason* :—It may also be one of the good reason that Buddha due to some pragmatic considerations set aside those metaphysical questions. As those questions do not serve any purpose (artha, prayojana) or lead to the achievement of some end therefore there is no need to pay any heed to them. In fact, for Buddha, suffering was the main problem and the task before the mankind was to do endeavour for uprooting the suffering with which the people are bound internally and externally.[17] In such a situation to hold discussion on God, World, Soul, life, etc. will be a foolishness. That is why seeing the lack of the pragmatic value in those questions Buddha remains silent on them. The position has been made clear in the Majjima Nikāya where Buddha explains through the prable of an arrow that why he refrain from answering those questions. He points out that the real need of the man pierced with a poisioned arrow is to get rid of it and becured rather than to wait for a fruit-less investigations about the nature of the arrow, the man shooting of it and soon and loser his life in the process.[18] At the end he clearly says "It is not useful, not related to the basis disciplines of the holi life not conductive to detachment, dispassion, cessation, pacification, higher knowledge, enlightenment and Nibhana. Therefore has it not been answered by me.[19] This clearly shows that pragamatic or practical consideration in an important factor behind his silence.

Further, Buddha himself has clarified the position in the Abhayarājakumār Sutta[20] where he describes what kind of proposition he does or does not assert. He asserts only first two type of propositions out of the following :—

1. True useful pleasant
2. True useful unpleasant
3. True useless pleasant
4. True useless unpleasant
5. False useful pleasant
6. False useful unpleasant
7. False useless pleasent
8. False useless unpleasant.

It is important to note here that Buddha does not assert useless truths (3 and 4) but only those truths which are useful (1 and 2). This clearly shows the pragmatic consideration of Buddha for setting aside the questions. Due to this reason he is called kālavādi, bhūtavādi and atthavādi (the speaker of the truth and the speaker of the useful).[21]

The second solurion is pragmatic consideration, finds full support by the scholars like Radhakrishanana, Keith etc. Radhakrishanana emphaises this pragmatic or practical approach of Buddha when he points out that "Buddha taught from motives of expediency.[22] Keith also

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points out this aspect of Buddhist teaching when he says that "disputation on them will not lead to the frame of mind which is essential for the attainment of Nirvāna.[23]

III. Questions are unanswerable due to limited capacity of human mind (Rational agnosticism) :

This third solution of the problem suggests that human mind is limited. Often it is found that one cannot express in word even those which is understood by him. In other words it can be said that understanding is not always speakable or reduced to speaking. Probably, due to this reason Buddha set aside those metaphysical questions by keeping silence on them.

This solution has been chiefly suggested by Beckh[24] and exclusively emphasised by by Professor Murti, Prof. Murti senses an articulation of Kantion antinomies in these unanswered questions. He says "The similarity of the avyakṛta to the celebrated antinomies of Kant...cannot fail to strike us.[25] At one place he has pointed out, "That there are difficulties on either conception of reality on any conceptual pattern, no one realised perhaps more strongly than Buddha. He was thus led to discredit all attempts at conceiving reality, and inconsequence to reject all speculative metaphysics. This is the sole meaning of his silence.[26]

The third solution i.e. rational agnostic interpretation, is fully supported by the Tripitaka. In the Samyutta Nikāya it has been clearly said "The begning of the world is inconceivable (anamatagga = an + mat ($\sqrt{}$man + tagga)), the first end (pubbakoti) is not comprehended.[27] Even if it is said that the world is rooted in ignorance, the problem is no nearer solution, for it is not possibly to conceive temporally begning of ignorance. It is explicity mentioned in the Anguttara Nikāya. "The first beggning of ignorance is not comprehended (such as we may say)' before this there was no ignorence, after this it arose".[28] Not only this we also find in Dīgha Nikāya that both the thesis and antithesis pertaining to the duration and extend of the world were proved and disapproved by the debaters during Buddha's time.[29] Thus it seems that Buddha might have realised the antinomies of reasons more clearly than any of the modern thinkers as well as he has honestly recognised the capacity of human mind. Due to this reason (rational agnosticism) he remain silent on the first four questions relating to the duration and extent of the world.

The third interpretation of the silence of Buddha does not seem to the sole meaning of it. This cannot be sought to the only and fully satisfactory reason of his silence, we may partially agree with his solution. The limitation of human mind' is an accepted fact. The antinomies and enterminable conflicts are found only on the intellectual level, but when this level is transcended this limitation does not come in the way. Probably due to this reason, as it has already been mentioned, Buddha claims to answer satisfactorily the question

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pertaining to beggnning and the end (pubhbanta and aparanta) only before those who hava acquired the higher knowledge of retrognition and clairvoyance. Temporally the world perhaps is begningless and endless and first four questions seek the temporal solution. Since it is not posible for ordinary human beings to know thing in a non-spetiotemporal manner, Buddha might have considered expedient to set aside them. Dr. K.N. Upadhyaya is of opinion that "Buddha set aside the questions pertaining to the duration of the world on account of their intellectual incomprehensibility with the motive of expediency.[30]

IV. *The questions were unanswered due to inherent inapropriateness or meaninglessness of the questions* (*Logical positivism*) :—

According to this view Buddha set aside the last six question because they are meaningless and inapropriate to the context. Of last six questions the first two refer to the identity and difference between the soul and body and the last four refer to the existence and non-existence of the liberated saint (Tathāgata) after death. These are metaphysical questions. The Logical positivism in present days attack on metaphysics and eleminate them showing their meaninglessness and selfabusrdity. To them no statement which refers to a reality' transcending the limit of all possible sense-experiences can possibly have any literal significance.[31] For testing the significance and genuineness of apparent statement of fact they have the criterion of varifiability. Any statement is factually significant, and only if, it is varifiable i.e. the statement may become true or false.[32] Any proposition is either true or false entails that it is literally meaningful.[33] The term, varifiable' has been distinguished in two senses, 'strong sense' and 'week sense'. "A proposition is said to be varifiable in strong sense of term if and only if its truth could be conclucively established in experience .....it is varifiable in weak sense, if it is possible for experience to render its probable.[34] A further distinction is made between ' practical verifiability and varifiability in principle,"[35] Those propositions which cannot be verified in normal course or after taking much trouble, has practical verifiability. But there are certain propositions which cannot be verified even if we choose, still they are significant because we can think about them even in principle. For example "There are mountains of the father side of the moon." A. J. Ayer says, "No roocket has yet been invented which could enable me to go and look at the farther side of the moon, so that I am unable to decide the matter by actual observation. But.....as is theoratically conceivable..... the proposition is verifiable in principle, if not in practice and is accordingly significant".[36] "On the other hand, such a metaphysical pseudoproposition as. Abolute enters into, but itself incapable of, evolution and progress' is not even in principle verifiable".[37]

Now in this background when the last six questions are considered we find that last four questions might not have been answered due to their non-verifiability on emperical base. In fact we cannot verify the existence of Tathāgatas after death even if we take much of trouble, nor there is any probablity of its varification. This logical positivistic interpretation

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seems to be confirmed by Buddha himself when he explains the situation to Vaccha Gota with the simple of fire. Buddha explains to Vaccha by a simile of the fire. He asks Vaccha : "If fire infront of you were to go out, would you know this fire in front of you gone out ?"[38] On this Vaccha answers in affermative. Buddha further asks him, "this fire infront of you which has gone out in which direction has it gone eastern, western, northern or southern ?"[39] Vaccha anseres, 'It doesnot fit the case".[40] At this Buddha points out that "in the same way O Vaccha.....it does not fit the case."[41] Thus, here we find that the last four questions pertaining to existence and non-existence of Tathagata can neither be verified in strong sense nor in weak sense. It's authenticity can neither be tested by any emperical methods in practice nor there is any probability to test them in principie even. Therefore, these questions are insignificant and meaningless from the Logical positivistic point of views.

When we return to the fifth and sixth question which are relating to identify and difference of the soul and body. We find that these two questions also cannot be tested through any imperical sources. There is no any instrument in the world which can verify the existence of the soul in the body. Even in experience we cannot be conclucievely establish it's truth. Thus, the existence of soul cannot verified in a strong sense. When the soul does not have any actual locus standing the question regarding the identity and difference of the soul with the body becomes meaningless.

Now it appears that due to this reason (Logical positivistic reason) also Buddha perhaps set aside these questions.

We cannot totally agree with the Logical Positivistic expalanation of Buddha's silence, may it can be sought to explain its nature in its strict sense. The base of Logical positivism is recent scientific development and its means is scientific methods which were lacking during the age of Buddha. The criterions of verification (as used by Logical positivists) were unknown that time. Thus technically, the Logical positivistic explanation cannot be considered as the solde reason of Buddha's silence over ten metaphysical questions. But we can partly agree with it as the meaninglessness of the questions cannot be ignored due to which Buddha seems to have set aside them.

It seems that the erroneous notion of the self or 'I' and the supramandane nature of the Tathāgata are main reasons behind setting-aside the last six question. These two sets of question (Q. No. 5-6 and 7-10) seems to be closely related because it is precisely under the delusion of 'I' consciousness, that one asks personalistic question in relation to Tathāgatha. After getting rid of that delusion the meaninglessness or inappropriateness of the personalistic question becomes apparent. Buddha has also pointed out in Samyutta Nikāya that "His ignorance being removed and knowledge arisen, he does not have the notion that 'I am'.....'I'

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am this' ..... 'I shall be ..... I shall not be ..... I shall be carporial ..... non-carporial ..... conscious ..... non-conscious ...neither conscious nor non-consicious.[42]

This notion of self or soul is deeply rooted in man's natural desire. It is evident from the Pāli taxts itself that diverse concepts of soul were prevelent during the time of Buddha[43] that time it was believed that the self or the soul is eternal or blissfull in nature. But Buddha refuted this theory and pointed out that there is nothing permanent and blissful in any of all of these various constituents which we may hold as our true 'I' or the self. If is only on account of our clinging to or grasping of the five constituents that we develop this erroneous notion of 'I' or the self.[44] Man's clinging of attanchment to his personality is so deep rooted that it is difficult for any one to shake off the notion of I' or 'self ' altogather and hold on it in some form or other. That is why these personalistic questions like, whether the soul is identical with the body or not, have raised. Any of these questions become meaningless and inapropriate in the light of Buddhist analysis, bacame it is not possible to speak of a relation (wherther of identy of difference) between a fact (body) and a fiction (soul) between a thing and what is erroneously grasped about or superimposed upon it. So long one does not realise this fact and understand properly in the light of Buddhist theory of Paticcas-muppāda (dependent origination), the question will arise in one's mind and any answer, whether positive or negative, will confuse and mislead one further.

This idea is fully supported by the Tripitaka In the Samayutta Nikāya we find that Vacchagota pointedly asks Buddha whether 'the self is' of 'self is not', but Buddha remains silent.[45] After his departure when Ānanda asks Budha the reason of his silence Buddha said that if I assert the former, Vacchagota will take him to mean that he accepted the Sassatavāda (eternalism) and in the case of the latter he will confuse it with Ucchedavada (annihila-tionism).[46] The first will go against the basic teaching of Buddhism that all things are soulless (Sabbe dhammā anattāti),[47] and second one will cause further delusion to the already delude Vacchagota. He will think, "I indeed, had a self previously, which now is not."[48] Thus, any answer whether positive or negative will be misconceived by him on account of his egoistic obession.

In the same way the last four questions, which are related to the existence and non-existence of Tathāgatas after death, are based on misconception. Buddha himself has once pointed out that "the carporiality (rupam) whereby one seeks to know Tathagata were to cognige him that carporeality of Tathagata has abandoned, cut off from the root, made unable to grow, rendered incapable of future becoming like an aprooted palm tree.[49] So in relation to Tathāgatha, who is tree from the mark of carpo-reality, these questions have been raised due to misconception about Tathāgata and ignorance regarding the truth. Due to the very reason perhaps, Buddha remains silent about them. Beside this. these questions might have been set aside on account of their in applicability or meanninglessness. As the matter of fact

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the question of existence or non-existence can legitimately arise only in the relation to one who is endowed with five aspects of personality. On Tathāgata, who is devoied of all these aspects these questions cannot be applied. These questions ceases to be meaningfull in relation to him as he is in no way associated with any of five constituents. In Samayutta Nikāya Buddha has clearly explained to Anurādha the impropriety of the question of existence or non existence of Tathāgatha, who is beyond the mark of the five aspects of personality. He asks Anurādha, whether she cognizes (samānupassati) the Tathagata as the five agreegates, including within the five ag eegates, possesing the five agreegates or including the five agreegates. Anurādha answers in negative. Buddha then points out that because Tathāgata is undiscoverable in term of any of the cognizable element it is not proper to answer that Tathāgata exist does not exist, both or neither.[51] Nor it can be said that any answer outside the four alternatives (annatara imehicatuhi thanehi) is possible because all the logical possibilities are exhauseted by the four alternatives. Thus, it is found that the questions themselves are inappropriated or meaningless with regards to Tathāgata.

Now in the light of above description it seems that Buddha might have rejected the aforesaid questions about the identity and the exisence and non existance of the Tathāgata after death chiefly on account of the erroneous and misleading concept of the soule and misunderstanding about the Tathāgata respectively. The question may be said to be inappropriate to the context and meaningless in the light of Buddhist wisdom (Paññā). That is why Buddha kept mum over them.

To sum up the main findings of the prsent survey it can be said that besides pragmatic consideration there are two reasons also which may be said to be chiefly responsible for the silence of Buddha with regards to the ten metaphysical questions. In fact, pragmatic reason is, upto a great extent responsible for setting aside those questions and it has been emphsised by several scholars and has got full support of the Pāli cannons. Buddha's dielogs particularly the parable of arrow is evendent to the fact that Buddha brushes aside those questions because they lack any praetical and pragmatic value. Besides it there are two other reason due to which Buddha seems to have kept mum with regards to certain questions. The authenticity and genuineness of those reasons cannot be ignored. They are as follow (A) Buddha remains silent on question no 1-4, which deals with the duration and extent of the world, because people are intellectually in capable to comprehend it's answer. Though it is not true with Buddha himself That is why he answer them only to those who have acquired higher knowledge of re-rocognition and clarivoyance.

(B) Question 5-10 which relates to identity and difference of the body and soul and existence and non-existence of Tathagata aftes death have been set aside because they are

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irrlivent and meaningless due to misconception of the concept and the qu stions themselves are inappropriate to the context.

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11. Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I. 58-59.
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13. Jaina Sutras, S.B.E. Vol. 45. p. XXIX.
14. Hoti Tathāgato Param maranā...itite nam Vyakareyyam...na hoti...hoti...hoti ca na hoti ca...neva hoti na na hoti Tathagāto Paraṁ maranā ti iti ce me assa iti tenam vyākareyyaṁ...Digh Nikaya Vol. I 59.
15. Yena rūpena Tathāgataṁ Paňňā paayamāno paňňāpeyya taṃ rūpaṁ Tathāgatassa Pahīnam ucchinn mūlam.....rūlosaṅkhāyavimutto Tathagato.....vedanā.....saňňā... sankhara.....Viňňānasankhāya vimutto."—Samyutta Nikāya Vol. IV 376-7.
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40. Na upeti. Ibid.
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42. Tassa avijjāvirāgā vijjupādā asmi ti pissa na hoti, ayaṁ ahaṁ asmi ti piss na hoti, bhavissam ti.....na bhavissaṃ ti..... ..Yūipi.....arūpi.....saññī.....asaññī..... nevasaññīnāsaññī bhavissaṃ ti pissa na hoti.....Samyutta Nikāya Vol, III, 47.

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44. Upādāya.....asmitihoti no anupādāya, kiñca upādāya.....? Rūpam upādāya ..... vedanāṁ..... . ...saññam.....saṅkhāre viññānaṁ upādāya. Smayutta Nikāya Vol. III. 105.

45. Atthattā' ti .....natthāta ti.....Bhagavā tuṇhi aho si.....Samayutta Nikāya Vol. IV, 400.

46. Aham C' Ānanda, Vacchagottassa Paribbājakassa' atthattā ti Puttho samano attheattā ti byākereyyam...sassatvādā...saddhiṃ abhavissa-natthattā ti byākaryyam...Uccheda-vādā.....saddhim abhavissa. Samayutta Nikāya Vol, IV 40.

47. Dhamma Pada.....

48 ahu vā me nūna pubbe atta so etavahi natthi ti. Samayutta Nikāya. Vol. IV, 401.

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51. Ditthiva dhamme saccato thetato Tathāgate anu-palabhhayamāne...Kallan...veyya karanam. Ibid 384.

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बौद्ध धर्म एवं दर्शन में असंग का योगदान

—श्री जगदीश्वर पाण्डेय

आर्य असंग का भारतीय दर्शन, विशेषतः बौद्ध धर्म तथा दर्शन में असाधारण अवदान है। योगाचार-विज्ञानवाद के उद्भव कर्त्ता, आर्यमैत्रेयनाथ व्यक्ति के रूप से जनसमूह में नहीं उपस्थित हुए इसका मुख्य कारण है कि ऐतिहासिक व्यक्ति होते हुए भी आर्य मैत्रेयनाथ को बौद्ध जगत में भगवान बुद्ध के भावी अवतार मैत्रेय से अभिन्न मानते हैं। अतः उनके ग्रन्थ को देश के विभिन्न प्रान्तों में परिचित कराना तथा भारत के विभिन्न प्रान्तों में विज्ञानवाद को प्रतिष्ठित करने का श्रेय असंगपाद का था। अपने अनुज आचार्य वसुवन्धु को विज्ञानवाद की सेवा में आकृष्ट करने में भी उनका विशिष्ट अवदान है जिससे विज्ञानवाद दृढ़ रूप से प्रतिष्ठित हुआ।

विभिन्न श्रोतों से असंग के कृतित्व के बारे में जो विवरण मिलता है उसमें विशेषज्ञों की सम्मति सर्वत्र नहीं मिलती है। उपलब्ध प्रमाणों से इस विषय पर प्रकृष्ट सिद्धान्त पर पहुँचना भी असम्भव सा है। हम यथालब्ध विवरणों को अपने मन्तव्य के साथ यहाँ निवद्ध कर रहे हैं।

तिब्बती परम्परा के अनुसार (१) महायानसूत्रालंकार (२) मध्यान्तविभागशास्त्र (३) धर्मधर्मताविभंग (४) महायानोत्तरतन्त्र और (५) अभिसमयलंकार आर्य मैत्रेयनाथ की कृतियाँ हैं। असंग ने तदनुसार ही भाष्य या टीका लिखी। कंजूर तंजूर में असंग के १९ ग्रन्थों के तिब्बती अनुवाद का विवरण मिलता है।[1]

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1. No. 4035—Yogacaryābhūmi
   No. 4036—Yogacāryābhūmau Śrāvakabhūmi
   No. 4037—Yogacaryābhūmin Bodhisattvabhūmi
   No. 4038—Yogacaryābhumiviniscayasaṁgraha
   No. 4039—Yogacaryābhūmau Vastusaṁgraha
   No. 4040—Yogacaryābhūmau vinayasaṁgraha
   No. 4041—Yogacaryābhūmau paryayasaṁgraha
   No. 4042—Yogacaryābhūmau Vivaranasaṁgraha
   No. 4048—Mahāyānasaṁgraha
   No. 4049—Abhidharmasamuccaya

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यह वक्तव्य है कि मध्यान्त-विभाग भाष्य[1] सम्प्रति मूल संस्कृत में प्रकाशित हुआ और वह आचार्य वसुवन्धु के ग्रन्थ के रूप में मिला। इसके अलावे असंग कृत मध्यान्तविभागकारिका के उपर कोई ग्रन्थ रहा होगा तो वह विलुप्त हो गया।

अभिधर्मसमुच्चय, महायानसंग्रह तथा पंचभूमि तथा वज्रच्छेदिका प्रज्ञापारमिताशास्त्र भी असंग का कहा गया है।

(१) महायानसूत्रालंकार के कर्त्ता के बारे में आधुनिक विद्वानों में मतभेद है। सिल्वालेवी के अनुसार कारिका तथा भाष्य असंग की रचना है। वुई के मतानुसार भाष्य वसुवन्धु का है। संभवतः मैत्रेय द्वारा रचित महायानसूत्रालंकारकारिका पर असंग ने ही भाष्यनिर्माण किया था। इस ग्रन्थ में सन्धिनिर्मोचनसूत्र, दशभूमिकसूत्र, सद्धर्मपुण्डरीक आदि महायानसूत्रों की चर्चा इस भाष्य में उपलब्ध है।

(२) योगायचारभूमिशास्त्र—बौद्धयोग तथा अभिधर्म की स्थापना इस ग्रन्थ में किया गया। हीनयान तथा महायान का यथासंभव समन्वय इसमें देखा जाता है। बौद्धधर्म तथा दर्शन की दोनों शाखाओं में आचार्य असंग की असाधारण विद्वता तथा श्रद्धा इसमें प्रकट हुई।

(३) महायानसम्परिग्रहशास्त्र, जिसका अन्य नाम महायानसंग्रह भी है, इसमें विज्ञानवाद का विस्तृत विवेचन किया गया। महायान के धार्मिक पक्ष का विवेचन भी यहाँ आता है। यहाँ बौद्धयोग का विवरण भी प्राप्त होता है। इसका मूल संस्कृत पाठ अनुपलब्ध है। परमार्थ कृत चीनी अनुवाद उपलब्ध है। जापान के बौद्ध संप्रदाय पर इसका विशेष प्रभाव परिलक्षित होता है।

(४) अभिधर्मसमुच्चय—इसके संस्कृत मूल विश्वभारती से और भाष्य जायसवाल शोध संस्थान, पटना से प्रकाशित हुए हैं। तिब्बती परम्परा के अनुसार बुद्धसिंह भाष्यकार थे, और स्थिरमति उसमें संशोधन तथा मूल एवं भाष्य पर व्याख्या लिखे।

No. 4073 –Dhyanadīpa-nāma-upadesa
No. 1115—Chas-kyi-sku-la gnas-paḥi you-tan-la bstod-pa
No. 3550—Prajnaparamitasadhana
No. 3648—Ārya Maitreyasādhana
No. 3981—Ārya-Samdhinirmocauabhāṣya
No. 3982—Budhanusmṭivṛtti
No. 3983—Dharmanusmṭivṛtti
No. 3984—Saṁghanusmṭiveyjākhyā
No. 4025—Mahayānottaratantraśāstravyākhyā

A complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkah-hgur and Bstan-hgyur) Published by Tohoku Imperial University Sendai Japan.

1. मध्यान्त विभागभाष्य—के०पी० जायसवाल शोध संस्थान, पटना (१९६७).

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(५) रत्नगोत्रविभाग—महायानोत्तरतन्त्रशास्त्र—इसकी कारिकाएँ मैत्रेयनाथकृत तथा शास्त्र व्याख्या असंग कृत है। इसका संस्कृत मूल ई० जौन्सटन द्वारा बिहार रिसर्च सोसाईटी से प्रकाशित हुआ। नाकामूरा ने इसकी चीनी अनुवाद के साथ मूल संस्कृत को जापान से प्रकाशित किया।

(६) आर्यत्रिशतिकायाः प्रज्ञापारमितायाः कारिकासप्तती—यह वज्रच्छेदिका प्राज्ञापारमिताशाशास्त्र की सत्तरकारिकाओं पर टीका है। इस ग्रन्थ का अनुवाद धर्मगुप्त ने चीनी भाषा में किया था।

(७) तत्वविनिश्चयभाष्य—तिब्बती परम्परा में इसे अभिसमयालंकारभाष्य कहा गया। हरिभद्र के अनुसार यह मैत्रेयनाथपाद के अभिसमयालंकार की असंग कृत टीका है। इसके कर्तृत्व के बारे में भी मतेक्य नहीं है।

(८) प्रकरण आर्यवाक्यमहायानाभिधर्मसंगीतिशास्त्र—चीनी परम्परा इसे असंग की कृति कहती है। ह्वेनसाँग ने इसका चीनी अनुवाद किये थे। संस्कृत मूल अनुपलब्ध है। योगाचारभूमिशास्त्र की कारिकाओं की व्याख्या इसमें उपलब्ध है।

(९) सन्धिनिर्मोचनभाष्य—संस्कृत में अनुपलब्ध किन्तु इसका चीनी तथा तिब्बती अनुवाद उपलब्ध है। चीनी परम्परा के अनुसार इसके लेखक आर्य असंगपाद थे।

इनके अतिरिक्त आर्य असंग द्वारा रचित निम्नलिखित ग्रन्थ, मध्यान्तानुसारशास्त्र, पंचविशतिप्रज्ञापारमितोपदेश, बतलाये जाते हैं। उल्लिखित तारनाथ के विवरण के अनुसार असंग को तांत्रिक विचारधारा से सम्बन्धित मानना पड़ता है। अलेक्सवेमन असंग को बौद्धतान्त्रिक नहीं मानते हैं।

नागार्जुन तथा आर्यदेव द्वारा प्रतिपादित शून्यतासिद्धान्त को असंग ने विज्ञानवाद में परिवर्तित कर दिया। नागार्जुन कृत महाप्रज्ञापामिताशास्त्र तथा वैदल्य प्रकरण में वर्णित प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद तथा अनात्मवाद को भी असंग ने अपनी दृष्टि से उपस्थित किया। अन्यान्य स्थलों पर भी असंग नागार्जुन के विचारों के ऋणी है। इस विषयों पर ज्ञानश्रीमित्र ने अपने निबन्धों में प्रकाश डाला। माध्यमिक सिद्धान्त में जगत के सम्पूर्ण धर्मो को शून्य तथा निःस्वभाव माना गया है। सभी पदार्थ हेतु प्रत्यय सापेक्ष है। शून्यता परमार्थ सत कहीं गई है। इन विषयों को मानते हुए असंग ने भी कोई पदार्थ वास्तविक नहीं है। वाह्य पदार्थ का अस्तित्व नहीं है यह बात स्वीकार किया। माध्यमिकों के संवृति सत्य और परमार्थ सत्य के सिद्धान्त भी असंग को प्रभावित करते हैं। असंग ने तीन सत्य की बात कही है ये परतन्त्र, परिकल्पित तथा परिनिष्पन्न हैं। इसमें माध्यमिक के साथ सौत्रान्तिक नय का भी प्रभाव परिलक्षित होता है। योगाचारविज्ञानवाद प्रस्थान के मूल सूत्रधार आर्यमैत्रेयनाथपाद थे। आर्य असंग ने उनके वक्तव्यों को सर्वजनग्राह्य बनाया। और उनके अनुज आचार्य वसुवन्धु को उसे दृढ़ता देने का श्रेय प्राप्त हुआ।

इस नय की अर्वाचीन परम्परा में असंग की देन स्वीकृत हुई। वसुवन्धु दिग्नाग तथा धर्मकीर्ति जैसी खाण्डनिक प्रवृत्ति इनमें नहीं रहने पर भी हित तथा मित वाक्प्रपंच से अपने वक्तव्य को सुस्पष्ट किया। इनके ग्रन्थों की प्रर्यालोचना से प्रतिपादित विषयों पर उनकी एकान्त निष्ठा, उनकी चारित्रिक विशुद्धि तथा तर्क विमुखता को सूचित करता है। प्रसंगवश परमत की समालोचना करते हुए उन्होंने युक्तिमात्र प्रदर्शित किया। छल, जाति, निग्रहस्थान आदि दुष्ट उपायों का व्यवहार इन्होंने नहीं किया।

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Ethical Tone of the Arthasastra of Kautilya

—*Atul Kumar Sinha*

There can be no denial of the fact that in spite of its much spoken spiritual and transcendental attitude, ancient Indian mentality had nevere ignored the material or empirical aspect of human life and the word.[1] Except some of the *Upniṣads* which emphatically establish priority of *Śreya* over *Preya*[2] definig *Śreya* as the final liberation and *preya* as the worldly pleasure and enjoyments, most of the vedic literature have shown an attitude of world affirmation by attaching some positive valu to the worldly achievements, later categorised as *artha* and *kāma*, on account of their being capable of fulfilling the practical and psychologcial needs of human life. Even in the *Upaniṣads* which are said to have evolved supra-mundane concept like *Ātmā*, *Brahman* and *Mokṣa* resulting into the development of a world negating attitude, we hardly find any reference to the feelings of total world negation.[3] *Jñāna*, no doubt, has been considered as the only and principal means to achieve *mokṣa* yet it was not directly oppsed to *karma* in the *Upaniśads*[4] as it appeared later on when, under the influence of some heterodox negativistic schools like Buddhism and Jainism, *Jñānamārga* and *karmamārga*, consciouly or unconsciously, became identical with *Pravṛttimārga* and *Nivṛttimārga* respectively[5] *Pravṛttimārga* denoted an attitude of world-affirmation while *Nivṛttimārga* stood for a world negating attitude and almost all ancient Indian philosophical schools are thought to have developed from these two thought-currents. But to identify the real and actual attitude of ancient Inian tradional thinkers with any of the two is a mistake. In it sreal form ancient Indian philosophy of life is developed by filling the gap between these two extremes. It did not sacrifice one for the sake of other. This is why a four-fold value-system consisting of *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa* was developed in which both real and ideal aspects of human life were brought nearer and closer to each other. The four values, viz, *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa*, were thus made inter-related and inter-connected and ignoring one for achieving the other was not normally appreciated Each and every value was judged in a broader perspective of the total value-system and them was approved or disapproved. The same attitude has been made the basis of the present paper which tries to examine the ethical spirit of *Kauṭilīya Arthśastra* which is often said to be fully independent from all morality on account nf some

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unethical measures prescribed herein for the sake of political achievents and thus appears to have given the primacy of interest over value.

(I)

No one should have any doubt in accepting the fact that *Arthaśāstra* is a technical work dealing mainly and primarily with the rights and duties of the ruling class and has nothing to do with ordinary class of peoples which is considered to be the backbone of all societies and members of which class make all talks of values and social norms possible. It may be called a code of conduct for the king enabling him in each and every circumstance to rule over his subject smoothly and to establish and maintain peace and harmony in society by overcoming all internal and external disturbances. As we know, in the traditional frame-work of Indian Social System, duties of the Warrior or *Kṣatriya* Class also included war[6] in which violence, murder and bloodshed were unavoidable. As results of war had far-reaching effects on the lives of not only the members of the fighting team but also on the lives of innocent general people, a tendency to win the war somehow had developed which ultimately established supremacy of end over the purity and impurity of the means applied for. This is why teeachery, forgery, fraud and several other evil means to achieve victory were introducted in the name of Diplomac or *Kūṭanīti* to the traditional code of conduct of the *Kṣatriya* or the ruling class of people[7] and composition of the *Arthaśāstra*, with a recognition to such evil means, came to appear as concrete example of such attempts. This is why we find several unethical measures which mainly include exploitation of people's religious beliefs and faith in traditionally recognined virtues, etc. prescribed unhasitatingly herein to achieve victory over the external and internal enemies of the king. For example at one place it is said that an ambitious but weak king should take the advantage of the religious feeling of his stronger enemy and when, on the occaion of a festival in the honour of a deity, he (enemy) goes to the places of worship, he should be killed by secret but seemingly accidental, means applied earlier on those places. These secret but apparently accidental means include 'collapse of a wall or a huge stone on him by the release of a mechanism; a shower of stones or weapons from an upper chamber, fall of banners and weapons of the deity on him; making the places where he sits or stays poisonous through sprinkling of scented but poisonous water, by poisonous flowers and fragnant powder; carrying over to him poisonous smoke concealed be perfumes and dropping him down, by release of a pin, into a well with spikes or a pit underneath the bed or seat, where the floor is fixed by a mechanism[8].' Similarly in the *Aupaniṣadika* Section, Kauṭilya suggests his king to adopt unfair means against the wicked and unrighteous persons for the protection of four varnas. Here he has given in a detailed manner several types of poisons to be utilised in different ways at the hour of need.[9] Attaching great importance to the treasury, Kauṭilya has allowed his king to unscrupulously take over the properties of even temples and religious places to fill the treasury.[10] Besides, he has also allowed his king to adopt fraud and forged policies in which exploitation of the religious

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feelings of the masses are also included.[11] Many such examples of ammoral conduct can be multiplad from the texts but all of them indicate the same tendency of advisibility of adopting unfair means to secure a political end. We shall now take into the rightful place of this tendency into the wider context of Indian value-system.

(II)

With the evolution of social life man becomes a creature of dual peronality and to combine the two opposite poles of individuality and sociality becomes a difficult task which all societies have tried to solve by choosing their own way. In Indian context, solution of this problem came in the form of '*Dharma*' which itself is both individual and social at the same time.[12] Though this term has been interpreted in many ways, the real sense it carries is the 'rightfulness'. Actually 'Dharma' is nothing but 'what is right' and, therefore, what may be considered as the greatest ethical principle in Indian thought is "*Dharma must be follwed*". On account of its subtle nature *dharma* has been said to be known with a reference to time and place.[13] What is right and just in a particular context is *dharma* although the same may be '*adharma*' in a different context [14] This is why *dharma* at individual level is something other than that of the social stage and, therefore, there is the least possibility of any clash between the two. But if, as an exception, there occurs such a chance, Indian wisdom allows one to sacrifice his individual *dharma* on the alter of the social cause[15] because *dharma* is someting more social than personal or individual and hence such an individually performed '*adharma*' is no less the *dharma* on account of its serving a greater good at the cost of a lessor evil.

A thorogh study of the *Arthaśāstra* would leave no ground to hold thar Kauṭilya had wholesale advocated immoral or unethical politics or had fully ignored the idea of value for the sake of interest[16], rather he seems to be an orthodox brahmin having deep faith in the ancien' Indian traditional value-system and social thought. Though parimarily concerned with '*artha*' and having taken it as the principal end in the Arthśāstra[17], he does not consider it as the ultimate and of life. Ulimate or supreme end of life, for him too, was *mokṣa* which was attainable only through performing one's duties as prescribed by the scriptures.[18] But since *mokṣa* is an individual achievement for which one has to try at his personal level and state is of no concern in this regard, (except creating favourable atmosphere for the same in the society), Kautilya has not shown very much keenenss in this connection.[19] He has referred to it as the ultimate end of life in passing. He sseems to be more particular regarding value of temporal life[19], viz. *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*, and especially for *artha*, which he considered as the prime and principal end of life without which one's life ceases to exist and then *dharma* and *Kama* loose their meanings.[20] Taking *artha* as the main source of worldy life, he has attached great importance to it and sometimes has

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allowed his king to go beyond the limitations of ethical and religious boundaries[22] if there occurs an urgent need, yet in the normal conditions he is very rational regarding relative importance of the three values o *trivarga*.[23] All that has been said regarding his advocacy for unethical and immoral measures should be taken as provisions, made by him, for the hour of unusual emergency created by external or internal enemies of the king and the State.[24] These measures, if necessary, may be applied but strictly for the sake of a general or social cause and not for the sake of the personal interests[25] of the king for which the greatest happiness and interest lie in the happiness and interest of his subjects.[26] Such a greater cause itself justifies the immoral and unethical conduct of the king and include them into *Dharma* which, beyond the arrow limits of one's religious beliefs and a static traditional code, is a wider and more social element which sustains or upholds the society. A comprehensive look into the Arthaśāstra makes it clear that Kauṭilya was very much particular towards re-establishment and maintehance of *Varṇa-Vyavasthā*[27] which had already been disturbed owing to the rule of Nandas and the rise of some heretical religious schools which were very strongly opposing it in its traditional form. Besides invasion of Alexander had opened the way for other foreign invasions which could be checked only through evolving a strong central rule keeping a firm hold on the whole country. This could be possible only through a modification in the political code of that time. Kauṭilya took the problem with a practical approach and first of all made a clear-cut distinction between political and non-political matters with establishing a primacy to the former.[28] Political matters were directly and mainly related to the king, his policies and the welfare of the State and society while the other one included the rest. Apart from this, he initiated an ideal of '*Vijigīṣu* King' and to achieve this ideal he made his King free from all false notions and superstitions[29] regarding morality, religion and virtues, collectively known as *dharma*, by creating, from its traditional roots, rational concept of *Dharma* which did not attach much importance to the purity and impurity of the means applied in achieving a greater cause.[30] King, being the guardian and upholder of justice and rightfulness in the society, thus becomes this personified symbol of *Dharma* and in this capacity he goes beyond the pre-conceived notions of *dharma* in the form of traditional ethical code of conduct and this brings no fault on his part. He establishes peace and harmony in the society and makes public life safe and happy. This great responsbility allows him to apply those means unhasitatingly which, if applied for the personal cause by even the king himself, would have destroyed him fully. Thus applying such unfair means at the hour of urgent need with a detached and impersonal attitude is not improper and unfair on the part of the king and would not create any hinderance in his way to the ultimate end of life.

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The Indian Teachers of Hiuen-Tsiang

—*Brajdeo Prasad Roy*

Hiuen-Tsiang (600-664 A.D.), the famous Chinese traveller, prior to his visit to India (629-643 A.D.), had studied the Buddhist texts under the guidance of some of the celebrated Chinese monks, namely, Chang-tsi, King, Yen, Shang and Pin.[1] He was competent enough to expound the Buddhist scriptures with precision and clarity. After examining the texts and principles ofdifferent teachers he came to the conclusion that each of them followed implicity the teachings of his own school. On verification of the scriptures he found that they differed from each other resulting in confusion. He did not studied the original Buddhist texts but their Chinese translations. In such a situation, like Fa-hien, he resolved to go to the West (India). He himself has mentioned the purpose of his travel to India.'" Grieved at the imperfoct knowledge of religion in my native land and defective condition of the sacred books, and being myself agitated by doubts as to the truth, I determined to go and find out the truth for myselfs. Hence at the risk of my life I have set out for the West to inquire about interpretations not yet known. My purpose is that the sweet dew of the *Vaipulya-sūtras* and mysterious words also may spread through the regions of the East."[2]

He visited thc whole of India and Ceylon in search of authentic Buddhist scriptures and competent teachers who could dispel his doubts. He has recorded the names of scholars of India under whom he studied the texts. He stayed with them in their respective *vihāras* but did not narrate their life sketches. He only refers to their scholarship and the texts studied under their guidance. Some of his Indian teachers were Prajñākara, Vinītaprabha, Candravarman, Jayagupta, Mitrasena, Vīryasena, Śilabhadra, Tathātagupta, Subhūti, Sūrya, Prajñābhadra, Jayasena and a few un-named teachers.

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1. Shaman Hui Li, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (English tr. by S. Beal, Delhi, 1973), pp. 2 4.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 27 ; Chin Keh-mu, *A Short History of Sino-Indian Friendship* (Peking, 1958), p. 58.

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I. Prajñākara[3] was lhe chief priest at the *Nava-saṃghārāma* at Balkh. Originally he belonged to the kingdom of Teheka (Takka), a region in the Panjab. He had studied the three *Piṭakas* belonging to the *hīnayāna* school. He was a man of singular wisdom and learning so that he was distinguished by his great sagacity. He had thoroughly studied the nine collec. tions of the Buddhist texts and had mastered the for *Āgamas*. The fame of his exposition of the principles of *dharma* had spread far and wide. He was perfectly acquainted with the *Abhidharma* of the *hīnayāna* scool and the *Koṣa* of Kātyāyana. Hiuen-Tsiang stayed with him for a month, and from him, studied the *Vibhāṣāśāstra*. Prajñākara was so much impressed with him that he accompanied him to the kingdoms of Gaz and Bamiyan.[5]

II. Vinītaprabha was a celebrated sholar in the *vihāra* named Tu.se-sa-na situated at Chīnapati, a reason in the Panjab. He was of good reputation and had mastered the three *Piṭakas*. He had written a commentary on the *Pañcaskandhaśāstra* and the *Vidyāmātrasidhi-tridaśaśastra*. Being attracted with his scholarship, Hiuen-Tsiang stayed with him sor one year and two months, and from him, studied the *Abhidharmaśastra*, the *Abhidharmaprakaraṇa-śāstra* and *Nyāyadvāratarakaśāstra*.[6]

III. Candravarman was a famous Buddhist scholar in the Nagardhana *vihāra* at Jālandhara. Hiuen-Tsiang stayed with him sor four months and studied from him the *Prakaraṇapādavibhāṣāśāstra*.[7]

IV. Jayagupta, a renound Buddhist priest lived in a *vihāra* somewhere near the source of the Ganges. Hiuen-Tsiang remained with him for one winter and half the spring season and listened to him sermons on the *Vibhāṣā* according to the *sautāntrika* school.[8]

V. Mitrasena was a famous Buddhist scholar in the kingdom of Matipura. This place is identified with Rohilakhaṇḍa in and around the district of Bijanor in Uttara Pradesh. He was a disciple of Gunaprabha and was deeply versed in the *Tripitakas*. Hiuen-Tsiang stayed with him for a month in the spring and the summer following, studying from him the *Tattva-satyaśāstra* and the *Abhidharma-Jñānaprasthānaśāstra*.[9]

VI. Vīryasena was the chief priest in the *Bhadra-vihāra* near Kānyakubja. He was the

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3. Hui Li, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

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master of the *Tripitakas*. Hiuen-Tsiang stayed with him for three mouths for studying the *Vibhāṣā* of Buddadāsa which was known as the *Dharmavibhāṣāvyākaraṇa*.[10]

VII. Śīlabhadra was the Mahāsthavira of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra. He was thouroughly versed in the *sñtras* and *śāstras* and excelled other in discourse. At the tlme of arrival of Hiuen-Tsiang at Nālandā, he was of ninety years and was afflicted with pain. In a dream he was ordered by Maitreya to explain the true *dharma* and the *Yogaśāstra* for the benefit of those who had not yet hea d them. Doing that he will be cured. Further he was instructed by him not to ovorlook that there was priest of the count y of China who delighted in examining the *dharma* and was desirous to study with him so he should instruct him carefully.[11]

There were several eminent scholars in the Nālandā Mahāvihāra but Śīlabhadra had alone studied and understood the whole collection of the Buddistsa cred texts. On account of his eminent virtues and advanced age, he wa regarded as the chief member of the community of the monks.[12]

After visiting sacred places at Rājagrha, Hiuen-Tsiang returned to Nālandā and requested Śīlabhadra tc explain the *Yogaśāstra*. The latter taught him this branch of knowledge foa a period of one year and three months.[13] He heard the explanation of this *śāstra* thrice. Besides, from him, he studied the *Nyāyānusārāśāstra* once, the *Hetuvidyāśāstra* and the *Śabdavidyā* twice, and the *Śataśāsira* thrice. He had already studied the *Kosa*, *Vibhāṣā* and the *Śatapādābhidharmaśāstra* in Kashmir but he wanted to study them again at Nālandā in order to remove his doubts. Silabhadra taught him all these *śāstra*. He studied the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Peṇini at Nālandā which he has praised much.[14] Hiuen-Tsiang throughly investigated the language (Sanskrit) and by discussing with those scholars of the subject of the pure writingi, he made tremendous improvent in his knowledge. So he examined all the main sacred books of the Buddhists and studied the scriptures of the brahmaṇas for five years at Nālandā.[15]

After returning from Yaṣṭivana, Hiuen-Tsiang againt went to Nālandā and paid his due respect ta Śīlabhadra. This time his teacher asked him to explain to the congregation of the monks the *Mahāyānasamparigraha śāstra* and to make comments on the difficult

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10. Hui li, p. 84.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 105 9.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
14. Ibid.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

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passages in the *Vidyāmātrasiddhiśāstra*.[16] At the same time, Siṁhasvāmī had been explaining to the Buddhist monks at Nālandā the *Prāṇyamūla* and the *Śataśāstra* which were written by him to refute the principles of *yoga*. Hiuen-Tsiang refuted the chrges levelled against *yoga* and proved its authenticity. In order to substantiate his viewpoints, he composed a *śāstra* in in Sanskrit in three thousand *ślokas*. This book was presented to Śīlabhadra. Siṁhasvāmī was defeated and he returned to the *Bodhi vihāra* where from he sent his pupil Candrasiṁha to defeat and humiliate Hiuen-Tsiang but he was silent to see him.[17]

After completing his education, Hiuen-Tsiang wanted to return to China but Śīlabhadra persuaded him not to do so but the former was adament. He replied to Śīlabhadra that from him he had heard the profound exposition of *Yogacārbhūmiśāstra* and the texts of different schools. His mind was overjyoed and his visit there had been of utmost use. He wanted to go back and translate and explain to others also what he had studied.[18] However, prior to go to China, on the request of Śīlabhadra, he agreed to go to Kāmarūpa to meet Kumārarājā.[19]

VIII. Tathāgatagupta and Kṣāntisiṁha were two prominent Buddhist scholars in the Hiraṇya country. From Nālandā, Hiuen-Tsiang went to this region in eastrn Bihar. Before his arrival to the capital of Hiraṇya, a frontier king had deposed the king of this country. The new king had bestowed the capital city on tne Buddhist monks. Besides there he had built *vihāras*. The aforesaid two scholars were own brothers and resided in these *vihāras*. Hiuen-Tsiang stayed with them for a period of one year and studied the *Vibhaṣā* and the *Nyāyānusāra śāstras* from them.[20]

IX. In south Kośala there was a brahmaṇa scholar who was skilled in explaining the *Hetuvidyā* Hiuen-Tsiang remained with him for a month and studied the *Tsah-liang-lun* from him He has not mentioned his proper name.[21]

X. Coming to the Āndhra country, Hiuen-Tsiang reached Dhānyakaṭaka, a famous centre of Buddhist studies. There he came in contact with two Buddhist scholars, namely, Subhūti and Sūrya Both of them were famous for explaining the *Tripiṭaka* according to the *mahāsāṃghika* school. On this account, he stayed with them for several months studying from them the *Mūlabhidharma* and some other *śāstras*. They also studied the mahāyanist texts for

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16. Hui Li, p. 157.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
18. *Ibid.*, p 169.
19. *Ibid*, p. 169-171.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

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Hiuen-Tsiang and becoming bound together in mind they all went in company to pay reverence to the sacred places of their religion.[22]

XI. From Mūlasthānpura (Multān) going north east 700 *li*, Hiuen- Tsiang came to the kingdom of Parvata (a region in the Punjab). The capital city of this kingdom was a famous centre of Buddhist learning. There were three leading Buddhist priests whose claims for learning could serve for guidance to Huien-Tsiang so he stayed there for two years and studied from them the *Mūlābhidharmaśāstra*, the *Saddharmaparigrahaśāstra* and the *Praśikṣā-ratyaśāstra* as recognised in the *sammantīya* school of Buddhism.[23] He has not mentioned their names.

XII. Hiuen-Tsiang, after returning from western India to Nālandā, came to know that about three *yojanas* to the west of this place, there was a *vihāra* called Tiladaka[24] where lived a famous priest Prajñābhadra. He was a follower of the *sarvāstivādin* school. He had distinguished himself by his knowledge of the three *Piṭakas*, the *Śabdavidyā*, the *Hetuvidya* and some other *śāstras*. Hiuen-Tsiang stayed with him for two months and closely questioned him about matters on which he had doubts.[25]

XIII. From Tiladaka, Hiuen-Tsiang went to the hill called the Yaṣṭivana and stayed with Kṣatriya householder named Jayasena who was a native of Suratha (Surat) town situated on the western coast of India. He had written books on different *śāstras*. He was a versatile genious and had studied under the guidance of prominent teachers of his time, such as, the *Hetividyā* under Bhadraruci, the *Śabdavidyā* under Sthitamati and the *Yogācāra* from Śīlabhadra. He was a master of the four *Vedas*, Astronomy, Geography, Medical sciences, Magic and Arithmetic. His virtues made him the admiration of the period.[26]

Pūrṇavarmā, the king of Magadha had great respect for scholars. Hearing about Jayasena, he invited him to his court with an offering of the revenue of twenty large town for his support. But the declined to accept his offer. Śīlāditya (Harṣa) also requested him to come to his court and to accept the revenue of eighty large towns but he did not oblige him. He did not accept, his repeated request saying : "He who receives emoluments of the world, also is troubled with the concerns of life but now my object is to teach the character of the fetters of birth and death, how it is possible then to find leisure to acquiant myself with the

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22. Hui li, p. 137.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
24. Sinha, B.P., *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 380.
25. Hui li, p. 153.
26. *Ibid.*, p 135.

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concerns of the king."[27] From that time he constantly lived on the Yaṣṭivana mountain. There he was engaged in teaching the pupils and leading them on to preserve, and expounding the Buddhist texts. Hiuen-Tsiang stayed with him for two years and studied the *Vidyāmātra-siddhiśāstra* and several other texts. He also asked explanations of doubtful passages in the *Yogaśāstra* and the *Hetuvidyā*.[28]

XIV. The fame of Hiuen-Tsiang spread in different directions. A brāhmaṇa heretic from Kāmarūpa came to Nālandā to discuss certain points with the monks of that place. He challenged anyone to refute his principles and assured to give his head to the victor. No one could come to accept his challenge. One day Hiuen-Tsiang sent an attendant to destroy the written challenge and invite him for discussion. In the presence of Śīlabhadra and other monks of Nālandā, he was defeated by Hiuen-Tsiang but he did not take his head and appointed him as his servant with the order to follow the doctrines of the *mahāyāna*.[29]

This defeated and disgraced brāhmaṇa, in course of time, became the teacher of Hiuen-Tsiang. Before going to Orissa, Hiuen-Tsiang wanted to study a book entitled the *Hīnayāna* which was written with a purpose to refute and destroy the doctrines of the *mahāyāna*. On examining the text, he found several passages of doubtful character. On enquiry from this brāhmaṇa he came to know that he had deeply studied that particular text which, according to him was full of flaws. Hiuen-Tsiang wished to be enlightened on the points but the brāhmaṇa refused to instruct him on the argument that he was his servant. But Hiuen-Tsiang insisted on this point because he was not acquainted with the heretical doctrines. The brāhmaṇa, however agreed to instruct him after the midnight so that no one could know that he was studying under the guidance of his servant. After having grasped the defects in the book he wrote a refutation of it in 1600 *ślokas* and entitled it the *Destruction of Heresy*. He proved the authenticity and superiority of the doctrines of the *mahāyāna* He presented it to Śīlabhadra who praised it much. Hiuen-Tsiang was very grateful to his brāhmaṇa servent so he liberated him and allowed him to go to any place of his liking. He went to Kāmarūpa and informed Kumārarājā about the scholarship of Hiuen-Tsiang who immediately sent a messanger to Śīlabhadra at Nālandā to send him to Kāmarūpa.[30]

XV. After attending the *mahāmokṣapariṣad* at Prayāga in 643 A.D. Harṣa respectfully permitted Hiun-Tsiang to start for China. In his return journey, he met Siṃhaprabha and Siṃhacandra, the two famous Buddhist scholars who stayed in a *vihāra* at Virasaṇa near

27. Hui li, p. 153-54.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
29. Ibid., pp. 160-64.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-65.

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Kauśāmbī. There he stayed for two months and discussed with them some problems of the doctrines of *mahāyāna*. Under their guidance he studied the *Koṣasamparigrahaśāstra*, *Vidyāmātrasiddhaśāstra*, *Yogaśāstrakārikā* and *Abhidharmaśāstra* [31]

A general survey of his Indian teachers and the texts studied in their able guidance indicates that he was deeply interested in the doctrines of the *mahāyāna* Buddhism. So he was known as Mahāyāndeva among the mahāyānists but he did not leg behind in studying the *hīnayāna* texts also and on account of his knowledge of the doctrines of this school, he was considered as Mokṣadeva. He had intense curiosity to gain knowledge so he went to the scholars whom he considered superior to himself. After fulfilling his mission in India, he returned to his native place in order to benefit his countrymen with the true knowledge and interpretations of the teachings of the Buddha.

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31. Hui li, p. 260.

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Political Organisation of Bihar under the Turks
A.D. 1203-1412/A.H. 599-815

—Hasan Nishat Ansary

Tributary rulers and feudatory chiefs

The Turks ruled over parts of Bihar both north and south of the Ganges between A.D. 1203-1412 A.H. 599-815. Evidence shows that independent as well as semi-independent tributary rulers and feudatory chiefs flourished in some regions of Bihar and Tirhut. For some time the Karnata ruler was one such vassal ruler in Tirhut under[1] Muhammad Bin Tughluq and others. In the time[2] of *Gh*iyasuddin Tughluq Tirhut became an administrative division of the Empire and was placed under a military commander. As regards South[3] Bihar, feudatories ruled in *Sh*ahabad, Gaya, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad, Santhal Parganas and other districts. The Hindu chiefs of Tirhut[4] were practically independent so long as they acknowledged the authority of the Turks and paid an annual tribute to them. However, Haji Ilyas[5] divided Tirhut in two parts for administrative purposes. In one part he allowed the Hindu raja to remain undisturbed on condition of allegiance and loyalty, and in the other part he established his own rule. As regards the Hindu chiefs and zamindars in the other areas of Bihar[6] their tenure of power apparently depended solely on their good behaviour

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1. See, Chapter V (Assertion of Tughluq Control Over Bihar) by the writer in the Comprehensive History of Bihar, Vol. II, pt. I.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Refer *ibid* and Chapters II (Early Muslim Contact with Bihar and Invasion of Bakhtiyar Khalji), III (Bihar, the Delhi Sultans and Lakhnauti rulers 1206-1320) and VI (Bihar under Firoz Shah Tughluq and the Later Tughluqs), *CHB*, II, pt. I.
4. *Ibid.*
5. See, Chapter VI, *CHB*, II, pt. I.
6. *Ibid.* Also, the writer's paper entitled 'Bihar Under the Later Tughluqs' in the *Journal of the Bihar Purāvid Parisad* (K.K. Datta Commemoration Volume) IV-V (1980-81).

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towards their overlords, who did not interfere with the internal administration till their tribute was paid The Hindu chiefs of this period resemble the Hindu rajas and princes of the country who were allowed by the Mughals to hold their principalities on condition of paying a yearly tribute. At times like the Mughal tributaries and district governors they assumed independence and refused to pay the tribute. On the whole, it appears[7] from the Sanskrit literary and epigraphic evidence, that during the early Turkish rule both in Bihar and Tirhut, the Hindu rajas, princes and chiefs were giving free grants of land to Brahmanas, were promoting their religion by erecting new temples and images of their gods, and were patronising the study of their sacred literature.

Divisional administration

The Sultan was the pivot of the whole administrative mechanism, and for purposes of administration the empire was divided into different units. In the early days of Turkish rule the terms *wilayat*, *khitta*, *iqta* and *iqlim* were in general use to indicate an administrative unit of the Sultanate. The first three[8] terms were used without much discrimination regarding South Bihar. Tirhut or North Bihar which was placed under a military officer, finds mention both[9] as an *iqlim* (territory) and *wilayat* (division).

An *iqt'a* or *wilayat* implied a military command over an administrative division and the man entrusted with its charge was called a Muqti or *wali* who owed[10] his appointment to the emperor. Thus the muqtis or walis are comparable to Mughal subahdars or provincial governors who were immediate delegates from the emperor. These functionaries exercised great powers in their own jurisdiction. The structure of the State or Sultanate comprising such iqt'as or *wilayats* was necessarily decentralised and loose. The iqt'a of Bihar was placed under a Muqt'i, who was perhaps a miniature Sultan within his own charge and modelled his rule on the government at the centre. One of the three Bihar inscriptions dated A.D. 1353 describes[11] Malik Ibrahim Bayyu, the Muqt'i of Bihar, as "the pivot of the realm". A Muqt'i

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7. Refer Chapters II, III & V of the *CHB*, II, pt. I.
8. Minhaj has both *wilayat* or *wilayat-i-Bihar* (pp. 147, 242, 259) and *iqta-i-Bihar* (p. 139); *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* vide *TKB*, II, p. 227 refers to the governor of Bihar as '*wali*'; EIAPS (1961) p. 32 mentions *Khitta-i Bihar*; *Munis-ul-Qulub* (*MS*), p. 260 gives *iqta-i-Bihar*.
9. *BTFS*, p. 467; also see Chapter III of *CHB*, Vol. II, pt. I for numismatic and other evidences.
10. *JBORS*, V (1919), p. 334.
11. *JASB*, XLII (1873), p. 302.

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was apparently responsible for the civil and military administration of the iqt'a, Moreland[12] distinguishes between Iqt'adar or the holder of assignments and Muqt'i or governor of a division. He holds that Muqt'i's position was bureaucratic and not feudal; he was in charge of an iqt'a and was essentially an administrator. In the Turkish Sultanate of Hindustan there was no distinction between the civil and military department, and the Muqt'i was at once a military officer and a collector of revenue in the division. One of his duties was to maintain a body of troops for king's service, and the strength and pay of his troops were fixed by the king of whom he was the nominee. Quraishi is of the view that a *Wali* was higher than a Muqt'i and was vested with extraordinary powers. But the number of such provinces as had Wali was small, and the major part of the Sultanate was administered by governors with limited authority. It may be that during the earlier days of the Tughluq conquest of Tirhut Ahmad enjoyed the position of a *Wali* or governor with greater military and civil authority:[13] The government of a division probably contained departments corresponding to those of the central government, and the Muqt'i supervised their working. The Muqt'i was perhaps also called *hakim*. The Bihar inscription dated A.D. 1397 belonging to Mahmud Shah mentions[14] Ziaul Haq as hakim i-khitta, and the Malfuz Tahqiqat-ul-Ma'ani mentions[15] the Muqt's Kamgar Majdul Mulk as the *hakim*. Another Malfuz the Munis-ul-Muridin describes[16] Hatim Khan of the Bihar inscriptions dated A.D. 1309 and A.D. 1315 as the hakim of Bihar.

The heavy task of administration needed assistance. Each Muqt'i or divisional governor had a whole staff or graded officials both civil and military. The Rajgir Sanskrit inscription dated A.D. 1355 shows[17] that Malik Vayu (Bayyu) the *mandlesvara* (governor) of Magadha (Bihar) was aided in his duties by his *sevaka* (servant) and *sahayan* (assistant) shahnah (i.e. prefect or superintendent of police). Thus Hindu titles were retained in the designations of the officials. Other officials who helped him in the discharge of his administrative responsibilities, were the *sipahsalar*[18] or the salar[19] (general or commander-in-chief), the

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12. *ASMI* (Apyendix B) "Provincial Governors In the Thirteenth And Fourteenth Centuries" pp. 216-223; also see *RFMT*, pp. 28,29 fn. 5; and 35 fn 2.
13. For the status of divisional governors cf. *QASD*, pp. 186-187. For a reference to capture of Tirhut cf. Chapter V, *CHB*, Vol. II, pt. I.
14. *EIAPS* (1961), p. 32.
15. *Tahqiqat-ul-Ma'ani* (*MS*). ff.4b-5a.
16. *Munis-ul-Muridin* (*MS*), pp. 17.18.
17. *JBORS*, V (1919), p. 334.
18. *Bahrul-Ma'ani* (*MS*), pp. 5-6 refers to *Shi*habuddin Kobi as such.
19. *Ganj-i-la-Yafna* (*MS*), pp. 1-2 contains a referance to *salar* named Ahmad, who was the nephew of Malik Mahmud 'Iwaz the Mutasarrif of Khitta-i Bihar.

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sar-i-khail[20] (commissioned officer or junior commander), the parwana nawis[21] (writer of letters patent), the *Katib* (secretary)[22], the Khazin[23] (treasurer) and the hajib-i-[24] Hinduan-i-mamalik or chamberlain for the Hindus of the division. The sipahsalar or salar supervised the organisation of the army, Informed the divisisional governor on important military matters and normally acted on his advise and led expeditions. The sar-i-*Kh*ails participated in military campaigns with their units, and at times they helped in the maintenance of law and order. The *parwana nawis* in compliance with official instructions drew up and finalised official documents like certificate of a government grant or license, a former order, decree, edict or a public ordinance emanating from the governor indepedently or on behalf of the sovereign. The *Katib* looked to the disposal of epistles, applications and papers according to the governor's orders. The *Kh*azin was responsible for keeping an account of the income in cash and kind. The function of the *hajib-Hinduan-i-mamalik* was to look into the complaints lodged by the aggrieved Hindu subjects and place the paper received from them before the governor for final orders. Perhaps from the time to time deputy governors were also appointed to assist the governor in his duties. The Lakhisarai[25] inscription dated A. D. 1297 seems to suggest that during the time of Ruknuddin Kaikaus of Bengal such an arrangement was made in Bihar.

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20. *Malfuz-us-Safar*, (*MS*), p. 46. This military rank was below that of Sipahsalar, *BTFS*, p. 145. Bu*gh*ra *Kh*an's account of Turki*sh* hierarchy, which could be applied to the army groupings in early mediaeval India 'suggests a unit of ten under a Sar-i-Khail rising by decimal progression through the divisions of Sipahsalar, Amir and Malik to the supreme commond of a *Kh*an'. BTFS, p. 145; FMRI (2nd ed), p. 268. Accordingly a sar-i-Khail had ten horsemen under him; a sipahsalar directed ten sar-i-Khails; an amir commonded ten sipahsalars; a malik had authorety over ten amirs and a *Kh*an's forces contained at least those of ten maliks. *BTFS*, p. 145. For details cf, *QASD*, pp. 145-146.

21. *Mukh-ul-Ma'ani*, p. 16 mentions *Kh*waja Shamsuddin as parwanah nawis.

22. *Ganj-i-la-Yakhfa* (*MS*), p. 36 mentions Saiyed-us-Sa'adat as such.

23. *EIM* (1913-14), pp. 16-17 plate V: *IB*, IV, pp.1-3, Fig. I. The Baridargah inscription of Bihar dated A.D. 1242 mentions Mubarak Khan the treasurer under whose orders the building was erected and who set up the inscription. Minhaj the author of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri does not mention Mubarak's appointment as treasurer in Bihar although the author was well acquainted with "Muriduddin Mehtar Mubark ul Khazin us Sultani." Minhoj, p. 248.

24. Biharsharif inscription belonging to the reign of Fmperor Firoz Tughluq. *EIAPS* (1961), pp. 22:30 plate VII (a).

25. See Chapter III, *CHB*, II, pt. I.

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In some cases[26] there were absentee governors in the iqt's. Under Muhammad Bin Tughluq the division of Bihar was placed under an absentee governor who ruled through a *Na'ib* (deputy) or acting governor. At times deputies were appointed by the central government. The Biharsharif inscription[27] of the emperor dated A.D. 1332 makes mention of a Na'ib. Again, there is a reference in the *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*[28] to one Khwaja Khizr as the Na'ib (Deputy) of Majdul Mulk, the Muqti of Bihar. Obviously, the Na'ib was an officer in a division, who performed the duties of the governor, when the governor also held a court appointment, or was employed on other duty. Further, the same inscription also contains reference to the renovation of a building for (the residence of the) imperial Na'ib.[29] Perhaps it was intended as the divisional secretariat-cum-residency of the Na'ib and of his predecessors and successors in office.

Inteligence System

Royal Barids, who performed the duties of news carriers or reporters and those of confidential spies, were posted in towns, market places, and almost every inhabited locality for supplying information to the emperor. The Bihar inscription of A.D. 1359-60 belonging to Firoz *Sh*ah Tug*h*luq refers to the reporter of the division (barid-i khitta) through whose exertion and at whose request the buildig was renewed.[30] The secret spies of the central government were intended to serve as a check upon the activities of the governors and their officials. The governors could always be removed for their maladministration or malpractices.[31] When Bihar was under the political control of Sultan Shamsuddin Firoz of Bengal Malik Nathu, the Muqti, was dismissed for corrupt practices and Malik 'Alauddin Gul Bahisht was put in his place.

The Army

The army in Bthar mainly consisted[32] of the infantary and the cavalry. According to

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26. See *BTFS*, p. 38. While Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish placed the iqt'a of Kanauj in the charge of his eldest son he assigned its Niyabat to Khwaja Aziz.
27. *JASB*, XLII (1873), p. 25; EI, II, pp. 291-292.
28. *Zain Badr Arabi*, II, p. 378.
29. *JASB*, XLII (1873), p. 25. A tradition has it that it was the residency (*Sukunat*) of the Na'ib *Ibid*, p. 25.
30. *Ibid.*, p, 303; *EIAPS* (1961), p. 28. The name and title of the reporte appears to be either Malik Fahim or Malik Kafi.
31. *Malfuz-us-Safar* (*MS*), p. 47.
32. *Ganj-i-la Yafna* (*MS*), pp. 58-59.

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Ferishtah[33], Yahia[34] and Salim[35] the cavarly consisted of fine Arab and Turkish horses. Perhaps during the thirteenth, fourteenth and the ear y fifteenth centuries, the Muqti of Bihar could organise, discipline and pay an army as he wished, either in cash or kind. But the Sultan fixed the pay and the equipment of the divisional army. Soldiers were drawn from different nationalities. Feri*sh*tah[36] states that after Bakhtiyar's incursions into Maner and Bihar, Ghorids, Ghaznavids, and Khurasanis from different regions of Hindustan joined his army. Minhaj[37] only speaks of the *Kh*aljis. We do not hear anything about the Af*gh*ans, the Indian Muslims and the Hundus. Being the highest executive in the division, the Muqti evidently enjoyed supreme command over the divisional army which he could use in times of emergency without securing the formal permission of the Sultan.

Forts and Fortification

Building of new forts or repair of old ones was considered necessary, for they served as means of defence of security. After Haji Ilyas had established his direct control over areas of North Bihar, he built[38] a fort at Hajipur. Further, a fort[39] was costructed by the Turki*sh* officials in Saran during the reign of Firoz Tu*gh*luq. Very probably a commandant was posted in every fort, and such was the fort at Harsinghpur[40] (Darbhanga). It appears from an inscription which was found at Bihar belongs to the reign of Firoz *Sh*ah[41] that the various forts established at different places in Bihar were placed under the general supervision of a *Sipahsalar* or commander-in-chief.

Subdivisional administration

The whole area of division or country of South Bihar variously described in Persian chronicles and Epigraphs as *Mamlikdt-i-Bihar*[42], *iqta-i-Bihar*[43], *wilayat-i-Bihar*[44] or Khitta-i-

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33. *Tarikh*, II, p. 296.
34. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 126, 127.
35. *RS* (*Tr.*), p. 103.
36. *Tarikh*, II, pp. 292-293.
37. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 147.
38. Bayaz of Mulla Taqia; Ma'asir (May June, 1949), pp. 93-94.
39. This is suggested by the Tajpur-Basahi (Saran) Inscription of Firoz Shah dated A.D. 1373. See, Chapter V, *CHB*, Vol. II, pt. I.
40. Bayaz of Mulla Taqia: Ma'asir (May-June, 1949), pp. 93-94.
41. *EIAPS* (1961), pp. 29-30, plate VIII (a).
42. Ferishtah, *Tarikh*, II,p. 293.
43. Minhaj, p. 139.
44. *Ibid*, p. 147,

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Bihar[45] was under the direct rule of the Turkish rulers. It was subdivided into smaller divisions, which were again subdivided into towns, and every town or city had its dependency parganas. The entire (occupied) area of Tirhut was called Mamlikat-i-Tirhut (kingdom of Tirhut).[46] It also finds meotion as an *iqlim*[47] and *wilayat*.[48] The smallest unit in the iqta was a village. Under Firoz, Gaya appears to have been one of the districts under an *adhikarin*[49] (governor). The district governor ruled like a little Muqti in his own jurisdition. Thus the divsion of the muqti was subdivided and governed district governors like that of the subahdars by nabobs.[49]a The district governors may be likened to the nabobs who mostly held their commissions from the subahdars to whose province they belonged. A town or city was known as *qasba* and its governor was usually the *hakim* and the *kotwal*. The *Maktubat-i-Sadi*[50] a contemporary work contains letters adderessed to Qazi *Sh*amsuddin, *hakim-i-qasba-i-Chausa* or the administrator of the township of Chausa. Another work, the *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*[51] speaks of Qazi Muinuddin, the hakim of Bihar (city). Yet other works, the *Ganj-i-la-Yafna*[52] and the *Bahrul-Ma'ani*[53], refer to Qazi *Sh*amsuddin *hakim-i-qasba-i-Khakor*.[54] Apparently the *hakim*, an executive officer who was usually appointed from among the Qazis, besides performing excutive functions exercised some amount of judicial authority. It should be mentioned that in the early Turkish period, the *hakim* was a precise designation, but was used to denote any high ranking executive officer, whether governor of an iqt's or of a smaller administrative unit. As such, Hakim was inferior to Muqti and Wali. Moreover, it is an established fact that Muqti or Wali was the highest executive in the iqta or *wilayat*. On one occassion Majidul Mulk, the Muqti and Qazi Muinuddin, the Hakim of Bihar (city) were together present[55] in the same assembly.

The *Kotwal* was resposible for policing the towns. He maintained law and order in the

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45. *EIAPS* (1961), p. 32.
46. *Basatin-ul-Uns* (*MS*), f. 11a.
47. *BTFS*, p. 467.
48. *CCIM*, II, p. 60 No. 384.
40. *IA*, XX (1891), pp. 313-315.
49a. i.e. nawab, plural form of naib, a deputy.
50. *Maktubat-i-Sadi*, p. 3.
51. *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*, i, p. 190; II, p. 352.
52. *Ganj-i-la-Yafna* (*MS*), p. 65.
53. *Bahr-ul-Ma'ani* (*MS*), p. 78.
54. The place remains unidentified.
55. *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*, I, p. 190; *Ibid*, II, p. 352.

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town and looked after the welfare of its inhabitants. There are occasional references[56] by Makhdum *Sh*arfuddin Maneri to utility of cavalry and infantry and to the services of the Muqt'is and *Kotwals* stationed in Bihar by the king. It appears that they maintained peace in the city, kept the roads safe for wayfares from plunderers and highway men who were so numerous, prevented the rebels from gaining ascendancy and thus enabled the people to live in peace. The *Kotwals* also guarded the frontier outposts. Mulla Taqia refers[57] to the appointment of a *Kotwal* for *Sh*amsuddinpur (Samastipur) in order to guard the frontier between the areas of Tirhut under direct Turkish rule and the regions of same country administered by the Hindu raja. Further, a *Kotwal* sometimes served[58] as commandant in charge of a fort. The fort at Harsinghpur (Darbhanga) was placed[59] in the charge of a *Kotwal* by Muhammad Bin Tu*gh*luq.

An aggregate of collection of villages known as *parganah*. The *Parganahdar* was the chief parganah officer. A contemorary work, the *Risala Wafat*[60] *Nama* of Makhdum *Sh*arfuddin Yahia Maneri, refers to the *Parganahdar* of Rajgir, Sultan *Sh*ah by name. Besides maintaining peace and order, he perhaps also supervised the collection of revenue. In addition to Rajgir, the other *parganah* which finds mention[61] is the parganah of *haveli-i-Bihar*, which included lands (in Chargawan near *Shaikh*pura) in the south eartern portions of Monghyr district bordering the Biharsharif region. Perhaps some of the villages in the vicinage of Bihar, the capital city of South Bihar were constituted into a *parganah* and given the name of *parganah haveli-i- Bihar*, signifying a *parganah* comprising neighbouring regions of the capital of Bihar. The pre-fix *Haveli* which is still used for Kharagpur, a village in South Monghyr district and in the neighbourhood of Bihar presumably implies that the village formed part of the *parganah* of *Haveli-i-Bihar*. The word *haveli*[62] as prevalent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Turkish Kingdom of Delhi generally carried the meaning of "neighbourhood' 'or "environs". The Haveli lands during Turkish rule formed tracts of country adjoining

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56. *Ganj-i-la-Yafna* (*MS*), pp. 58-59; also see *JBRS*, XLII (June1956), pp. 179-180. *Bahr-ul-Ma'ani* (*MS*), pp. 12, 97 and *Ganj-ila-Yakhfa*, (*MS*) p. 36 refer to Nizamuddin Kotwal and Badh Kotwal, respectively. The *Ganj-i-la.Yakhfa* (*MS*), p. 1 also refers to the house (*khana*) of Malik Badh Kotwal.
57. *Bayaz of Mulla Taqia*: *Ma'asir* (May-June, 1949), pp,. 93-94.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Risala Wafat Nama* (*Rahat-ul-Qulub*), p. 28.
61. *Tahqat-ul-Ma'ani* (*MS*), ff. 4b-5a.
62. *ASMT.* p. 23 fn. I.

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capital towns and supplied the demands of Turkish garrisons and civil establishments[62a]. The region in the vicinage of Delhi was known as *havali-i-Delhi* (The Delhi Country). It denoted an specific administrative area to the west of the Jamuna. It had no governor and was directly under the Revenue Ministry[63]. Similarly the *parganah Haveli-i-Bihar* appears to have had enjoyed an exceptional administrative position in that it had no governor and was directly under the revenue department of iqt'a a *wilayat* of Bihar. The sub-division *Haveli-i-Delhi* in the Mughal period covered a much smaller area. We also hear[64] of the *parganahs* of Teghra and Balia in North Monghyr.

The government officials did not distrub the internal administration of the villages. Apparently, the villages in Tirhut continued to manage their affairs through their own headmen mentioned[65] by the chronicler as *Muqaddams*.

The Judiciary

Th Sultan appointed Qazis in the various localities of the iqt'as on the recommendation of the Chief Justice (Qazi-ul-Quzzat or Qazi-i-Mamalik) for the dispensation of justice and observance of Muslim law. There was a Qazi at Arwal[66], situated in the district of Gaya. Evidence given by witnesses weighed[67] with the Qazi, who pronounced judgement on its basis. Since the emperor was the fountain-head and the highest court of justice in the realm, a complainant from Bihar could have his suit tried in Delhi.

The main reason why judicial officers were appointed by the Sultan in various parts of the empire was to try cases concerning the Muslim subjects. Ghiyasuddin, the first of the Tughluqs, appears to have promulgated[68] the Islamic ordinances and the traditions, obviouly

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62a. Under early British rule these implied portions of territory directly under governmental control. Such terrirories formed householp or demesne lands of the government and did not belong to zamindars. Thes British government determined the system of managemant for realising revenues for the ryots. Often the Haveli lands were farmed out to agents or large speculating renters who oppressed the peasants. Refer, R. Dutt. *The Economic History of India* (Nasik: 1963), I, pp. 79-80.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Bayaz* of Mulla Taqia vide Ma'asir (May-June, 1949), pp. 93-94.

65. *Basatin-ul-Uns* (*MS*). f. 12a-13a.

66. Khwan-i-Pur Ni'amat p. 97 speaks of Badruddin Qazi-i-Arwal.

67. Ibid., p. 59.

68. *Basatin-ul-Uns* (MS), ff. 11b-12a.

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for the Muslim settlers in Tirhut. Barani[69] writes that after its conquest Firoz *Sh*ah Tu*gh*luq appointed (Judicial) officers to enforce Muslim law in Tirhut. Non-Muslims, howevers, could not be brought under it, at least in their social relations. Jurists therefore, distinguish between ta*sh*ri'i (canoncial) and ghair ta*sh*ri's (non-canonical) law. The Muslims were guided exclusively by the tashri'i law in their social and personal affairs. The government pursued a policy of minimum interference in the social affairs of the Hindus and applied the non-tashri'i law deciding their cases. The Hindu law and the customary law embodying local customs (t'azir), which had grown out of the practical needs of the times, war psesumably followed in regard to them in such matters as inheritance, the sale or transfer of land, marriage and so on.[70] The established legal practice in Bihar and Tirhut was hardly disturbed by the Muslims. In fact several digests[71] of Hindu law were compiled in Mithila during Turkish rule. The *Sugati* Sopana, a manual on law, complied by Bhavasarma lays down the rules for the performance of obsequial rites.[72] Ramadatta wrote a manual entitled *Dashakarmapaddhati* dealing with rituals.[73] Chandesvara Thakur compiled several law digets, the *Krityaratnakara*, the *Danaratnakara*, the *Vyavahararatnakara*, the *Grihastharatnakara* and a book on politics and law, the *Rajanitiratnakara*. The digest writer Upadhyaya Sridatta who flourished at the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth century wrote several manuals on rituals, customs and religious observances. In one of his manuals the *Sradhakalpa* dealing with obsequial rites the author has incidentally touched on the widow's right of succession to her husband's property[75]. The Maithila digest-writer Dipakalika, who flourished in the early fifteenth century wrote a commentary on *Yajanavalky Smriti*. After him another digest-writer Pandit Narasimha Thakur compiled the digest known as *Pramana Pallava*. Then about this time Pandit Bhanudutta son of Ganesvara Misra wrote a digest known as *Parijata*, a book on law[78]. Besides, Harinatha Upadhyaya compiled a digest *Smritisara Samuchhaya* and Rudradhara wrote several digests towards the close of the fourteenth century.[79] All these law digests dealt with rules of inheritance, adoption, succession,

69. BTFS, pp. 588-589.
70. *RFMT*, p. 230 fnl.
71. Jha. Laxmi Kanta "Nibandhkaras of Mithila" *Studies In Law* : *An Anthology of Essays in Municipal and International Law*, pp. 388-443.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*

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marriage, conduct, penance and expiation, customs, rituals and religious observances. The village *panch* (arbiter) perhaps continued[80] and for trying cases he charged[81] the customary fee (*nikar*) either in cash or in kind from both the plaintiff and the defendent. Mention should be made of the fact that in early mediaeval India a separate judicial organisation existed for the army.

Sources of the State Revenue

The principal sources of State income were several. Firstly, the tax on agricultural produce known as *Kh*araj[82] was realised from the non-Muslims (varying from 1/10 to 1/2). Secondly, '*Ushr* (tithe) or 10% of produc was taken by the state from such lands held by a Muslim as were watered by natural means. But from the lands which were watered by means of the bucket only a 6% tax was levied. It was possibly realised from Bihar. '*Ushr* has not been specifically mentioned in connection with Bihar, but during the early phase of the Turkish Sultanate this fraction was followed[83] to some extent in India. With the embracement of Islam by the non Mulims in large numbers it was not possible to maintain the distinction between *Kh*araj and '*Ushr*. Consequently *Kh*araj came to be realised both from Muslim and non-Muslim land-holders[84]. Thus the distinction between '*Ushri* (tithe-land) and *Kh*araji (tribute-land) disappeared, and at an early date the entire country was teachnincally *Kh*araji or tribute-land. Thirdly, the *Jiziya*[85] or scutage was levied on non-Muslims. Since it was leived on divisions or provinces of North India, Bihar may be said to paying it during the early period of Turkis rule. It was a tax in lieu of military service on the able-bodied non-Muslims. The Brahman priests, children, women and the physically handicapped were exempted from it. Here the Sultan followed the old Indian practice according to which the priests were exempted from payment of taxes. Fourthly, the *Zakat*[86] or annual poor-rate on definite forms of property was collected from Muslims to defray the cost of religious endow-

80. *Dhurtasamagama*, pp. 19-20.
81. *Ibid.*
82. Minhaj, p. 163 mentions Tirhut as paying *Kh*araj (tribute) to, the Turks. Also, Chapter V, *CHB*, Vol. II, pt. I and the writers artical, 'Bihar Under the Later Tughluqs' in *JBPP* (K.K.Datta Commemoratiou Volume) IV-V (1980-81).
83. *EMRI* (2nd.ed) p. 280; *ASMI*, p. 14.
84. *FMRI* (2nd ed.) p, 280.
85. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 147 would take us into believing that various countries or divisions of North India used to pay *Jiziya* and *Kh*araj. Also, Chapter III, *CHB*, Vol. II, pt. I.
86. Khwan-i-pur Ni'amat, p. 29. In the case of gold and silver and also merchandise a zakat of 2½% was levied.

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ments, pensions and stipends to men of piety and poverty. This tax was realised from Muslims who had attained the age of majority and were in full possession of their faculties. Fifthly, As-sadaqah[87] or voluntary alms was contributed by the Muslims. Sixthly, the *ghanimah*[88] or booty captured in war was also a source of state income. During the period Khums or 1/5 of the spoils of war or of any mine or teasure trove discovered by body of men was claimed by the state as its share. Seventhly, *Marsum*[89] i e. customary or prescribed fees or taxes were charged by officials of the *Diwani*. Desesving persons secured exemption from it. Eighthly, there was perhaps income also from customs and excise, and heirless prope.ty.

Fiscal Administration

The Insha-i-Mahru[90] speaks of the *karkuns* (or clerks and writers of the revenue department) of Bihar and mentions audit (hisab) as one of their functions. The *Parganahdar*[91] was perhaps assisted by the *Muqaddams*[92] (village headmen) and the other subordinate officials. The *Karkuns* helped him in the collection of land tax and other cesses and dues from the peasants and others The internal administration of the villages was left to the village communities. Sometimes central officers were sent to regulate the financial affairs of the province. For example, Malik Mahmud the Mutasarrif (superintendent of audit and account) was sent[93] by emperor Firoz *Shah* to supervise the finances of the division (Khitta) of Bihar.

The Muqti had to collect the revenue due for his charge, and, after deducting from it the divisinal expenditure and the amount granted to him as his remuneration, he remitted the surplus to the central government. The financial transactions of the Muqt'i in regard to both receipt and expenditure were audited by the officers of the Revenue Ministry (*Diwan-i-Wizarat*) in the capital.

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87. *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*, II, pp. 337, 358.
88. Minhaj, p. 147. Frrish*t*ah, II, pp. 292-293 refers ro *Amwal wa ghanaim* acquired during conquest of Bihar.
89. Ganj-i-la Yakhfa (MS), p. 36; also see PUJ, XII (1958), p. 80.
90. Insha-i Mahru, (KBOPL Microfilmed MS), ff. 275-276; also see TKB, II, p. 395.
91. *Risala Wafat Name* (Rahat-ul-Qulub), p. 28.
92. *Basatin-ul-Uns* (*MS*), f. 12a-13a.
93. See the 45th discourse dated 13 *Zilhija A*.H. 760/Tuesday 5 November A.D.1359 in *Bahr-ul-Ma'ani* (*MS*), p. 87. Both *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*, II, p. 296 and *Ganj-i-la Yafna* (*MS*), pp. 12---refer to him as "*Kh*waja Mahmud 'Iwaz Mutasarrif *Khitta-i-Bihar*." The Ganj-i-la-Yafna mentions him under the date 18 Zilhijja A.H.760/Sunday 10 November A.D. 1359. The wording used in the *Bahr-ul-Ma'ahi* (*MS*), p. 87 are: "Malik Mahmud az Firoz *Sh*ah.....barai tarbyat b'az umur dar khitta-i-Bihar amad."

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Mode of payment to State employees and soldiers

Officers and soldiers were paid either in cash or by grant of land. The contemporary work Insha-i-Mahru[94] of 'Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru speaks of the revenue *(sim)* of a group of villages known as Acrah near Bihar being adjusted in the account for salary *(muwajib)* of a person, who was probably an officer in the divisional Diwan-i-Arz (Military Department). It also states that the revenue of that group of villages was adjusted towards the payment of the salary of the soldiers (*yaran*) under him. Another contemporary work, the *Basatin-ul-Uns*,[95] makes reference to the assignment of iqt'as (divisions of land) to village headmen (*Muqaddams*) in Tirhut. Ferishtah,[96] Yahia[97] and Salim[98] point out that sometimes the army men of Bihar received remuneration or pay in kind.

Land grants

Lands were given as subsidy for religious and charitable purposes. The *Manaqib* refers[99] to the wazifa or land bestowed in gift from (the Parganah of) Rajgir being allowed for similar purposes. As the *Manaqib* states that the gift of land was conferred on the Makhdum at the instance of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq, it seems that estates in land were reserved or set apart as royal demesne or crown land out of which endowments for pious and other uses were granted on the order of the emperor. Further, the Tahqiqat-ul-Ma'ani containing the discourses of *Shaikh* Ahmad Amun mentions[100] that Kamgar styled as Majd-ul-Mulk Muqt'a, who was the governor of Bihar, had made grant of lands to Shaikh Sharfuddin for the maintenance of the establishment serving the needs of the poor and the destitute travellers and wayfarers. These grants stand in comparison with the Sayurghal and Madad Mash conferred during the Afghan-Mughal rule on learned men, saints and others, and were also given for the upkeep of mosques shrines, and charitables purposes. Not unlike the Sayurghal and Madad Mash these grants evidently implied the pious hope that the grantee shall devote himself to praying for the everlasting glory of the Empire. But these lands were different from

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94. Insha-i-Mahru (*KBOPL*: Microfilmed MS), ff. 275-276. The person bears the title and name of Majlis-i-Ali Khan-i-Kabir wa Khaqan-i-Kabir 'Azam Muhammad Zaffr Khan. Obviously, Acrah vas a parganah.
95. *Basatin-ul-Uns* (MS), f. 12a-13a.
96. Tarikh, II, p. 296,
97. Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, pp. 126, 127.
98. RS (Tr.), p. 103.
99. Manaqib-ul-Asfia (Calcutta), pp. 133-134.
100. Tahqiqat-ul-Ma'ani (MS), ff. 4b-5a.

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the assignment of lands to state employees and soldiers in that they were not given in return for the performance of any kind of service whether civil or military. Even during the early phase of the political dominance of the Turks in North India there was a clear-cut distinction between wazifa or land grants meant for charitable and iqt'a or assignment of lands for remunerative purposes. This was the case in Bihar. The land in (*parganah*) Rajgir given for charitable purposes was styled as wazifa. In the days of the early Turkish rule land assigned to the officials and soldiery were known as iqt'a, signifying a division of land. It was during the Afghan-Mughal period that the land grants given in remuneration were called *jagir-lands* and these given for charitable purposes were denominated Madad Mash and Sayurghal.

Public works

The provincial governors attended to some public works. It is evident from the Gaya inscription[101] dated A D. 1373 and the Biharsharif inscription[102] dated A.D. 1350-60 belonging to the time of Sultan Firoz Shah that temples and mosques which had fallen into disrepair were repaired. The Bediban inscription[103] of Muhammad Bin Tughluq dated A.D. 1346 indicates that wells were sunk to provide water facilities to the general public. Moreover, the inscription[104] found at Bihar dated A.D. 1396-97 refers to the building of Khanqah as a shelter for the weak by the governor of the division Ziaul Haq during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah. Buildings for offices of the divisional government were constructed by the government. The Bihar-Sharif inscription[105] of Muhammad Bin Tughluq dated A.D. 1332 probably refers to the renovation of a building or palace (*imarat*) which served at the secretariat-cum-residency of the divisional rulers and their deputies.

Capital of Southern Bihar

In pre-Mauryan times the capital of the kingdom of Magadha comprising modern Southern Bihar and other regions was Rajagriha (Rajgir), a city surrounded by five hills forming a natural defence. But in the days of the ancient Mauryas, under whom the kingdom grew into an empire which held together North India and the far north-west, the capital was shifted to Pataliputra on the right or south bank of the river Ganges. It remained the imperial Metropolis under their successors upto a time. About the time of the Turkish invasion Magadha was ruled from Vajrasasan (Bodh Gaya). The capital of the kingdom or state of Anga (Eastern Bihar) was at Champa (modern Champanagar in Bhagalpur district).

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101. *IA*, XX (1891), pp. 313-315.
102. *EIAPS* (1961), p. 28 pl. vii (a).
103. *Ibid*, pp. 25.26.
104. *Ibid*, p. 32
105. *JASB*, XLII (1873), p. 25; *EI*, II, pp. 291-292.

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After Bakhtiyar's conquest in A.D. 1199 the town of Bihar (Odantapuri) became the seat of the Turkish governors of the division of South Bihar. The discovery of inscriptions in Bihar, mentioning the governor and other divisional officials as well as central representatives, and the deputation of central officers and employees to Bihar for administrative purposes suggests that Bihar was the capital of Southern Bihar. Besides, the location of the residency and office buildings of the rulers and their deputies and the burial places of such governors as Bakhtiyar Khalji and Malik Bayyu at Bihar also supports this. Again, the reference that an officer of the *Turushka* (Turkish) soldiery took up residence there also indicates this.[105]a Moreover, the fact of its being the seat and centre of the cultural activities of holy personages also shows that the capital of Southern Bihar region was the city of Bihar. In the year A.D. 1359, during the reign of Emperor Firoz Tughluq, Patna was for the first time intended[106] to be the capital not only of Bihar but of the entire principality of iqlim-ush-sharq or territory of the east, probably comprising Awadh-Jaunpur, Bihar and Bengal. It was, however, Shershah Suri (A.D. 1540-1545), who in A.D. 1541 transferred the capital to Patna, which was then a small village dependent on Bihar. He founded the new capital city of Patna protected by a fortress.[106]a

Military headquarters of Northern Bihar

As regards the separate principality of Tirhut (North Bihar), perhaps it had no definite or fixed capital under the early Turks. On the contrary there were several military camps from where control over the region was exercised. These were Simraon,[107] Bediban[108] (Champaran), Tajpur-Basahi[109] (Saran), Darbhanga,[110] and Harsingpur.[111] This seems to have been a continuation of the early practise, for we hear of as many as eight victory camps (*jayaskandhavaras*) under the Palas but not of their capital.[112] Perhaps in the time of Haji

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105.a See, Chapters II, III. V and VI, CHB, II, pt. I.

106. Refer, Chapter VI, *ibid.*

106.a *Tarikh-i-Daudi* of Abdullah, HIED, IV, p. 477.

107. cf. Chapter V, *CHB*, Vol. II, pt. I; the writer's article, Bihar under the Later Tughluqs' in *JBPP* (K K. Datta commemoration Volume) IV-V (1980-81).

108. *EIAPS* (1961), pp. 25-26.

109. cf. *Nalini Kanta Bhattasali Commemoration Volume* (Dacca Museum: 1966), pp. 199-204.

110. *Bayaz* of Mulla Taqia, Ma'asir (May-June 1949), pp. 93-94.

111. *Ibid.*

112. *Sharma, R.S. : Feudal Elements in Pala and Pratihara Polity* (750-1000) *JIH*, Vol. XLI (1963), pp. 283-84. Three of the eight Pala victory camps were situated at Mudgagiri

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Ilyas of Bengal alone, the regions of Tirhut under the direct rule of the Muslims had its fixed headquarters at Hajipur.[113]

At the time of the Turkish invasion the capital of Tirhut was at Pa-ta (Simarampattana or Simraongarh). In remote antiquity Tirhut witnessed on its soil the rise of republics and kingdoms. The political centre of the republic of the Licchavis, Vrijis or Vajjis (Janakpur in Nepal and the old Muzaffarpur district of North Bihar) was established at Vaisali (modern Basarh in the Vaisali district). The city of Vaisali was retained as the capital of the Vaisali monarch or kingdom, covering a part of the districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur, and Darbhanga.[114] But in the Mughal period the whole area covered by north and south Bihar was constituted into a single province with Patna as its political headquarters. This arrangement continued during the British period and is adhered to currently.

(Monghyr) Vataparvataka(Modern Vatesvara-parvata near Patharghata in the Bhagalpur district) and Pataliputra (modern Patna). Others were Ramavati (near modern Gaur in the Malda district), Vilasapura or Haradhama (unidentified), Sahasaganda (unidentified), Kancanpura and Kapilavasaska. Dharmapala held his court at Kanauj and if we include it in this list the total number of capitals would be nine.

113. *Bayaz* of Mulla Taqia : Ma'asir (May-June 1949), pp. 93-94.

114. The kingdom of Videha comprising portions of the districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, and parts of the districts of Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Purnea, and tract of land to the north in Nepal Terai, had Janakpur (now in Nepal) as its administrative centre.

Refer also *HGTC*, pp. 93-94 for the republican states of the Nallas and the Moriyas of Gorakhpur-Saran region.

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A Survey of Education in Patna Division (1860-1870)

—B.K. Sinha

In the period under review, Patna division was under the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and it comprised the districts of Champaran, Darbhanga, Gaya, Muzaffarpur, Patna, Saran, and Shahabad.[1] But in this paper an attempt has been made to study the progress of education in Patna division (before its reorganization a few years ago) with its boundaries, consisting of Gaya, Patna and Shahabad districts.

This was broadly the period when systematic efforts were being made to introduce a comprehensive and co-ordinate system of education as had been visualised in the Wood's, Despatch of 18 July, 1854. Attempts were made to introduce modern education on the lines suggested in the famous Despatch. There was a temporary set-back on account of the outbreak of the 'Mutiny' in 1857-59. But after its suppression there was rapid expansion of education. F. Halliday, the Lt. Governor of Bengal, took much interest in the efforts to lay the foundation of a modern education in Bihar. He significantly observed, "Our Wisdom no less than our duty, is to preserve in what we have begun, and not to turn our backs upon Bihar or any other parts of our territory, because there is difficulty or danger in the path of improvement".[2]

There were certain impediments in the growth of education. Most of the government officers were indifferent to it although a few of them rendered commendable service. At the same time there was no incentive to the students. No publicity was given to the distribution of prizes in the schools. The prizes were not sufficiently attractive. Moreover. there was undue delay in their distribution with the result that they lost their charm.

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1. W.W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XI, 1886, p. 90.
2. J.N. Sarkar, and J.C. Jha, *A History of the Patna College*, 183-1963, p. 27,

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The following are some of the instance of the delay[3] :—

	Year	*Examination ended on*	*Prizes distributed on*
Gaya	1859-60	21.2.1860	10.6.1860
	1860-61	3.1.1861	9.1.1861
	1861-62	10.12.1861	10.7.1862
Patna	1859-60	21.4.1860	28.4.1860
	1860-61	24.4.1861	11.5.1861
	1861-62	1.5.1862	9.8.1862
Arrah	1859	25.4.1859	Not distributed
	1860	1.2.1860	17.2.1860
	1861	6.4.1861	7.8.1861

One of the reasons for such inordinate delay was that the local committees sent their indents very late and there was delay also in passing of the indents. So Cockburn, the Commissioner of Ptna division, asked the local committees to send their indents at least ten months before the date of examination. He also suggested that attractive prizes should be ordered from England by the Director of Public Instruction and the distribution of prizes should be held on the day after the announcement of the exmination results. The local European and Indians were to be invited and the presence of the government officer was to be compulsory. He also instructed the government officers to take more active interest in the spread of education in their areas.[4]

GAYA :—

The above mentioned step gave much impetus to educational activities. The government school at Gaya showed better performance. Three boys passed the University Entrance Examination and two obtained junior scholarship.[5] In December 1864 as many as seven students of the school appeared at the Examination out of which three came out successful. In the opinion of the collector of Gaya the result "though not so satisfactory.....still gives the first place to this school among the Zilla schools in Behar this year".[6] The popu-

3. Letter from G. F. Cockburn, Commissioner of Patna to the Secretary to Bengal Government, No. 280 of 14 Oct., 1862, paras 2-7, Basta No. 1, SCRO, Patna.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Report on the State of Education in Patna Division for the Year 1861-62, para 2, No. 274 of 8 October, 1862, S.C.R.O , Patna.
6. Report on the State and Progress of Education in Patna Division for the Year 1864-65, paras 2-3, No. 279 of 16 August, 1865, SCRO, Patna.

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larity of the school increased and a large number of boys joined it in January 1865. Giving reasons for this unusual rush of students the collector observed that the ' usefulness of the institution is pretty generally appreciated by the natives and that there has grown among them a general craving after Englis'ı education."[7]

But the Collector was not in favour of rapid expansion of education without caring for the quality. He was of opinion that "the rapidity with which the instruction is imparted and the quick transition from lower to higher subjects are fatal to any real mastery of the matter taught and hence it is that though the acquaintance of English is supposed to be the result of training in our zilah schools a thorough knowledge is but rarely to be met amongst natives..... The belief general amongst teachers and pupils that the credit of the school depends on the number succesrfully passing and the manner in which consequently this object is continually kept in view are, however, very detrimental to the solidity of attainments thus aimed at" The commissioner of Patna Division also subscribed to this view and felt that English was not "very well taught in our schools."[8]

The Gaya school was becoming more popular. The number of students in March 1966 stood at 201 against 185 in the previous year. This showed that the importance of English education was being increasingly appreciated by the people in and around Gaya.[9] But no concrete step seems to have been taken to improve the quality of teaching English. The stress was perhaps more on the expansion of education quantatively.

In the subdivisional towns, however, the general public showed little interest on the subject of education. It was obviously due to the fact that the population consisted for the most part of ignorant *raiyats* and petty *thikadars*, whose sole care was to secure an amount of knowledge which was just sufficient to enable them to carry on their day-to-day business. In Aurangabad sub-division there were schools at Deo and Jandiva. The former school was doing well as the Maharaja of Deo took personal interest in the growth of the school. Besides, there were schools at Daudnagar, Jehanabad and Tikari. These was a proposal to start a school also at Sherghatty.[10] This school was started soon afterwards but it could not make any headway because of the cold indifference shown by the local men. Consequently,

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7. Report on the Progress of Education in the districts of Patna Division during the year 1865-66, para 3, No. 223 of 20 August, 1866.
8. Report on the Progress of Education in the districts of Patna Division during the year 1865-66, para 3, No. 223 of 20 August, 1866.
9. Report on the Progress of Education in Patna Division for the year 1866-67, para 2, No. 158 of 28 June, 1867.
10. *Ibid.*, para 2.

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only 9 boys were on its rolls. Explaining the reason for the bad condition of this school the Collector of Gaya wrote the unusual delay in attending the school bills subjected the teachers to much personal inconvenience. Therefore, the government tried to improve the condition of this school and granted a sum of Rs. 500 for construction of the school building. The land required for construction of the building was presented by the Rani of Tikari.[11]

In Nawadah sub-division there were several vernacular schools. An English grants-in-aid school was established in November, 1865. The number of students was 35 only. The school at Nawadah had improved materially within a year. The income from local subscription and school fee of scholars was increasing rapidly. Besides the aided school there were 2 vernacular schools, one at Nawadah and the other at Hisua. The number of students in both these scholars was between 40 and 50. In these schools the students were taught vernacular language, Sanskrit, Persian and elementary mathematics. These schools could not become very popular because the general people had no regard for education and members of the lowest class did not receive any education. The shopkeepers and businessmen needed no education except rudimentary arithmetic and the corrupt from of *Devanagari* for their daily transaction. Besides the *zamindars* were utterly indifferent to the spread of education among their tenantry.[12]

The performance of the Government School at Gaya was very good. The school was steadily gaining more and more popularity. It turned out to be one of best schools of the Patna division and its discipline and general management was creditable. Of the 5 students who appeared at the Entrance Examination of December, 1867, 3 came out successful. Two of these 3 obtained scholarships. Besides this school a Free Church Missionary school was also established in the town of Gaya. In the opinion of the Collector it was "a sure sign that education is appreciated when the people inspite of the professed proselytising character of the missionaries have availed themselves of the school the education of their children.[13] But the establishment of this school later affected the numerical strength of Government School, although it continued to maintain its characteristic efficiency".[14]

The school at Nawadah continued to progress. A new school had been opened at Aurangabad through the exertions of the Subdivissional Officer, Paresh Nath Banerji and the

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11. Report on the Progress of Education in Patna Division for the year 1867-68, para 6, No. 278 of 19 September, 1868, Basta No. 5, SCRO, Patna.
12. *Ibid.*, para 4.
13. *Ibid.*, para 2-3.
14. Report on the State and Progress of Education in Patna Division for the year 1868-69, para 5, No. 282 of 9 August, 1869, State Central Record Office, Patna.

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munsiff. A good amount of subscription was raised for erecting a building for the school. The local gentry responded liberally to the call for subscription. The school was also able to secure the services of efficient teachers. Therefore, a good number of boys joined the school. But the Sherghattyschool did not show any appreciable improvement. One of the reasons perhaps was that the Sub-Divisional officer did not take active interest in its affairs.[15] The condition of both the aided English school and the government vernacular school deteriorated in the following year and the number of students came down to 8. Therefore, the Assistant Collector was directed to take more interest in the affairs of these schools as these had been in a prosperous condition earlier.[16] But the condition of the school did not improve. Therefore, the Inspector of Schools withdrew the assistance with the result that the English school had to be closed andthe vernacular school at Sherghatty continued a nominal existence.[17]

On the other hand the Anglo-Vernacular school at Nawahah continued to be more and more popular. Many important men of the locality took active interest in the growth and development of the school. Prominent among them were Deen Dayal, Ram Ratan and Maharaja Sir Jaymangal Singh. They raised a sum of Rs 1700 for contruction of the school building and even promised monthly subscriptions for its maintenance.[18] The school building at Nawadah was completed in the following year at a cost of a little over Rs. 1,000. The local magistrate, munsiff and influ ncial zamindars took keen interest in the affairs of that school. Besides there were many *Pathsalas* in the interior villages where the 3 R's were taught to the children in elementary form. There were also Anglo Vernacular schools at Baksander and the Model school at Hissua.[19] The new school at Aurangabad did not show good progress because the headmaster was incompetent. But the government sanctioned grant-in-aid at the rate of Rs. 50 per month for this school from 1869 onwards.[20] Even then the school did not show any appreciable improvement. Perhaps the local people were not yet in a position to

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15. *Ibid.*, paras 6-8.
16. Report on the State and Progress of Education in Patna Division for the year 1869-70, para 6, No. 512 of 31 August 1870, State Central Records Office, Patna
17. State and Progress of Education in the Several districts of Patna Division, for the year 1870-71, para 16, No. 276 of 22 August, 1871, State Central Records Office, Patna.
18. Report on the State and Progress of Education in Patna Division for the year 1869-70, para 6, No. 312 of 31 August, 1870, State Central Records Office, Patna.
19. Report on the State and Progress of Education in the several districts of Patna Division for the year 1870-71, para 15, No. 276 of 29 August, 1871, S.C R.O., Patna.
20. Report on the State and Progress of Education in the Patna Division for the year 1869-70, para 7, No. 312 of 31 August, 1870, State Central Records Office, Patna.

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appreciate the value of educating their children in the modern way. They continued to send their sons to the schools run by *Mianjis*.[21]

The Government School of Gaya town was held in high esteem by the local gentry. Therefore, inspite of increase in the fees the number of boys continued to rise. Moreover, the people also seemed to be more interested in giving modern and English education to their children. The Lt. Governor also visited the school and expressed satisfaction at the good progress of that school, but he disapprovee of the rise in school fees. 3 students passed the Entrance examination from that school in December, 1869. Out of them 2 secured second division while 1 was placed in third division.[22] In the following year 5 students were sent up for the Enterance examination. 4 of them came out successful. The only class which was not interested in education was that of the *Gyawals*, who formed the most influencial section of the population. They did not send their children to schools, nor did they make any other provision for their education at home.[23]

PATNA :—

In Patna the Patna Branch school (established in 1854) was elevated to the status of zila school and was named as the Patna School in November, 1862.[24] This gave an impetus to education not only in Patna but throughout Bihar. Education in Patna district began to flourish. The Patna school was converted into a Collegiate School about the middle of August, 1862.[25] As Cockburn had only recently joined his post at Patna he had not been able to do much in the field. He had not even found time to inspect the existing schools as he was caught up in purely administrative matters. He, however, promised to find more time to devote to the task of advancing the cause of education.[26]

Besides the Commissioner, Dr. Fallon, the Inspector of Schools took an active interest in bringing about improvement in the state of things and in the opinion of Commissioner

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21. Report on the State and Progress of Education in the several districts of Patna Division for the year 1870-71, para 17, No. 276 of 22 August, 1871, SCRO, Patna.
22. Report on the State and Progress of Education in Patna Division for the year 1869-70, para 5, No. 312 of 31 August, 1870, State Central Records Office, Patna.
23. Report on the State and Progress of Education in the several districts of Patna Division for the year 1870-71, paras 13-14, No. 276 of 22 August, 1871, SCRO, Patna.
24. J.N. Sarkar and J.C. Jha, *A History of Patna College*, p. 27.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
26. Report on the State on Education in Patna Division for the year 1861-62, No. 274 of 8 October, 1862, Basta No. 1, State Central Records Office, Patna.

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he deserved "much credit".[27] The Commissioner also visited the schools in Barh sub-division and fouud them to be doing "pretty well". He, however, noticed that government schools, both English and vernacular were generally managed by a, small staff, which was also inefficient. But, he hoped that better class of trained teachers would be available from the Normal school which had recently been established at Patna.[28] The Normal School imparted education to a large number of students although it did not receive any a'd from the government. Standard of vernacular was at par with that in the Higher Schools. In some respects it was even higher. History, Geography and Arithmetic was taught quite well in vernacular as in English. The pupils also learnt elements of physical science with experiments. In this matter even the students Higher English Schools did not have the facility. It was a training school for teachers.[29]

In the field of education a major step was taken in 1863 which on 9 January that year the Patna College was established. It was the only college in Bihar and the fourth in the entire country. As the oldest and best institution for higher university education Bihar, Patna College has played a highly significant role and new Bihar has been, to a very large extent the creation of its alumni. The college has turned out to be the mother of several leading edueational institutions in the State, such as the Patna Law College, the Bihar College of Engineering, the Science College and, in some ways also the Medical College at Patna. But the college did not have any separate building of its own. So public subscriptions were raised for the construction of the college building. The total cost of the proposed building was estimated at Rs 8,10,000 of which the government was ready to contribute one half. The other half was to be raised from subscriptions. A sum of Rs. 30.000 had been collected by 1863. Towards the middle of 1866 the Patna College Fund contained Rs. 34,590 and by the end of that year the figure reached Rs. 37,000.[30]

The college and the Branch School at Patna made a good start and were soon "flourishing institutions". But the state of education remained "backward" in Bihar and

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27. Letter of the Commissioner of Patna to the Secretary to Bengal Government, para 13, No. 164 of 1 June, 1864.

28. Report on the State and Progress of Education in Patna Division for the year 1863-64, para 12, No. 146 of 1 June, 1864, State Central Record Office, Patna.

29. Report on the State and Progress of Education in Patna Division for the year 1871-72, para 13, No. 365 of 1 November 1872, State Central Records Office, Patna.

30. Letter from the Commissioner of Patna division to the Secretary to Bengal Government, No. 193 of 1 August, 1866, A History of Patna College, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

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Dinapur sub-divisions.[31] The bad condition of education was due, mainly to the inefficiency of educational staff, who were low-paid. So the Commissioner of Patna division wrote to the Bengal Government that the state of affairs could not be expected to improve "unless the pay of the teachers is increased."[32] Inspite of that there was, on the whole, a steady progress of education in the Patna distrirt. As there was an increasing demand for Indians. well acquainted with English language, the people were eagerly trying to give English education to their children. Moreover, Dummond, the Magistrate and Collector of Patna made frequent inspection of schools in the district and was always pleased with their performance. In almost all places he saw vernacular Schools and in the principal towns there were English Schools to supplement them.[33]

In the district there were English schools in the sub-divisional headquarters at Patna, Dinapur, Barh and Bihar (Sharif). Those at Patna and Dinapur were popular and well-attended but the school at Barh had to close its English department for want of funds. On hearing of this Dummond immediately arranged for the fund but he felt doubtful if sufficient number of students would be available to read English. The reason was that the population at Barh cansisted mostly of agricultural and trading classes. The former did not care for education and the latter preferred their own language *Mahajani*, Hindi etc. to English.[34] The school at Bihar Sharif also had only a nominal existence, because here too there was no demand for English education. Explaining the reason for this the Collector of Patna wrote that the people of the district were "almost entirely agricultural and until they shall have so progressed as to have established manufacturing towns and have advanced a step beyond their present primitive state there will not be a great demand for education than there is now."[35] Besides these English schools there were 8 vernacular schools in the district located at Barh, Maner, Phulwari, Dinapur, Naubatpur, Sohsari, Mokameh and Lei. Fairly good number of pupils attended these schools except the last named.[36]

A good English school was established in the sub-divisional town of Bihar Sharif by Maulana Zainuddin Hussain Khan, the Deputy-Collector in charge of the the subdivision. The early start was not very encouraging as only 95 students joined the school but in view of

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31. Report on the State of Education in Patna Division during the year 1864-65, para 6.
32. *Ibid.*, para 13.
33. Report on the Progress of Education in the districts of Patna division during the year 1865-66, para 2.
34. Report on the Progress of Education in Patna Division during the year 1966-67, para 3, No. 158 of 28 June, 1887.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*

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the vast population of the town and the eagerness evinced by the people on general for English education it was expected to come up to the expectations of the founder. The school was entirely self-supporting and sons of local inhabitants came to receive instruction in it.[37] The government had also agreed to give financial assistance to the school in part and the expenses were to be met from fees given by students and donations of the local gentry. So the Commissioner recommended for grant-in-aid for the school for employing trained staff of teachers. He also suggested that control and superintendence of the school be vested in the Government.[38] But as soon as tuition fee was imposed the number of students fell to 60 or 70 although there was a competent Headmaster in the sehool.[39] The system of teaching and examination was good. Boys were examined in both vernacular and English by the members of the local committee.[40] After the transfer of Maulana Zainuddin condition of the school further declined as his successor-in-office, Vowell was new to the place and did not command the same influence as Maulana Zainuddin.[41]

The condition of the school at Barh was sought to be improved by the erection of a new school building for it during 1869-70 at the cost Rs. 685. This amount was collected by Gordon, the Sub-Divisional Officer, who personally supervised the construction work. The neighbouring *zamindars* had made liberal subscriptions for this purpose. Munshi Ameer Ali Khan, a resident of Barh took considerable in the institution and made liberal donation and even pursuaded others to do so. After the construction of the new school buiding the number of students increased considerably and the local men also began to take interest in its affairs.[42] In 1869 a vernacular school was established at Islampur in the interior of the sub-division. The new school recieved a monthly grant of Rs. 20. There were 70 pupils in it and instruction was given in Persian and Hindi.[43] The small vernacular school stated at Mokameh had

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37. Report on the Education in Patna Division for the year 1867-68, para 8, No. 278 of 29 September, 1868.
38. Report on the English School recently established in Behar by Maulana Zainuddin, No. 154 of 1 June, 1869.
39. Report on the State and Progress of Education in the several dictricts of Patna Division during 1870-71, para 21, No. 276 of 22 Augnst, 1871.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Report on the State and Progress of Education in Patna Division during the year 1869-70, para 8, No. 312 of 31 August, 1870.
42. Report on the State and Progress of Education in the several districts of Patna Division during 1870-71, para 19, No. 276 of 22 Agust, 1871.
43. Report on the State and Progress of Education in Patna Division during the year 1869-70, para 8, No. 312 of 31 Agugust, 1870.

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been progresring satisfactorily but it badly needed a permanent and spacious building. So a new building was constructed for this school in that year.[44] Although uptil now the progress of education in the Patna district was not very encouraging, nevertheless, the people had begun to realise the importance of educating their childern. The Commissioner of Patna Division felt that "with a further development of grants-in-aid system we hope to be able to show better results."[45]

The school in the sub-divisinal headquarters of Dinapur received government aid and it made good progress. There were 64 boys in it. They were taught English, Sanskrit, Arabic. There was also a school at Maner with 55 boys, who received instruction in Hindi and Urdu. Besides the above two school there were private schools at Dinapur cantonment bazar and Purana (old) Dinapur, where English language was also taught.[46]

SHAHABAD :

The district of Shahabad was very backward in the matter of education. It compared unfavourably with other districts in this respect. Commenting on the reasons for the lack of interest on the part of the people Alexander, the Magistrate and Collector of Shahabad thus wrote, "Shahabad is peopled largely by *Rajpoots* and this class of men take littie or no interest in intellectual pursuits."[47]

There were 3 schools in the district headquarters at Arrah—Tee Government School, an English School and the Model (vernacular) School. The attendance in the Government School at Arrah was not proportionate with the sizs of population in the town. On 30 April 1865 there were only 117 students on its rolls. None of the pupils passed the Entrance examination. In this matter the performance of other schools of the town was better. One of the reasons for the bad performance of the Government School was the frequent change of teachers. This had an adverse effect on teaching in the school.[48]

The English school was a private institution and was supported by fees and subscriptions. This was a kind of training school and was more popular among students. Within a

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44. Report on the State and Progress of Education in the several districts of Patna Division during 1870-71, para 19, No. 276 of 22 August, 1871.
45. Report on the State and Progress of Education in Patna Division for the year 1869-70, para 20, No. 312 of 31 August 1870.
46. Report on the State and Progress of Education in the several districts of Patna division during 1870-71, para 23, No. 276 of 22 August, 1871.
47. Report on the Progress of Education in the districts of Patna Division during the year 1865-66, para 4, No. 223 of 20 August, 1866, State Central Records Office, Patna.
48. *Ibid.*

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year the number of students doubled (i.e. from 37 to 73). The Model School also had a good record. There were 119 students on its rolls. But the school building was badly situated and was too small for its requirements. The performance of the students was, however, very good. In 1866, 18 students obtained senior and 6 junior scholarships. In view of the encouraging performance of this school the government felt the necessity for a more suitable building for the school.[49]

There was a school at Jagdishpur. This supported by M/S Thompson & Fox Company of Behar, which contributed a sum of Rs. 50 for the salary of a teacher. But the sum was insufficient to secure the service of a really efficient person. So the school was not progressing satisfactorily. There was a free school at Dumraon kept at the expense of the Raja, who had erected a shool building for it.

There were 40 students on its rolls and the attendance was very regular. English language was also taught in this school.[50]

There was a small school at Buxar which had 20 25 boys on the rolls. English was not taught in that school. Barun Dutt Lal, the retired munsiff made an attempt to establish an English school but his efforts did not bear fruit. A small private school was, however, maintained by an English man named Forest.[51]

Strangely enough, in a large and populous place like Sassaram there was not a single educational institution where boys could be taught even to read and write. There was a small school which was barely maintaining its existence on acconnt of the great interest taken by the Munsiff of that place. But he failed to secure the support of the local gentry. So the school had to be closed. One of the reasons for this indifference to education was that the population of Sassaram consisted largely of Mahommedans, who were averse to education. Even them the Sub-Divisional Officer was making efforts for establishing a new school there.[52]

The same was the case with Bhabua. The wealtheir section consisted of *Banias*, who had no taste for education. They never gave their children any more knowledge than was required by them to keep their trading establishments. So the Collector, Alexander wrote, "Both Sassaram and Bhabua afford a very strong example of the absolute necessity there is of imposing an educational tax on zamindars as without the aid of such a measure we shall

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49. Report on the Progress of Education in Patna Division for the year 1866-67, para 4, No. 158 of 28 June, 1867, State Central Records, Office, Patna.
50. Report on the Progress of Education in Patna Division for 1866 67, para 4.
51. Report for 1867-68, para 19.
52. *Ibid.*, para 17.

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never see education brought home to people of all castes."[53] This opinion got full approval of the Commissioner of Patna Division.

On the subject of levying an educational cess for the promotion of vernacular education in Bengal there was a lot of discussion and exchange of views among the district authorities, and, in the end the Commissioner said, ' My opinion is that any half measure (voluntary or compulsory) will be useless; any attempt to obtain voluntary subscription will, I feel sure, fail totally and a compulsory law calling upon all whose income exceed say Rs. 1000 annually will alone meet the end in view and should be promulgated the rate percent on incomes should I think be one percent perhaps less and certainly not more just yet."[54]

As a result of the interest shown by the district officers the Government School at Arrah made good progress in the following years. Besides, the Headmaster, Kali Kumar Mitra also worked hard to improve the school. In this school also as in other zilla schools the largest number or students were the sons and other relations of the government employees. The Commissioner of Patna Division was of the opinion that "education is appreciated by the natives chiefly on account of the value attaching to it as a means to an end." Among those who attended the school a large majority of the boys were Hindus. Giving an explanation for this phenomenon the Commissioner observed that "The Mahommedans have not yet got over their prejudice against English education."[55]

Due to the increasing efforts of the popular Headmaster the number of students rose in 1869 to 155. For the first time since the establishement of the school in 1853, a student passed the University Entrance Examination and was placed in the second division.[56] In the following year (December 1870) 2 students passed the Entrance Examination and the school continued to be more and more popular. Hence the government drew up a plan for expansion of the school building. For this purpose the son of the Maharaja of Dumraon donated a sum of Rs. 750 and Diwan Ram Kumar Singh gave a sum of Rs. 100.[57]

The school at Jagdishpur, which was supported by the English firm of Behea got more liberal grants from the Company. The total number of boys rose to 94 of whom 70 were taught English language also and the rest learnt Hindi and Urdu only. This school attracted

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53. Report for 1867-68, para 18.
54. Letter from Commissioner of Patna Division to the Government of Bengal, No. 295, dated 19 October, 1868, State Central Records Office, Patna.
55. Report on Education in Patna Division for the year 1867-68, para 15.
56. Report for 1869-70, para 13.
57. Report for 1870-71, para 27.

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the sons of respectable men of the neighbourhood who had hitherto kept away in the wake of old prejudices in the matter of education.[58] Even the Collector of Shahabad felt satisfied at the progess of the school. He reported that the "boy appeared to be well taught and to understand throughly all that they learnt."[59] The other school supported by the Maharaja of Dumraon also made good progress. The school at Dumraon proper prospered rapidly. The number of students rose to 99 of which 55 boys read English and Urdu, 10 English and *Nagree*, 4 English and Sanskrit and 20 Sanskrit only. The Collector of Shahabad reported favourably of the efficiently of teachers and managements of the school.[60]

Buxar faired very badly in this resp ct. The Sub-Divisional Officer tried to establish a vernacular school at Chausa and Bhojpur, but failed owing to want of co-operation on the part of influencial men who did not seem alive to the advantages of English education. They estimated education according to its pecuniary value and looked upon any sum spent in education of their children as a very bad investment of their money.[61]

At Sassaram the Sub-Divisional Officer succeeded in establishing an English school but on account of the lack of financial help it could not run properly. The want of a good head-master also accounted for the bad state of affairs although the attendance was better than before.[62]

In addition to these schools there was a large number of indigeneous schools. Every village having a population of one thousand had at least one such school.*

Female education on modern lines can be attributed to the activities of Christian missionaries, the influence of the nineteenth century Indian renaissance, the efforts of enlightened Indians, the impetus supplied by the national movement and the measures adopted by the government. The Despatch of 1854 observed: "The importance of female education in India cannot be overrated;" "and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is afforded of an increased desire on the part of manu of the natives to give good education to their daughters." In Bihar also we find evidence of increasing desire for girls education. Thus wrote the Commissioner of Patna Division to the Secretary to the Bengal

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58. Report for 1868-69, para 16.
59. Report for 18 0-71, para 27.
60. Report for 1869-70, para 13.
61. Report for 1868-69, para 18.
62. Report for 1870-71, para 28.

*For details of indigenour school see the author's article in the Journal of Historical Research.

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Government : ' On the whole I am of the opinion that there is in Bihar increasing desire for girls education....."[63] But female education was nowhere attempted in Bihar except in Patna town among the more intelligent section of the people. These enlightened men started two small schools for the purpose of imparting instructions to girls, one in the house of a Mohemmedan gentleman and the other belonged to certain respectable Bengali resident of the city.[64] This Bengali Girls Schools at Bankipur was an unaided school in the beginning and it happened to be the only school for Indian girls besides the Convent for Europeans and Native orphans at Bankipur which had 65 orphan girls on its rolls. Although open for all, the Bankipur Girls School contained only Bengali girls. It made good progress from the very beginning. Sir William Grey personally inspected the school and examined the girls and observed that "the school is one of the most deserving of support."[65]

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63. Report on the State of Education in Patna Division for the year 1863-64, para 12, No. 146 of 1 June, 1864.

64. Report on the Progress of Education in Patna Division during the year 1867-68, para 8, No. 278 of 19 September, 1868.

65. *Ibid* para 30.

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E. POLITICAL HISTORY

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55

Asoka and the Break up of the Mauryan Empire

—*Surendra Prasad Sinha*

Many dissident opinions have been expressed on the responsibility of Aśoka for the downfall of the Mauryan Empire. But in each of the circumstances we find the fact being avoided and the reason becoming supreme. This is probably because the scholars have good feeling and sympathy[1] for Aśoka on account of his idealistic performance for the common welfare; and accordingly, to throw the total responsibility on him for the Mauryan decline will be on their part an attempt to tarnish the image of his greatness he achieved as an ideal king. But such an act on the part of an historian is not very commendable, as this only envelops a truth in place of bringing it to a full view.

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1. See R.K. Mookerji's (Ancient India (Allahabad 1956), Ch. VIII, pp. 183, 184. He says, "It may be noted that Aśoka himself left certain independent and disintegrating elements to operate within his empire. As a matter of principle he stood for the equality of all states and peoples, small or weak, in freedom and sovereignty, in stead of subduing them to the yoke of his imperial authority."

   Surprisingly, although Mookerji finds that Aśoka left certain independent and disintegrating elements to operate within the empire, he is still not in favour of holding him responsible for the break up of the Mauryan empire. Is it not out of his sympathy for Aśoka ? And Aśoka certainly left these disintegrating forces to operate within the empire out of his principles of idealism and non-violence.

   He further says, "Thus the reason for the break up of the Mauryan Empire was not military or moral. Aśoka should not be blamed if, after the consolidation of his empire, he was fulfilling his sacred and supreme duty as Apostle of peace, and enforcing it with the resources of his Empire. That duty was independent of politics and mundane considerations and calculations of consequences."

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I

BRĀHMAṆA REBELLION

The pioneer in giving out an opinion establishing Aśoka's responsibility for the Mauryan decline was Haraprasada Sastri. According to him the cardinal point in the decline of the Mauryas was the revolt of the Brahmanas, the apparent proof of wich is the assassination by the Brahmana commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.

But Haraprasada Sastri's above contention has been refuted by Ray Chaudhary on the basis of Aśoka's edicts where there is no mention at all of the fact that Aśoka's works dissatisfied the Brahmanas.[2] But the fact that Aśoka become avowedly a lay follower of Buddhism[3] a little over one year after the sanguinary battle of Kaliṅga which, according to the RE XIII.[4] took place eight years after his coronation. But he caused his edicts relating to Dharma to be written twelve years after his coronation (PE VI)[5] i.e, four years after the

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Also See R.C. Majumdar's Ancient India (Delhi : 1982), BK. II, Ch. II. p. 118. He says, "There may be some truth in these accusations. But it must be remembered that the end of the Mauryan Empire did not differ materially from that of any other powerful empires in India, though there was nothing like the pacifist policy of Aśoka to account for it. There were other factors at work, notably, the weakness of the successors of Aśoka and the well-known centrifugal force in Indian Politics.

It may be easily surmized that the mighty Mauryan Empire must have in any case come to an end. Sooner or later even without the policy of Aśoka."

B.P. Sinha in the Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha says, "but to make Aśoka responsible for the breakup of the empire is to commit the fallacy of post hoc ergo propter hoc." (Intro., VI, p. xxiv).

Romalia Thapar (Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas (1982), p. 203 says, "Battles and territorial acquisitions are not alone responsible for the creation and destruction of empires. Te causes must be sought in other directions as well."

2. For Ray Chaudhury' argument see, the political History of Ancient India (Hindi Version ed. 1980), pp-265, 266.
3. The Minor Rock Edict I (Rupnath Text).
4. Shahbazgarhi Text.
5. Rampurva Text.

For Aśoka's edicts, See D.C. Sircar's Inscriptions of Aśoka (1975).

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sanguinary battle of Kaliṅga is significant. There is a period of more than two years and a half between his conversion to Buddhism and his issue of the edicts relating to Dharma, During this long period of more than two years and a half he must have got the opportunity for experiencing the growing displeasures of the Brahmanas at his becoming and the becoming of the state totally dedicated to the cause of Dharma and the Sangha. And no doubt, it was in this context that he extended his liberalism in the shape of respect and bounties to the Brahmanas, and as a reconciliatory measure he made references to his liberalism to them in his edicts.

But the Brahmans could not be reconciled and their sense of antagonism grew as the time went on. It is believed that the Śuṅgas who could be the purohitas.[6] Account of Aśoka and his successors' propaganda for Buddhism or gainism took to the profession of soldiery in the Mauryan army The Śuṅga's example must have been followed by a large section of the Brahmans. Thus the entire Brahmanical class had been put to a humiliating situation both economically and socially; and there is no wonder if the Mauryas became their avowed and disdainful enemies. It is on account of this great abhorrence that the Brahmanical texts call the Mauryas 'Śūdras'. If the Brahmana historian Kalhaṇa informs us of a cordial relation between the Maurya:s and the Brahmanas, it is because he found the Brahmanas enjoying high offices in the Mauryan government and army. We know well that the Brahmanas were noted for their diplomatic superiority in ancient India; and it could not be a work other than their diplomatic workmanship to enjoy confidence and cordiality with the Mauryas, while, at the same time, to dig at their root.

II

NON-VIOLENT POLICY

Likewise. Raychaudhury's contention that the Mauryan empire witnessed a disruption due to Aśoka's policy of non-violence is not totally dismissible as Nilakanta Sastri[7] has done.

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6. This belief is based on the information of Paṇini, Tāranātha and the Aśvalāyana Śrautasūtra Pāniṇi says that the Śungas belonged to the family of Bhāradvaja, the famous Purohita of the Vedic king Divodāsa. Tārahātha calls Pusyamitra the Purohita of a royal house as well as the 'Brahmana-king' and the Aśvalāyana Śrautasūtra calls the śuṅgas 'teachers'. All these and the close connection of the śuṅgas with the Mauryas suggest that they were earlier the purohitas of the royal Mauryas. See, Rajbali Pandey, Prachin Bhārat, ed. 1977, p. 198.

7. See Ray Chaudhury's the Political History of Ancient India (Hindi Version 1980) pp. 257, 268.

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And no doubt, it was an entirely unique and unprecedented experiment in the ream of imperialism and empire building. The result of such an experiment can easily be guessed at. With the passage of time the political implications grew and in absence of a check they finally led the empire to dissolution.

Nilakanta Sastri has denied the contention of Ray Chaudhury in the same way as Ray Chaudhury has done with Haraprasada Sastri's contention. Sastri refers to Aśoka's edicts and says that in these edicts there is nowhere even a single reference by which it can be presumed that Aśoka either diminished the military strength or loosened the security arrangements of the empire.[8] But it is also evident from Aśoka's edicts that after the subjugation of the Kalingas no bherighosha was made nor a territory was annexed.[9] We hear only of a revolt in Taxila for the suppression of which Kunala was sent. Thapar doubts even the credibility of this revolt on the basis of the Kunālasūtra.[10] After the Kaliṅga war an age of military inaction ensued which was sure to work upon the morale of the Maurran army, and which finally made the soldiers inactive, inoperative and idle, nay absolutely incapable of facing a foreign inroad.[11] That after the renunciation of war and pronouncement of peace and truth by Aśoka the Mauryan military was not enjoying a position of priority is evident from the fact that not even a single reference has been made in this regard in any of his edicts.[12] All kinds of violence were being discouraged, as it was a great sin which affected this and after lives. In this connection a reference may be made to those edicts,[13] which bear Aśokn's instructions and commands to the people for abstaining from hunting and other such practices which were coneerned with killing and violence. Aśoka made even the royal kitchen clean of all kinds of meat-preparations;[14] and for this purpose he totally banned the animal

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8, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Advanced History of India, ed. 1980, p. 180.

9. Majumdar, Ray Chaudhury & Datta, An Advanced History of India, Vol. I, ed. 1981, p. 104.

10. Romalia Thapar, Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas, ed. 1982, pp. 185, 193.

11. See Rajbali Pandey's Prāchin Bhārat, ed. 1977, p. 184.

12. D.D. Kosambi : The Culture and Civilization of India in Historial outline (Hindi version, 1977) p. 206.

13. Refer to Minor Rock Edicts II (Both Brahmagiri and Erragudi Texts) & IV (Greak version); Rock Edicts I, III, IV, XI and XIII, Pilar Edicts V & VII,

14. Refer, Rock Edict I (Girnar Texts).

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slaughter.[15] The animal slaughter was banned even for sacrificial purposes.[16] No doubt, the experiment of non-violence on such a large scale toned up the moral character of the people; but, on the other hand, it lowered down their martial qualities As soon as the fear of the great king Aśoka was over with his demise, foreign invasions began to pour in and in the absence of a strong defence they soon took its north-western portions in there possession. And thus, the Mauryan empire was pierced and its path opened for further disintegration.

Generally, scholars hold Aśoka's successors responsible for the downfall of the Mauryan empire. Their contention is that the Mauryan empire came to an end not due to Aśoka's policies but due to the weaknesses and inabilities of his successors; and it would be a total injustice to Aśoka if he is held responsible for an event which actually happened after forty seven years of his death. But the question is who was responsible for the weaknesses and degeneration of Aśoka's successes was it not Aśoka himself? There is no evidence to show that he ever tried to give them a proper training in the art of government and warfare. On the contrary he solemnized them in his new religion and faith, and advised them to eschew killing and violence.[17] None of his descendants were ever commissioned for a military adventure but despatched only on missions of peace. It seems that Aśoka failed even to

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15. Ibid. He says : "But now, when this record relating to Dharma is written, only three living creatures are killed daily for the sake of curry, viz., two birds and one animal. Even this animal also is not slaughtered regularly. *These three living being too shall not be killed in future*."

16. Ibid; see also Majumdar, Ray Chaudhury & Datta's An, Advanced History of India, Vol. I, ed. 1981, p. 100. Ray Chaudhury's Political History of Ancient India (Hindi Version) ed. 1980, pp. 267-268.

17. Refer. Rock Edicts IV, V, & XII. In the Rock Edict XIII he says thus : 'That my sons and great-grand sons should not think of a fresh conquest by arms as worth achieving, that they should adopt the policy of forbearance and light punishment towards the vanquished even if they conquer a peoble by arms, and that they should regard the conquest through Dharma as the true conquest."

In the RE VI he says : ".....That my sons, grandsons and great-grand sons may conform to it for the welfare of all man. This, however, is difficult to accomplish without utmost exertion."; R.K. Mookerji says, "He went so far as to enjoin upon his successors abstention from any fresh conquests by bloody battles." Ancient India, p. 183.

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appoint his heir-apparent, as we find a state of confusion in this regard.[18] The Vayu[19] and Brahmaṇḍa[20] Purāṇas say that Aśoka was succeeded by Kunāla; the Matsya Purāṇa[21] says that Aśoka was followed by Daśaratha; while the Viṣṇu Puraṇa[22] refers to Suyaśas and the Aśoka-Vadāna to Samprati[23] as his heir-apparent. Daśarath's succession to the throne after Aśoka is also confirmed by his inscriptions in the Nagarjuni Hills, as these inscriptions, undoubtedly, belong to a period very close to that of Aśoka. On this evidence Thapar finally comes to the conclusion that the empire of Aśoka was partitioned either just prior to his death or at his death.[24] Thus, it is fully clear that Aśoka could not appoint his heir-apparent conclusion of ours is further strengthened by the fact that the Mauryan rulers never followed the ancient Aryan tradition of succession to the throne, according to which the heirship would naturally devolve on the eldest son of the ruler. And this fact, in turn, is amply proved by the fratricidal wars between Aśoka and his brothers for succession to the throne after the death of Bindusāra. It the Divyāvadāna is to be believed Aśoka was made to vacate the throne in favour of his grandson Samprati.[25] This incident and the incident of the blinding of Kunāla prove also the fact that during the last year of his reign Aśoka had no control over state as well as family affairs.[26] These incidents are suggestive of the point that Aśoka during the last phase of his reign completely dedicated himself to the promotion of his religion and faith i.e. Budhism and the Sangha;[27] and censequently, a negligence on his part of state as well as family affairs was natural and inevitable. Thapar thinks that Aśoka lost his control

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18. "Aśoka died about 236 B.C. The genealogicai lists, given in the Brahman or the Buddhist works, are after him hopelessly confused and discrepant. "R.D. Bhandarkar, A comprehensive History of India, (Calcutta, 1957), p. 43.

19. Vāyu Puran (Sanskrit Sansthan, Bareli), ed. Sri Ram Sharma, Prakarana 61, Verse 192, p. 357.

20. Pargiter : The Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 29.

21. Ibid, p. 28.

22. Sree Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Geeta Press, Gorakhpur, Ch. XXIV, Vs. 29-32, p. 359.

23. For this see Thapar's Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas, Ch. VI, p. 184.

24. See Thapar's Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas (1980) Ch. VI, p. 194.

25. Divyāvadāna, ch. XXIX, pp. 432.

26. Thapar too comes to this conclusion. See Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas., p. 192.

27. "Aśoka gave everything that could be given to the Sangha and died destitude of power and possessions" D.C. Sircar, Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 21.

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over affairs due to the oldness of his age.[28] It is a mere conjecture. We feel that total dedication of Aśoka to the cause of the Sangha, was the cause of his total negligence of state and family affairs. This in turn encouraged the ambition of the princes for taking hold of the power in the name of taking care of the affairs. This is clear form the Divyavadana. This account cannot be dismissed on the ground that it is merely a legend. There is some truth in this story of the Divyavadana. The absence of the ancient Aryan tradition of heirship among the Mauryas, which would finally devolve on the eldest son of the ruler, also adversely affected the integrity of the empire.[29]

On the cantradictory types of evidence of the Aśnkāvadāna and the inscriptions of the Nagarjuni Hills both of which suggest two different Mauryan kings reigning at the same time at the colse of Aśoka's reign, Thapar comes to the conclusion that the empire Aśoka was Partitioned either just priod to his death or at his death. We would rather float, the idea that Aśoka, himself out of his compassion, which was very natural on his part in view of his universalism, equally for all his sons, may have desired and even effected the partition of the empire among them. If not this, he at least sanctioned the partition of his empire among his sons just prior to his death, and this partition finally took shape at his death. We cannot exonerate Aśoka from all his omissions and commissions and hold his successors in his place entirely responsible for the disruption of the Mauryan empire. We are rather surprised to find Thapar on the one hand holding that the empire was partitioned just prior to the death Aśoka, while on the other she is relieving Aśoka from his entire responsibility for the empires decline.

Thus the mighty Mauryan empire, which once owned sway throughout the country from the Hindukush in the extreme north-west to the Bay of Bengal in the east and from the Himalayas in the extreme north to the south of the Vindhyas up to Mysore without any interruption, to which was also added the submission of the states of the far south-those of the cholas, thePāṇḍyas, the Keralaputras, the Satiyaputras, and Tāmbraparṇī (Aśoka being very complacent in his edicts about making a conquest of theirs by his peaceful means i.e. dharmaghoṣa)[30] this entire country being invariable known as Jambudvipa, and to which also the

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28. For her argument refer, Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas, p. 192.

29 This practice was in vogue just prior to the Mauryas. This fact is attested by Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (1.17). He declares that rulership (aiśvarya) descending on the eldest son is the approved procedure except in a calamity.

See also, U.N. Ghoshal's "A History of Indian public Life." (1966), Ch.II, p. 16.

30. Refer, RE XIII.
He says,"So,what is conquest through Dharma is now considered to be the best conquest by the Beloved of the Gods. And such a conquest has been achieved by the

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Yonarāja Antiochus II of Syria owed his allegiance (and likewise, this task, too being accomplished by Aśoka by his penceful means),[31] soon witnessed its mutilation and weakness with the expiration of Aśoka. The empire was quadruply mutilated. And thus, we hear of Daśaratha, Samprati, Jalauka, and Vīrasena who reigned at Patliputra, Ujjayini, Kashmir and Gandhara respectively about the same time. Their example was soon follwed by the warlike people of the empire who shook off the chains of their servitude, proclaimed their independence, and became aggressive under their most ambititious and opportunist governors. Then there followed the foreign invasoons of the Yavanas from Bactria and Iron. Thus the fiirst empire of India, nay the first political unity of India as one nation finally broke up and collapsed in 184 B.C. within fifty years of the death of Aśoka. And for this sad episode nobody is more responsible than Aśoka himself who under the hallucination of his idealism and non-violence relinquished the traditional Magadhan policy of bherighoṣa and in stead, adopted the policy of dharmaghosha which was in no way in chime with Machiavellism or Chanakyanism, the very guaranteed policy for the existence and continuation of the state.

tt is argued that after the conqnest of Kaliṅga Aśoka was in a position to maintain pacific policies because his frontiers and territories within the empire were secure, and there was no need for further conquest.[32] Can an empire ever call itself territorially and by conquest satiated ? If so, it would be the day of its very stagnation and degeneration. There were still the states of the far south for conquest by arms for Aśoka and his successors. But the inauguration of the policy of idealism and non-violence by Aśoka prevented him and his successors from their subjugation and annexation to the empire. There were still within the empire the turbulent and warlike people who needed a regular hard-handed treatment from the Mauryan rulers for being kept under control. They were the Yavanas and the Kambojas of the north-west, and the Bhojas, the Rashtrikas, the Anadhras and the Pulindas of the south. There was still need for exciting fear and terror in the enemies and those enemies were the Yavanas of Bactria and Iran as well as the people of the far south, whom Aśoka had tried to pacify and trun into a friend by his policy of non-violence and co-exiitence. But they, specially the Yavanas of Bactria and Iran, were never pacified. They maintained their friendly relations with the Mauryan empire only so long as the great emperor Aśoka lived. And with his passing away their all fear was over; their friendship proved to be false; and they were exposed as totally oppottunists. It seems that they sened in the idealism of Aśoka a downward frend of the empire and they waited patiently for his death to actuate their aggressive designs. And it was not very late after him that their invasions began to pour in and they soon grabbed a considerable portion of the empire in the north-west.

Beloved of the Gods not only here in his own dominions, but also in the territories bordering on his dominions,.....".

31. Ibid.

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We now revert to our argument that Aśoka never tried to give his successors a proper training in the art of government and warfare. But we find that in stead, he solemnized them in his own religion and faith[33] and advised them and their successors (who would go on succeeding them generation after generation in the imperial seat as if Aśoka had made his empire a permanent entity on the Earth by his principles of non-violence and dharma-vijaya)[34] to follow him in toto in his idealism for generations to come till the time of universal destruction. He also devised the plan for the partition of his empire among his sons out of his compassion equal for all of them. In this circumstance, if he failed to materialize the portitions of the empire during his own life time, a rivalry for the very same among his sons was writ certain. As is argued, it is true that a father can by no means, transmit all his qualities into his children,[35] but the children are sure of inheriting at least some of their parental qualities. The descendants of Aśoka inherited all his noble qualities. specially those in which they were given training and lessons. They followed the path of truth and non-violence in the same spirit as Aśoka had done. But, at times, they excelled him in their generocity and idealism. As we have seen previously that the Buddhist and the Jain traditions inform us that Kunala preferred blindness to disobedience to her step-mother, Tiruvaki; and thus, he voluntarily became a victim to her intrigues.[36] Such has been narrated also about Samrapati in the Jain history; and in the sphere of generocity his comparison has been made with Aśoka.[37] And thus, the later Mauryas, in the absence of a proper training, became totally aristocratic in their manner and behaviour; and following the precedent of their grandfather, Aśoka, they would at the very first instance become ready to

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32. See Thapar's Aṣoka and the Decline of the Mauryas, pp. 202-3.

33. In this connection mention may be mad here of Mahendra, Samghamitra and his other descendants who became Buddhists.

34. See RE IV. He says, "Further, the sons, grandsons and great-grand-sons of King Priyadashi, Beloved of the Gods, will promote this practice of Dharma till the time of universal destruction and, themselves abiding by Dharma and good conduct, will instruct people in Dharma.

35. "One can not bequeath his personal quafications to his progeny." R.K. Mookerji, Ancient India (Allahabad-1956), p. 185.

36. Rajbali Pandey, Prāchīn Bharat, ed. 1977, p. 183.
Thapar narrates that Kunāla was blineed at the instigaton of his step-mother, Tissarakkha. See Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas ed. 1983, p. 192.

37. R.K. Mookerji, The Age of Imperial Unity, ed. by R.C. Majumdar, 1951, Ch. V, Aśoka, the Great.

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set an example of their liberalism and greatness. It is said that the last Mauryan king, Bṛihadratha, was indolent and voluptuous, and would not take even the least interest in the state as well as the military affairs.[38] In the event of a long absence of his contact with the army and the administration the authority passed to the officials; and the stage was cleared for the enactment of a second scene of revolution on the throne of the Magadhan kingdom by his commander-in-chief, Puṣyamitra Śuṅga: the first enacted during the last Nanda's reign by Chandragupta Maurya.

IV

AŚOKA'S ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY

There is no disagreement among the scholars on the responsibility of Aśoka for the economic decline of the Mauryan empire References in this regard occur in the Divyāvadāna, and other Buddhist sources fully confirm this fact. It is said that Aśoka's works of boundless charity and benevolence created a drain on the imperial treasury; and while he was to die it was totally drained out. The debased silver coins of the later Mauryas further corroborate this fact and indicate their great financial stringency. It seems that the financial resources had been fully utilized and exhausted by Aśoka, and there was little chance for their renovation to the full by his successors.

38. Rajbali Pandey, Prāchīn Bhārat, ed. 1977, p. 198.

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Analysis of A Purāna Passage in Historical Perspective

—*S.N. Roy*

The histhorical importance of Purāṇas was realized as early as the last quarter of the 18th century, when the Asiatic Socity of Bengal was founded at Calcutta under the competent supervision of William Jones. For the first time the 'Orinal Jones' felt the necessity of including the Purāṇic researches among the desiderata of oriental studies in India. No. less signifiant is the observation[1] of Dashrath Sharma, who, after about two centuries, pointed out that the so-called discrepancy in the Purāṇic statement is more apparent that real. In order to pick up historical elements from the Purāṇic passages we have to take the texts as they stand and give them their liberal meaning, laying aside no doubt all pre-conceived notions and partiality for interpretation that have so far held the field. The fact, however, remains that some scholars have under-estimated the importance of the Purāṇas for the reconstruction of history of ancient India because of interpolations, omissions and commissions to which the Purāṇs-texts were subjected in the subsequent stages of their editions, re-editions, compilations.[2] But this is in fact due to the tendency of *Upabṛimhaṇa*, which was operative in almost all the Purāṇas from the very beginning up to later times. It was a sacred obligation of authorship to keep the Purāṇas up to date by revising its contents so often as necessary and the deliberate technique, due to which the Purāṇas-texts gained in size and scope. Hence, the significance of even a late passage cannot be overlooked, and we should agree with the remark of V.S. Agarwal that it is pejorative to speak of late passage as interpolation.[3] There is no doubt about the fact that in these late and interpolated passages there is a lot of information about the historical and cultural developments in the early medieval and medieval periods of Indian history. In the present note we propose to examine a late and perhaps an interpolated Purāṇa-passage in historical perspective.

The passage under examination occurs in the *Kaliyugānirūpaṇa* of the Purāṇas, and is perhaps preserved without any sign of retouching in the texts of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*. These two texts read.[4] :

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tairvimiśrā janapadā mlechhācāraśca sarvaśah |
Viparyayeṇa Vartamānā nāśayishyanti Vai prajāh ||

In the present verse as well as in the preceding ones these Purnās depict the confused order or to quote Hazra[5] a muddled account of the Kali Age. It is stated that the society will be predominated by the Yavanas every where. By reason of religious feeling or ambition or plunder they will not be kings solemnly anointed. On the other hand they will follow the evil customs by reason of corruption of the age. Massacring women and children, and killing one another they will enjoy the earth at the end of the Kali Age. Kings will emerge from upstart races. They will be destitute of righteousness, affection, and will behave like Mlechhas.[6] They will prevail in succession, and due to their ignoble actions the population will perish. In this context the text of the Bhāgavata supplies almost a similar information. The present Purāṅas narrates that during the foreign invasions, the people will begin to follow the practices of the barbaric intruders, and this will lead to their decay.[7]

Now, if we fellow the scheme of vertical stratification of the Purāṇa-passage, as has been done by Hazra, it would be evident that the above Purāṇa-texts illustrate the post-Gupta or possibly the post-Harṣa-period of political condition of Northern India. It may be stated, though in a purely hypothetical form, that the reference of the Purāṇa-texts is to the Hūṇa invasion. In the epigraphic tradition, the Hūna invasion is first revealed by the Bhītarī Pillar Insc iption, according to which the Huṇas were cowed down by the Gupta ruler Skandagupta.[8] The expression '*mlecchha*' employed in the Junagaṛh Inscription of the king[9] has its reference, according to most scholars to the Hūṇas, while the expression '*ajayatgupto Hūṇān*' of the *Sūtravṛitti* of *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa* seems to have its indication towards the same possiblity. The Hūṇas are reported to have been crushed even by the rulers of the Puṣyabhūti-family, which is brought out in very clear terms by such phrases as '*hūṇa harina keśarī*' and *hūṇān hamtum prāhinot* occurring in the *Harṣacarita*. The Purāṇic passage quoted and discussed above, are very much akin to Kalhaṇa's account, who alludes to the devastating and disastrous role of the Hūṇas.[8]

Coming to the evidence of the *ViṣṇuPurāṇas*, we find that the present text reads the passage under review differently. Its copy which seems to have been consulted by Wilson gives the following reading :

tairvimiśrā janapadāstachchhīlavartino rājāśraya-suṣmino mlechhaścāryāśca viparyayeṇa vartamānāḥ prajāh kṣapayisyamti'. The expression '*mlechha scāryāśca*' is undoubtedly different from '*melechhācāraśca*' of the other Purāṇa-texts noted above. It would be seen that while the expression '*melechhācāraśca*' makes some sense, the other one, i.e. '*mlechhāścāryāśca*' seems to be enigmatic, if not meaningless. Fortunately this expression has been explained by Śrīdhara and his commentary can remove the enigma. The commentary runs as under :

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'*mlechha madhye āryaścāmte etyadrūpeṇa vartamānāh*' The text may be meaningless, but the commentary seems to be meaningful and can be analysed in a broader historical perpective. Abbording to Wilson, the commentary means that unbelievers (*mlechhas*) are in the heart of the country. The literal meaning of the commentary is 'the *mlechhas* will be in the centre and the *Āryas* on the border'.

Here, we have to bear in mind that in the first place the reading of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* differs from the other three texts and, secondly it has been explained by Śrīdhara of his own accord. Since Śrīdhara flourished in the medieval period, probably in the 13th century A.D., we may reasonably assume that some sort of historical development of the period is revealed by the commentary-line. The suggestion can be given on logical basis that the extant adulterated passage of the *Viṣnu-Purāṇa* points to the beginning of the Muslim rule in India, when the Sultanate hegemony was being deeply rooted in the centre, whereas the borders were still under the rule of the Hindu-Chiefs. For the sake of precision and accuracy, it may also be stated that the Sultanate rule established in Delhi was facing constant resistance of the Senas, the Chandelas and the Chahmānas holding their political sway respectively over the eastern, southern and western frontier.[9]

To sum up, there appears two clear cut strata of passages in the Purāṇas-account. The earlier one is preserved in the texts of the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Bhāgavata* and it can reasonably be placed in the early medieval period. To the later stratum belongs the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa's* passage, and it breathes the atmosphere of the medidval period of India's history.

REFERENCES

1. *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Res. Institute*, Vol. VII, 1949.
2. *Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, p. 135.
3. *Matsya Purāṇa*—A Study, preface, p. III.
4. *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, XCIX, 384. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, III, 74.203.
5. *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites And Customs*, Section II
6. Pargiter reconstructs the expression as *mlechhāryāśca*' in place of '*mlechhācāraśca*' and translates it as 'Arya and Mlechha will mingle everywhere. *Dynasties of the Kali Age.*
7. 'prajāste bhakṣayisyami mlechhā rājanyarūpiṇaḥ tannāthāste janapadāstacchīlācāra vādinah' *Bhāgavata*, XII. 1.42.
8. *Rajataraṅgiṇi*, I. 306.
9. A.B.M. Habibulla in *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 145-147.

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The Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā

—*Ajay Mitra Shastri*

It is not even four decades sinces the Pāṇḍavā chiefs of Mekalā found a piace on the historical map of India. Their existence was first brought to light by the discovery of Bamhani[1] plates of Śūrabala *alias* Udīṛṇavaira[2] which, though found in 1940, were first published in *Epigraphia Indica*, xxvii, meant for 1947-48 but actually released in in 1956.[3] The recently[4] published Mallar plates of the same ruler[5] have contributed a little more to our knowledge about the history of the dynasty and helped remove some of the erroneous notions based on the defective wording of the *praśasti* portion of the Bamhani plates.[6] Another stray plate forming part of another copper-plathe charter of the dynasty has been reported a few years ago from Aurhikhar which forms part of the present township

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1. These plates were till recently believed to have been issued by Bharatabala. But a perusal of the Mallar plates Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira reveals that this erroneous impression was due to the omission of a prose passage introducing Śūrabala in the Bamhani plates, apparently due to oversight on the part of the scribe.
2. In the Shahdol District of Madhya Pradesh.
3. In the meantime B. Ch. Chhabra, the original editor of the record, published an article entitled 'Kingdom of Mekalā' highlighting the historical data contained in the *Bhārata Kaumudī* (Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee Volume), Part I, Allahabad 1945, pp. 215-19. V. V. Mirashi has re-edited the record in his *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, CII*, v, pp. 82-88.
4. In 1976.
5. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy (JESI)*, iii, pp. 182-93.
6. Both these records have been re-edited by the present author in his forthcoming work *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins.*

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of Mallar[7] However, since it contains a portion of the genealogical section, it does not admit of attribution and is of no historical value.

The two complete records, *viz.*, Bamhani and Mallar plates of Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira, constitute practically the only source of information about these rulers and it is, therefore, in the fitness of things to say a few words by way of introducing these inscriptions Both these charters are engraved on a set of three plates of copper. The outer side of the first plate is left blank in both these cases. While the second side of the third plate of the Bamhani plates is also left uninscribed, that of the Mallar grant bears writing. It was also intended to be left blank, but as the writer could not accommodate the writing up to the inner side of the last plate, the remaining lines had to be engraved on its outer side. The plates are rectangular and a little larger in the middle than at the corners. The hole for the passage of the ring, which is invariably circular, is bored in the centre at the top which seems to have been a characreristic feature of the copper-plate grants hailing from the Baghelkhand region.[8] The ends of the ring are soldered under a roughly round seal. The seal affixed to the Mallar plates bears on its surface, which is divided into two almost equal sections by a horizontal line running across it, the Nandin (bull) couchant to left in the upper portion and a one-line prose legend comprising a single word, which probably served as a *viruda* of the issuing chief, in nominative singular *(Śrīpurushaḥ)*. The seal of the Bamhani charter, which at present looks blank, may also have borne the same device and legend or may have been left plain for some unknown reason. The characters are of the nail-headed variety of the southern alphabets prevalent in Central India during the period represented by these records, *viz.*, sixth-seventh century A.D. Both these charters are in Sanskrit and composed in a mixture of prose and verse. The *Praśasti* portion is couched in various metres, the verses highlighting the achievements of the members of the dynasty being in some cases interspersed with short prose passages introducing them. The grant portion, as usual, is in prose. Both these inscriptions aim at recording grants of villages. The Bamhani plates register the king's grant to a Brāhmaṇa while the beneficiary of the Mallar plates was a shrine of god Jayeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.*, god Śiva called Jayeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka) and the grant was made by a private individual named Narasiṁha son of Bota and grandson of the trader Manoratha, who had got the donated village from the king and made the grant with the latter's permission. The object of the latter grant was evidently the maintenance of the temple including the provision

7. *ABORI*, Diamod Jubilee Volume, pp 433-37.

8. The copper-plate charter of the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* Hastin (J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, *CII*, iii, nos. 21-24) and Saṅshobha (*ibid.*, no. 25) and the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa, *viz.*, Jayanātha and Śarvanātha (*ibid.*, nos. 26-31) as well as the Malga plates of *Sāmanta* Indrarāja have holes in the upper part.

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for worship and repairs and as it purports to register a grant in favour of god Jayeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, it is referred to, at the beginning, as the charter (*śāsana*) of that god. The dates of both these charters are given with reference to regnal years, and the month, the fortnight, the *tithi* and the *nakshaira* are also specified. In one case (Mallar plates) the weekday (*Budha-dina*) is also recorded.

These inscriptions begin with the auspicious formula *siddham* (indicated by a symbol) svasti (Bamhani plates) or *om svasti* (Mallar plates) which is followed by the *praśasti* outlining the history of the family up to the time of the issuing chief. The *praśasti* in the Mallar plates is preceded by the statement that this charter of the illustrious Jayeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka is written with Udīrṇavaira's permission. Whereas the first two chiefs are described only in verses, the subsequent members of the dynasty are introduced by short prose passages which are followed by verses eulogising them. Next we find the notification of the king's order regarding the grant with such details as the mention of the village to be granted, the grantee and the privileges accompanying the grant. This is followed by the request to the future members of the dynasty to maintain the grant imprecatory stanzas, and the specification of the date, the writer and the engraver.

Both these epigraphs have an almost identical draft with only some minor variations. Some of the verses (1,5,10 and 11) in the *praśasti* section of the Bamhani plates are reproduced in the Mallar plates (verses 1, 4, 6 and 7) which are separated from the former by a period of six years [9] But a majority of the eulogistic stanzas met with in the former are dropped in the latter[10] which in its turn has some verses not found in the former,[11] a deliberate attempt to reduce the number of verses being perceptible in the case of the Mallar plates. To be exact, the Bamhani plates contain as many as elevan stanzas whereas there are only seven such verses in the Mallar plates. We notice the same tendency towards brevity in the grant portion as well as imprecatory verses.[12]

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9. The Bamhani plates were issued in the second regnal year while the Mallar charter was given in the eighth year.
10. As many as seven verses (2 4 and 6-9) of the Bamhani grant are left out in the Mallar plates.
11. Verses 2, 3 and 5 are found so far only in the Mallar plates and were apparently added to the official draft some time after the Bamhani plates were issued.
12. The Bamhani charter mentions five government officers and contains three imprecatory stanzas while we notice only a couple of officers and the same number of imprecatory verses in the Mallar plates. Even as regards the mention of the writer and the engraver, some details found in the Bamhani plates are left out in the Mallar grant.

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II

In the very first stanza of both these inscriptions the first member of the family is said to have been in Mekalā. Likewise, the villages given away by means of these charters are represented to have been situated in Mekalā which was, for administrative purposes, divided into provinces (*rāshṭras*) each of which was sub-divided into districts (*vishayas*).[13] It is evident from these facts that the name Mekalā denoted the region under the rule of this family which is consequently popularly known among historians as the Pāṇḍava Dynasty of Mekalā'. The name Mekalā still survives in the range of hills called the Maikal range which provides the connecting link between the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges and extends from the Rewa region to the Khairagarh area in madhya Pradesh.[13] Really speaking, it constitutes a spur of the Vindnyas the eastern portion of which is known as Amarkantak. In ancient Indian literature Mekala figures as the name of a mountain range from which the river Narmadā originates and is accordingly spoken of, figuratively of course, as 'the daughte of Mekala' (*Mekala-sutā or Mekala-kanyakā*). It is also found used to denote a country and its inhabitants.[14] In a territorial sense, it seems to have referred to the region round the Maikal range. When employed for the country, the name is almost always used as a feninine and spelt as terminating in long *ā*, *i.e.*, Mekalā,[15] and this finds support from the records in question in both of which it is spelt likewise. The same is true of the Mandhal,[16] Mahurjhari[17] and Balaghat[18] plates of the Vakataka king Pṛithivīsheṇa II all of which refer to the country as Mekalā.[19] But such literary references as are available do not give us a clear idea of the extent of the Mekalā country which, as usual, must have fluctuated from time to time with changing political vicissitudes. However, it may be justifiably inferred from the present

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13. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 2nd edition, p. 134; D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd edition, p. 43, fn. 1.

14. For these references, see *EI*, xxvii, p. 135; D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 43; Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Indta as seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhmihira*, p. 54.

15. In the historical texts of the Purāṇas also the name terminates in long *ā*. Vide F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

16. *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, Nagpur 1977, p. 171, text-line 17,

17. *Ibid.*, 1971, p. 75, text-line 22.

18. *EI*, ix, p. 271, text-line 28. Also see *CII*, v, p. 81. F. Kielhorn, who first edited the record, thought that Mekalā was a mistake for Mekala. See *EI*, ix, p. 271, fn, 9.

19. These referenees show that the impression of some scholars that Mekala was the name of the country while the word *Mekalā* denoted the capital of is unwarranted. The same is true about the distinction sought to be made between Kosala and Kosalā.

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inscriptions that under the Pāṇḍavas, particularly under Śūrabala, it had a wide extent covering a fairly extensive area of the Baghelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh and included the southern part of the Shahdol District, easter part of the Mandla District and the northern part of the Bilaspur District.[20] The Mallar plates prove that during the regin of the last known member of the family, Śūrabala, a considerable part of the Bilaspur District including the Mallar region was also under the Pāṇḍavas and it is stated to have been included in Mekalā which, as shown above, served as the designation of the dominions of the dynasty in question and the application of the name was evidently extended so as to cover even fresh areas brought under its rule from time to time.[21]

The very opening stanza of our records represent the first known member of the dynasty, Jayabala, as born in the lineage of the Pāṇḍavas in the Mekalā country. A verse (11) of the Bamhani plates refers to the lineage in which Śūrabala was born as *saumya* or 'of gentle nature'. However, this seems to be a case of *ślesha* or *double entender* and the word in question is in all probability also intended to describe the family as descended from the moon [22] The correctness of tis conjecture is placed beyond doubt by a stanza (7) of the Mallar plates which, as if to leave no room for doubt, clearly refers to the family both as *saumya* (*i.e.*, 'of gentle nature') as well as *somasya vaṁśa* (*i.e.*, 'family of the moon'). It is not unlikely that the claim to belong to the lunar lineage is also hinted at in the description of Śūrabala's father Bharatabala who is described as possessing fame resembling the rays of the moon.[23] Be that as it may. There can be no doubt whatever that the family was known both as Paṇḍava and Somevaṁśa like its counterpart in South Kosala.

In the absence of the reference to the place of issue of the copper-plate charters of the family or information from any other source it is not possible, in the present state of inadequate knowledge, to locate the capital of the Pāṇḍava kingdom of Mekalā. V.V. Mirashi

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20. This is supported by the territorial divisions and localities mentioned in the records of the family. B. Ch. Chhabra states that 'the whole of Mekalā comprised the south-easteen part of the Rewa State, portions in the north of the Bilaspur District and some area in the east of the Mandla District'. *Vide EI*, xxvii, p. 138.

21. The inclusion of a considerable part of the Bilaspur District including Mallar in Śūrabala's dominions is vouched for not only by the provenance of this record but also by the identification of the village granted through it (Saṅgama) in the Bilaspur District.

22. In all probability, the intended reading of the relevant portion of the verse in question in the Bamhani plates is *saumyaḥ somasya vaṁśaḥ* (instead of *saumyaḥ so=yan=cha vaṁśaḥ*) which is met with in the Mallar plates.

23. *EI*, xxvii, p. 141, verse 10; *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, iii, p. 191, verse 6.

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is inclined to locate it at Bandhogarh, some sixty miles north-west of Bamhani, the findspot of one of the grants (Bamhani) of Śūrabala.[24] He has, however, not cited any evidenee in support of his contention. The supposed relationship of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā with Bhadrabāla,[25] the father of *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa, known from an inscription found at Bandhogarh,[26] which is based almost entirely on the apparent similarity of the name-ending *bala* and obviously forms the main basis of this contention, cannot be substantiated all well be shown in due course. K.D. Bajpai and S.K. Pandey hold that the capital of Jayabala's family was at Sarabhapura which, according to them, was the earlier name of Mallar.[27] While there in no doubt that Mallar formed part of the dominions of the last known member of the dynasty, we have absolutely no evidence to justify the location of the dynastic capital at Mallar. Moreover, as we have shown elsewhere,[28] the identification of Śarabhapura with Mallar is quite uncertain, if not untenable. Under these circumstence it will be best to leave the question open till the discovery of some more definite evidence which may enable us to finally clinch the issue.

We may now proeeed to set out the historical contents of the Bamhani and Mallar plates of Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira. They supply us the following genealogy of the dynasty :—

Jayabala
|
Vatsarāja
|
Nāgabala
|
Bharatabala
|
Śūrabala
|

Though Jayabala is the first member of the dynasty known from our records, we do not get any information of historical nature regarding him. He is merely stated to have been

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24. *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 235; *CII*, v, Introduction, p. xxvi.
25. Mirashi spells his name as Bhadrabala with the object of connecting him with the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā most of whom had *bala*-ending names. *Vide ibid*, Introduction, p. xxvi; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 231-32.
26. *EI*, xxxi, pp. 185-86, nos. xviii and xix and plate facing p. 186.
27. K.D. Bajpai and S.K. Pandey, *Mallar*, p. 23; K.D. Bajpai, 'New Light on the Early Pāṇḍava Dynasty of South Kosala', *ABORI, Diamond Jubilee Volume*, p. 436.
28. *Prāchya Pratibhā*, v (i), p. 19.

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born in the lineage of the famous Pāṇḍavas in the Mekalā country, styled *rājan* and described as the foremost amongst the ruling chiefs *(kshitipati-tilaka)*. He is described in a purely conventional manner and is said to have acquired great renown and to have been endowed with the best of qualities and a handsome figure.[29]

Jayabala is said to have been succeeded by his son Vatsarāja who seems to have been more illustrious and powerful as compared to his father. He is compared to the traditionally famous Vatsa king Udayana[30] and is reported to have won victories in battles and assailed the enemies by the prowess of his arms and made the gardens attached to the places of his foes teem with wild beasts. He is also styled 'king' *(kshitīśa* and *nṛipati)* and described as the foremost of the ruling chiefs.[31] A lady named Droṇa bhaṭṭārikā was his queen.

The son and successor of Vatsarāja was Nāgabala who is said to have been born of his queen Droṇa-bhaṭṭārikā. He is described briefly in a purely conventional manner in a single verse which makes a vague allusion to his wars against his enemies in which his cavalry and elephantry are said to have played an important role.[32] However, in a short prose passage, which is first introduced while describing him and repeated with necessary changes in regard to formal details in connection with his descendants, he is styled *Mahārāja*. Whether he was the first member of the family to assume the title *Mahārāja* cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge as its absence like that of other epithets in connection with his two predecessors may not have been deliberate and can be explained away as due to the fact that they are eulogised only in verses which did not allow the use of this title. But in case its use with reference to the earlier chiefs is deliberate, Nāgabala's assumption of the superior title would indicate that he was more powerful as compared to his predecessors and declared his independence and sovereign status, the earlier members of the family being vassals of some other power. He is further described as a devout worshipper of Maheśvara (*Paramamāheśvara*), a great honourer of the Brāhmaṇas (*paramabrahmanya*) an as highly devoted to the teachers and the supreme divinity (*parama-guru-devatādhidaivata-viśesha*[33]). His queen was Indra-bhaṭṭārikā.

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29. See the opening verse of Bamhani and Mallar plates.
30. This comparison was evidently suggested by the name Vatsarāja.
31. This account is based on verses 2-3 of the Bamhani plates and verse 2 of the Mallar grant.
32. See verse 4 of the Bamhani plates and verse 3 of the Mallar charter.
33. It will be seen that our interpretation of this expression is different from that of B. Ch. Chhabra (*EI*, xxvii, p. 136) and D.C. Sircar (*Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 236) who take it respectively in the sense of 'distinguished as a highly venerable personage, a deity and a supreme divinity' and 'one who is great teacher to his subjects and is

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The son and successor of Nāgabala born of his queen Indra-bhaṭṭārikā was Bharatabala[34] who is described in greater detail than any of his ancestors.[35] This may be due to the fact that he was more powerful or that he happened to be the immediate predecessor of the issuer of these charters. In the prose passage introducing him he is also given the title of *Mahārāja* and is described as a devout devotee of Maheśvara, a great worshipper of the Brāhmaṇas and as highly devoted to the teachers and the supreme divinity. He was alo known as Indra and is likened to the lord of gods, Indra, in valour and destruction of his enemies[36] and to god Agni in brilliance. Furthermore, his birth from Indra-baṭṭārikā is compared to that of the god Kārttikeya from Pārvatī, the daughter of the lord of mountains, *viz.*, Himavat. It is stated in verse 5 of the Mallar plates that the ruling chiefs everywhere sang his praises wherein he was likened to the epic hero Bharata, younger brother of Rāghava and born in the family of Daśaratha.[36a] The statements that like a gigantic quarter-elephant he covered all the directions with a multitude of resounding trees in the form of overbearing enemies pulled down and torn as under by him and that he gave refuge to the fortune of the host of his enemies slain by him when she approached his arms may be taken to indicate that he won some important successes against his enemies. He married a princess, probably named Lokaprakāśā,[37] born in the Amaraja-kula in Kosalā. She is described in glowing

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devoted to the various gods and of (*sic*) the supreme divinity'. This expression is comparable to *parama-guru*, *parama-brahmaṇya*, *parama-daivata* and *parama-devatādhidaivata* which we often come across in inscriptions.

34. This is the full form of the name. But he is also referred to simply as Bharata (Bamhani plates, text-line 15 and verse 8; Mallar plates, text-line 21), indicating thereby that the name-ending *bala*, which is suffixed to the names of all except one (Vatsarāja) members of the family, has to be taken as something like a surname.

35. His description covers as many as four verses (5-8) in the Bamhani plates and two stanzas (4-5) in the Mallar charter.

36. The comparison is obviously inspired by the fact that Bharatabala was also known as Indra.

36a. This equation is apparently due to the identity of names. However, the description of Bharata as born in the family of Daśaratha (*Daśaratha-kula-janmā*) looks a bit strange, for Bharata was actually.

37. The manner in which the word *lokaprakāśā* is used makes one doubt if it was really her name and not a qualifying adjective describing her as 'well-known (literally, 'resplendent') in the world'. However, if it were to be taken merely as an adjective, one will have to concede that the queen, who is otherwise described in great detail, has been left unnamed. We must remember, however, that in the prose passage introducing her

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terms, though the description is purely conventional in character. On account of her crystal-like pure character and strict observance of self-restraint and self-discipline she is compared to the sacred river Jāhnavī, *i.e.*, Gaṅgā which descended on the earth from the heaven. She appears to have been blessed with a pretty long life as will follow from the statement that she attained subtime status by virtue of being blessed with grandsons and great-grandsons who were foremost among princes and devoted to discipline and justice. The high praise showered upon her prabably indicates that the family attached great importance to Bharatabala's marriage with her, probably due to the accession of power and prestige that it may have brought in its train.[38] It is pertinent to note in this connection that the consorts of the prceding two monarchs, who are also named, are not eulogised in this high-flown style.[39]

Bharatabala was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Śūsabala who was also known Udīrṇavarira.[40] Apart from the conventional matter of fact descripsion in the short prose

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son Śūrabala also her name is not mentioned though the names of the mothers of his two predecessors are clearly specified in the prose passages describing them. B. Sitaraman and M.J. Sharma have suggested that the name of Bharatabala's queen and Śūrabala's mother was Mahādevī which is met with in the prose passage introducing Śūrabala in his Mallar plates (*Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, iii, pp. 187-88), But if this suggestion is accepted, we shall be facing the strange situation that while the title *devī* (queen) is used in the prose passages before the name of the mothers of Nāgabala and Bharatabala, it has been dropped with reference to the issuing chief's mother. Of course, it may be argued, though with not much justification, that the word *mahādevī* here serves the dual purpose of her personal name as well as her title (chief queen). But the same may be said with equal justification about the word *lokaprakāśā*.

38. This is comparable to the marriage of Samudragupta with the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī and that of the Vākāṭaka king Budrasena II with Chandragupta II's daughter Prabhāvatīguptā which are invariably referred to in the Gupta and Vākāṭaka records respectively.

39. They are mentioned merely as the mothers of Nāgabala and Bharatabala in the prose passages introducing them.

40 This name figures independently in the prose passage at the beginning of the Mallar plates. In fact, it is also found in verse 11 of the Bamhani plates, but the wording of the stanza did not allow it to be recognised as a personal name and it was consequently regarded only as an adjective. This is identical with verse 7 of the Mallar plates.

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passage which is also found employed with reference to his father and grandfather,[41] only a single verse is devoted to him in both the characters.[42] This stanza states that he extirpated his enemies and overpowered all the quarters by the pair of his lotus-like feet fervently rubbed by the heads of many a vassal subjugated by his perfecttriple power.[43] In all probability, he assumed the *viruda* Śrīpurusha.[44]

While it is not possible in the present state of insufficient information to ascertain the extent of the principality under the rule of the first four moharchs, we may justifiably infer from the localities named in the two complete grants and their provenance that Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira held sway over a fairly extensive territory covering all the regions mentioned above as included in Mekalā.

Both available complete characters of the family are dated with reference to the regnal years of the issuing chief and consequently the period of the Pāṇḍava rule over the Mekalā region has to be determined on other grounds, B. Ch. Chhabra has made an attempt to fix the chronology of the Pāṇḍavas on the basis of verse 11 of the Bamhani plates which, in his opinion, makes a vailed allusion to the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena who was, according to him, Bharatabala's overlord. It has been suggested that there is a pun on the word *narendra* occuring at the end of this verse which, while referring to Bharatabala, means 'king', whereas otherwise it stands for his Vākaṭaka overlord Nareadrasena.[45] This suggestion, which has found favour with most of the scholars,[46] is evidently inspired by the statement in some of the copper-plote inscriptions of Vākāṭaka Pṛithivīsheṇa II that the behests of his father

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41. There is, however, a significant di ference In case Mahādevī was not the name of Bharatabala's queen, it will have to be conceded that Śurabala's mother has been left unnamed. We feel that the name, which was probaly Lokaprakāśā, has been left out inadvertently.

42. Verse 11 and 7 respectively of the Bamhani and Mallar plates.

43. The three powers, according to ancient Indian writers on polity, are *prabhu-śakti*, *mantra-śakti* and *utsāha-śakti*. For their definition, *vide Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (ed. R. P. Kangle, Bombay 1990), vi. 2. 33. For other references, see P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, iii, pp. 171-72.

44. This can be inferred from the legend on the seal of the Mallar plates.

45. *Bhārata Kaumudī* (Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee), i, p. 219; *EI*, xxvii, pp. 137 and 145, fn. 1.

46. V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, *CII*, v. pp. xxv-xxvi and 83-84; *Studies in Indology*, i. pp. 234-35; S.R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 276-77. But *contra* D. C. Sircar in *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 92; *The Classical Age*, p. 223.

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Narendrasena were honoured by the lords of Kosalā, Mekalā and Mālava.[47] Taking 435-470 A.D. as the regnal period of Narendrasena,[48] equating the second year of Bharatabala's reign[49] roughly to 460 A.D. and assigning a period of two decades to each reign, Chhabra arrived at 399-400 A.D. (roughly 400 A.D.) as the approximate date of Jayabala's rise to power.[50] Mirashi is also inclined to date the accession of Jayabala to about 400 A.D. and place the reign of Bharatabala in *circa* 460-480 A.D.[51] D. C. Sircar is in favour of a slightly later date and places the reigns of Nāgabala and Bharatabala in the second half of the fifth century A D.[52] However, a close scrutiny of the available evidence brings to surface the difficulties in accepting these suggestions. First of all, the discovery of the Mallar plates has shown conclusively that the Bamhani plater too, do not belong to Bharatabala but to his son Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira and that the stanza till recently supposed to refer, though in a somewhat concealed manner, to the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena actually describes the latter. Therefore, if the verse in question actually contains a valied allusion to Narendrasena as the Pāṇḍava chief 's overlord, the Pāṇḍava feudatory of Narendrasena would turn out to be Śūrabala and not his father Bharatabala. But in reality there is no question whatsoever of any reference to Vākāṭaka Narendrasena in this stanza, and the word *narendra* must be taken simply in the sense of 'king' and it is employed only as an adjective of Udīrṇavaira who is explicitly named just before it. In fact, had there been no mention of the Mekalā king as obeying the commands of Narendrasena in the Vākāṭaka records, no one would have even distantly thought of any indirect allusion to the Vākāṭaka monarch in this stanza. What is particularly astonishing in this connection is that Chhabra and Mirashi proposed to correct an incorrectly engraved word in verse 11 of Bamhani plates to *sārvabhauma* which they rightly

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47. *CII*, v, p. 81, text-lines 27-28; *Vidarbha Saṁśodhaha Maṇḍaḷa Vārshika* (Marathi) for 1971, p. 75, text-lines 22-23; for 1977, pp. 171-72, text-lines 17-18.

48. This date was based on K.P. Jayaswal, *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, p. 101. Mirashi (*Studies in Indology*, i, p. 231, fn. 2) is in favour of a slightly later date for the beginnig of Narendrasena's reign which he places in the period 450 to 470 A.D.

49. This is the date of the Bamhani plates.

50. *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, i. p. 219; *EI*, xxvii, p. 138.

51. *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 233. However, if we were to accept Mirashi's view that Jayabala was raised to power by Samudragupta, the former's accession will have to be dated around 350 A.D. and the commencement of Bharatabala's reign about 425 A.D., *i.e.*, much earlier than the accession of Narendrasena.

52. *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 92; *The Classical Age*, p. 223. He places the Bamhani plates about the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

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rendered as 'sovereign' and 'paramount ruler' respectively.[53] Furthermore, in the same verse we find mention of the feudal chiefs falling at the feet of Udīrṇavaira which should leave no dobut that Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira, the grantor of these as well as the Mallar plates, regarded himself as a paramount ruler with a number of chiefs acknowledging his suzerainty and there could be absolutely no questian of his even nominally acknowledging anybody else's supremacy and making even a veiled allusion to him. In order to explain away the so-called equivocal manner in which the allegiance to Narendrasena was supposed to have been expressed Chhabra observed that Narendrasena's"overlordship was more in name only, that Mekalā under the kingship of Bharatabala was an internally autonomous state, and that the prestige of its king was not much interior to that of his suzerain or both of them were perhaps more or less on friendly terms. It looks as if Bharatabala was not bound to acknowledge Narendrasena's overlordship in the charter issued by him, but that it was out of courtesy that he did so and that wilfully in an indirect manner."[54] However, had the Pāṇḍava chief been so very anxious to refer to his Vākāṭaka overlord, however nominal, even as a matter of courtesy, he would have done so explicity and would not have resorted to such a round about manner as would not allow it to be recognised without help of some Vākāṭaka record referring to Narendrasena's overlordship over the Mekalā king. However, the futility of all this exercise will become obvious the moment we realise that the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā flourished considerably after the Vākāṭaka had disappeared from the political map of India, as will be shown presently. In view of this fact the attempt of some scholars to identify the Pushyamitras, who, the famous Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta informs us,[55] had developed great power and resources but were vanquished by Skandagupta, with the Pāṇḍava king Bharatabala who it is suggested, had transferred his allegiance from the Imperial Guptas to the Vākāṭakas and invaded the Gupta empire with the backing of Narendrasena.[56]

Fortunately, we have some more dependable evidence for determining the period of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā The family to which Bharatabala's queen Lokaprakāśā, who is represented as born in Kosalā, belonged has been sought to be identified variously. Chhabra

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53. *El*, xxvii, pp. 142 (fn. 3) and 145; *CII*, v, pp. 86 (fn. 3) and 88. It is notworthy, however, that the corresponding stanza of the Mollar plates shown that this correction is uncalled for.

54. *El*, xxvii, p. 137.

55. *CII*, iii, pp. 63-64, text-lines 10-11, verse 4. D.R. Bhandarkar, however, adopts H.R. Divakar's reading *yudhy=amitrāṁś=cha* in place of *Pushyamtṛāṁś=cha* (*ABORI*, i, pp. 100-01) and, accordind ti this reading, tnere is no reference to the Pushyamitras. See D R. Bhandarkar, *Inscriptions of the Early Guptas*, *CII*, iii (revised), p, 315 and fn. 2.

56. S.R. Goyal, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-77.

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thought that possibly she hailed from the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa of South Kosala.[57] Mirashi and Sircar demonstrated the untenability of this view, the grounds on which their observations were based being different. Mirashi pointed out that the Pāṇḍava dynasties of Kosalā and Mekalā must have been *sagotra*, if not *samānodaka* and marriages between *samānodakas* and *sagotras* are not permitted under the Hindu law.[58] Sircar invited attention to the fact that the Pāṇḍava occupation of South Kosala took place at a later date.[59] Mirashi held that she hailed from the Śūra dynassy known from the Arang plates of Bhīmasena II[60] and was probably a daughter of Bhīmasena I the fourth member of the family, while Sircar regarded her as a princess of the Śarabhapurīya family.[60a] However, it is stated in both the Bamhani and Mallar plates that Lokaprakāśā was born in the Amaraja-kula about which nothing was known at the time of the publication of the Bamhani plates. However, after the discovery of the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja[61] there can be no doubt that the Amaraja kula referred to in the Bamhani and Mallar plates of Śūrabala is identical with the Amarārya-kula to which Vyāghrarāja and his elder brother Pravarabhattāraka and father Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka belonged.[61a] The Amarārya-kula is commonly identified with the Śarabhapurīya family because of the mention of Prasannapura, apparently named after the Śarabhapurīya chief Prasanna or Prasannamātra, the names Jaya and Pravara known to have been borne by the members of this dynasty and the administrative division known as Pūrva-rāshṭra which is known to have been mentioned in a couple of Śarabhapurīya records. But as we have shown elsewhere,[62] this notion is not supported by the extant evidence and the Amarārya-kula chiefs Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka and Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka were ruling contemporaneously with the later members of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty in an area of Kosala not included in the latter's kingdom and annexed the Mallar region sometime about the end of the sixth or the commencement of the seventh century A.D. Consequently, Bharatabala, who wedded a lady of this

57. *Bhāraṭa Kaumudī*, i, p. 217; *EI*, xxvii, p. 138.
58. *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 234.
59. *The Classical Age*, p. 222.
60. *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 234; *CII*, v, Introduction, p. xxvi.
60a. *The Classical Age*, p. 222.
61. *EI*, xxxiv, pp. 45-50.
61a. The family probably owed its name to a person named Amara who it may have regarded as its progenitor. Amara and Amarārya were evidently the same, *ārya* being only an honorific termination often found suffixed to personal names. For some such instances, see Wasim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, *CII*, v, p. 97, text-lines 10-18.
62. *Prāchya Pratibhā*, v (i), pp. 27-32.
It may be pointed out in this connection that there are striking differences between the Śarabhapurīya grants and the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja and the arguments adduced in favour of the identification of the Śarabhapurīyas and the Amarārya-kula are illusory.

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family, cannot be placed earlier than the second half of the sixth century A.D. And even if we concede, for argument's sake, the now popular equation between the Amārāya-kula (or Amaraja-kula) and the Śarebhapusīyas and, resulting therefrom, that between Jaya-bhāṭṭāraka of the former dynasty and Jayarāja of the latter family, the date propoted by us would not be affected adversely. For, in the light of the evidence now available, Jayarāja's reign cannot be dated earlier than about the middle of the sixth century A.D.[63] And even if Lokaprakāśā was a sister or daughter of Jayarāja, *i.e.*, Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka, the regin of her husband cannot be placed anterior to the third quarter of the sixth century A.D., and, in reality, it may have to be placed still later. And in case she is taken to be a daughter of Pravararāja, *i.e.*, Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka, the reign of Bharatabala will have to be dated in the closing gears of that century. The reigns of Bharatabala and his son Śūrabala may, therefore, be reasonably placed in the closing decades of the sixth and the early years of the following centuries A.D

Mention must be made in this connection of the Malga of *Sāmanta* Indrarāja[64] which supply very valuable evidence bearing on this question. As we have pointed out elsewhere,[65] in respect of general appearance, formal features, drafting, the list of addressees of the royal order concerning the grant, the privileges bestowed on the grantee, the mode of recording the date as well as other matters the Malga plates and the extant records of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā resemble each other very closely and, what is still more instructive, the scribes of these records were related to one another as brothers. We may infer from these facts that *Samanta* Indrarāja was in some way connected with the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā, though it is not possible to determine the exact nature of this relationship in the present state of our knowledge. The only extant record of Indrarāja, it must be noted, was also found in the same Shahdol District of Madhya Pradesh wherin if situated the village of Bamhani which has been placed, on palaeographical grounds, about the first half of the seventh century AD.[66] In view of the close similarities verging on identity between these records there can be no doubt that they were not separated from each other by any considerable length of time and that the Pāṇḍava inscriptions cannot be dated muhh earlier than the bewinning of the seventh century A.D. or the end of the preceding century.

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63. See *ibid.*, pp. 20-25.

64. *EI*, xxxiii, pp. 209-14.

65. Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'A Note on the Malga Plates of Sāmanta Indrarāja', *Rri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal*, xxi-xxii, pp. 19-25.

66. D C. Sircar and S. Sankaranarayanan, who edited the Malga plates for the first time, surmised that Indrarāja ruled as a semi-independent ruler sometime between the death of the Maukhari chief Grahavarman about 605 A.D. and the establishment of Harshavardhana's power over the erstwhile Maukhari kingdom shortly thereafter or sometime after Harshavardhana's death in 647 A.D. See *EI*, xxxiii, p. 211.

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It will thus follow that the popular notions regarding the histo.y of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā stand in need of a thorough reconsideration and revision. Taking into consideration the aforesaid evidence bearing on their chronology we may justifiably hold that Jayabala, with whom the historical account of the dynasty begins in its records, rose to power about the commencement of the sixth century A.D. and his reign may be dated in *c.* 500-525 A.D. while the next three quarters of the century may be allotted of the reign of the next three kings, *viz.*, Vatsarāja, Nāgabala and Bharatabala. The accession of the next chief, Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira, may accordingly be dated around 600 A.D. The end of the fifth and the beginning of the following centuries A.D witnessed a decline in the power of the Imperial Guptas which afforded an opportunity for the rise of new political powers which, to begin with, acknowledged the Gupta suzerainty and later asserted their independence after the fall of the Gupta empire, It was exactly during this period that the Maukharis, Later Gupta, Maitrakas and the Śarabhapuriyas found a place on the political map of India, first as vassals of the Guptas and then as sovereign powers about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The same appears to have been the case with the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā. The first two members of the dynasty, Jayabala and Vatsarāja, were in all probability feudatory chiefs owing allengiance to the Guptas howsoever nominal it may have been. The next member, Nāgabala rose to power at a time when the Gupta empire had collapsed and fully exploited this opportunity and declared his independence as indicated by his assumption not only of the title of *Mahārāja* but also of the superior epithet *Parama-gurn-devatādhidaivata-viśesha* which was was usually borne by paramount rulers. His successors Bharatabala and Śūrabala Udīrṇavaira were also paramount rulers and further consolidated their position by annexing new territories.

The historical accounts of the Purāṇas probably contain an allusion to the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā. According to the dynastic text as reconstructed by Pargiter, seven chiefs ruled in Mekalā for seventy years.[67] In the preceding line we find mention of thirteen Pushyamitra and Paṭumitra chiefs who also appear to have been connected with Mekalā. As we have seen above, historians are generally inclined to identify the Pushyamitras vanquished by the Gupta emperor Skandagupta[68] with the Pushyamitras known from the Puraṇas who in their turn are sought to be connected with the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā. Though this equation is totally unwar-

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67. *Mekaläyäṁ nṛipāḥ sapta bhavishyant-īha saptatiṁ.*
F.E. Pargiter, *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

67 a *Pushyamitrā bhayishanti Paṭumitrās=trayobaśa. Ibid.*

68. However as we have seen above, the reading of the portion of verse 4 supposed to refer to the Pushyamitras is doubtful ond some epigraphists are in favour of reading *yudhy=amitrāṁś=cha* instead of *Pusdyamitrāṁś=cha* with the result that there is no mention of any particular enemy but adversaries in general.

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ranted in the light of the aforesaid chronological considerations, the compilers of the historical sections of the historical portions of the Purāṇas appears to have been familiar with the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā. This is evident from a version of the *Nisṇu Purāṇa* containing the reading *balavān Jayo bhavtshyati* (instead of the reconstructed reading *Pushyamitrā bhavishyanti*) which undoubtedly alludes, albeit in in a slightly veiled manner, to the first Pāṇḍava monrch Jayabala.[69] Accordıng to Pargiter, the account containing these references relates to the thir century A.D.[70] and therefore it may be argued that we should not expect any reference here to the Pāṇḍavas if they flourished as late as the sixth-seventh centuries A.D. However, it is now generally ageed the earlier notion that the dynastic portions of the Purāṇas had been finalised in the early Gupta period is erroneous and that they allude to some later members of the Gupta dynasty also.[71] Moreover, this objection, if all upheld, is equally applicable to the popular notion which places the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā in the fifth century A.D.[72] But the number of the Mekalā chiefs is given as seven in the Purāṇas whereas only five Pāṇḍava kings are known so far. Let us hope, therefore, that future epigraphic discoveries may bring to light some more members of the dynasty.[73]

According to V.V. Mirashi, the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā were related to some earlier chiefs known from a few early early epigraphs found at Bandhogarh.[74] The word *bala* forming the concluding part of the names of most of the Pāṇḍava chiefs reminds him of *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla (according to Mirashi, Bhadrabala), father of *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa, referred to in two Bandhogarh inscription.[75] He holds that Bhadrabāla was an army-commander of the contemporary Magha chief and his son Vaiśravaṇa, who is styled *Rājan*, ruled over a small

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69. See S.N. Roy, *Historical and Cultural Studies in the Purāṇas*, p. 170.
70. F.E. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 and 73.
71. *Vide* P.L. Gupta, *The Imperial Guptas*, i, pp. 116-17, where important Purāṇic allusions to the Gupta emperors Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta are cited. Likewise, V.S. Agrawala (*Matsya Purāṇa. A Study*, pp. 228-31; *Purāṇa*, vi, p. 229) is inclined ta see in king Pramati mentioned in the *Tatsyr Purāna* an allusion to Chandragupta II while the present writer has suggested his identification with Samudragupta (*Nagpur University Journal*, xviii, pp. 140-44).
72. In fact, the very portion mentioning the Pushyamitras and the seven Mekalā kings and taken to refer to political couditions as obtaining in the third century A.D. contains reference to the Nalas who ruled in the fifth and later centuries. See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 51 (*Nala-vaṁśa-prasutaś=cha vīryavanto mahābalāḥ*).
73. It is also possible the predecessors of Jayabala being insignificant chieftains, their names were consciously omitted in the official records of the family.
74. *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 231-34; *CII*, v, Introduction, p. xxiv.
75. *EI*, xxxi, pp. 185-86, nos. XVIII and XIA.

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principaliy near Bandhogarh where a couple of inscriptions of his reign have been found. In his opinion these two persons (Bhadrabāla and Vaiśravaṇa) were ancestors of Jayabala.[76] For this purpose he rejects the theory identifying Bhadrabāla with the Magha king Bhadramagha and the identification of the former's son, *Rājan* Vaiśravana, with the homonymous Magha king who styled himself *Mahārāja*, the latter because of difference in the regal titles assumed by them.[77] He further holds that *Māhārāja* Lakshmaṇa known from his Pali[78] and Singrauli[79] plates of the year 158, which he proposes to refer to the Śaka era instead of its common attribution to the Gupta era,[80] and Balavarman, an Āryāvarta cheif defeated by Samudragupta,[81] belonged to the Magha dynasty and that after uprooting the Maghas Samudragupta annexed the fertile Vatsa country (Allahabad region) and parcelled out the hilly region of Baghelkhand among dis vassal including the Pāṇḍavas who were given the Mekalā region [82]

This theory rests, however, on very weak grounds and beset with other difficulties. To begin with, the name of *Rājan* Vaiśraṇa's father as mentioned in the inscriptions in questions in Bhadrabāla, not Bhadrabala and conseqnently there is no identity of name-endings on which this reconstruction is based. Secondly, there is no doubt that the identification of *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla and the Magha chief Bhadramagha is totally unwarranted.[83] But the identification *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa with the Mrgha king *Mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa cannot be disputed simply on the ground of a slight difference between the regal titles, for such differ-

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76. *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 231-32, *CII*, v, Introduction, p. xxvi.

77. *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 231-32. But *contra*, *ibid.*, pp. 152ff., where Mirashi supports these identifications.

78. *EI*, ii, pp. 363-65 and plate opp. p. 364.

79. *ASI*, *AR*, 1936-37, p. 88

80. *Studies in Iddology*, i, p. 233, fn. 2. The only evidence adduced against the reference of this year to the Gupta era is the non-reference to the Gupta suzerain. However, we have some other eases of the non-mention of the Gupta overlords in the records in the records of their vassals.

81. *CII*, iii, Fleet's edition, p. 7, text-line 21. The ascription of Balavarman, commonly regarded as the same as the homonymous ancestor of the Bhauma-Nāraka monarch Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, to the Magha dynasty is obviously prompted by the desire to bridge the gap between the last known Magha king Vijayamagha and the Gupta emperor Samudragupta. The same can be said about the ascription of Lakshmaṇa to the Magha dynasty.

82. *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 165 and 233.

83. For a detailed discussion, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Kauśāmbi Hoard of Magha Coins*, pp. 25-26. *Vide* also *Itihas*, iv, p. 39.

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ences are noticed elsewhere also.[84] Strangely enough, Mirashi himself strongly upholds these identifications elsewhere.[85] Thirdly, the ascription of the year 158 of the charters of Lakshmaṇa to the Śaka era is not warranted by rhe palaeographic evidence which favours a late date.[86] Fourthly, there is nothing to indicate the association of Lakshmaṇa and Balavarman with the Magha dynasty. And last but not the least, as has been shown above, the surmise that Jayabala and Samudragupta were contemporaries is not supported by the available data. We may, therefore, conclude that the available evidence does not justify postulating any relationship between *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla and the Pūṇḍavas.

We know nothing of the Pāṇḍava kingdom of Mekalā after Śūrabala. How long he continued to rule after the eighth regnal year when the Mallar plates were issued connot be ascertained for want of necessary evidence. But about the same time as he was ruling over a large principality including some area of the Chhattisgarh region, another line of Pāṇḍava chiefs started ruling in South Kosala. This cannot be regarded as merely a coincidence and these two lines of rulers appear to have been ralated to one another though in the present state of our knowledge we are not in a position to determine the exact nature of this relationship. The claim of both the dynasties to have originated from the Pāṇḍava lineage and belonged to the lunar race and the *bala*-ending name of one of the Pāṇḍava chiefs of Kosalā[87] are pointers in this direction. Then again, the first known member of the Pāṇḍava dynasty of South Kosala, Udayana, is known to have been ruling in a region not far away from the principality of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā.[88] As against these points

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84. Thus, on the tiger-slayer type coins of Samudragupta we find the title *Rājan* instead of the usual *Mahārājādhirāja* while the lyrist type coins of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I given the names of the issuing emperors without any regal title. Even as regards the Maghas, Bhīmasena is styled *Mahārāja* in his Ginja (Luders' List, no. 906) and Bandhogarh (*EI*, xxxi, p. 177, no. 1) inscriptions while he is styled simply *Rājan* on his terracotta sealing found in the excavations at Bhita (*ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 51, no. 27). See also Shastri, *Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins*, pp. 23-24 and 27-28.

85. *EI*, xxvi, pp. 298-99; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 154-55.

86. The distinctly late forms of characters and the use of almost correct Sanskrit point to a late date. If these records are taken as dated in the Śaka era, they will have to be regarded as the earliest copper-plate charters reported so far. And such an early date is not supported by a distinctly developed appearance in all respects.

87. *Viz.*, Indrabala, sone of Udayana, the first known member of the dynasty.

88. This is based on the identification of Udayana mentioned in the records of the Pāṇḍava dynasty of South Kosala with the homonymous chief known from an inscription at Kalanjar in the Banda District of Uttar Pradesh. A stanza from this inscription has

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inducating some sort of relationship between the two lines, we find a few important differnces which cannot be ignored. Thus, while all but one Pāṇḍava chiefs of Mekalā had *bala*-ending names, only one Pāṇḍava ruler of South Kosla (Indrabala) bore such a name. Likewise, while the charters of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā are incised in the nailheaded characters and couched in a mixture of pose and verse, those of the other Pāṇḍavas dynasty are engraved in the box-headed characters of the Central Indian alphabet[89] and composed entirely in prose.[90] All the Kosala Pāṇḍavas beginning with Tīvaradeva had names with the word *mahat* prefixed to them[91] while no such practice was followed by their Mekalā counterparts. With the exception of a single name (Indrabala) the names of the Kosala Pāṇḍava chiefs were quite different from those of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā. And last but not the least, all the Pāṇḍavas chiefs of Mekalā appear to have been devout Śaivas though the title *Paramamāheśvara* is applied to only three of them. The Pāṇḍava chiefs of Kosalā, on the other hand, were, with a single exception,[92] followers of Vaishṇavism. Some of these points can be explained away on grounds of regional requirements and personal predilections;[93] but the almost total dissimilarity of names and the abandonment of the *bala*-ending names, which indicate an almost total break from the Mekala Pāṇḍavas, cannot be explained satisfactorily. And lastly, some of the records of the Pāṇḍavas of Kosala give a fairly long account of the family history and in all such cases the account begins with Udayana.[94] Had the two families been lineally related to

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been quoted by F. Kielhorn in *EI*, iv, p. 257, fn. 4, and *JRAS*, 1905, p. 62. For an unsatisfactory eye-copy of this inscription, see A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, xxi, pl. ix.L. This inscription has not been published so far.

89. Nail-headed characters are employmed only in stone inscriptions which are mostly private records.

90. Except only customary imprecatory stanzas.

91. It is quite likely that Tīvaradeva's predecessors also had names beginning with *mahat*. But this cannot be ascertained in the absence of their copper-plate charters. As Tīvaradeva, Nannarāja II and Śivagupta Bālārjuna bore such names, there can be no doubt about Chandragupta and Harshagupta, who intervened betwen Nannarāja II and Śivagupta, bearing such names even though their records are yet to be reported.

92. *Viz.*, Śivagupta Bālārjuna, the last known king of the dynasty.

93. We may, for example, argue that the use of the box-headed variety in the official records and the assumption of official names commencing with *mahat* were borrowed by the Pāṇḍavas of Kosala from the Śarabhapurīyas while the sectarian differences may have been due to personal likes and dislikes.

94. Udayana mentioned as the first member of the dynasty not only in the Bhandak (or Araṅg ; there is controversy about its exact find spot with different scholars favouring

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one another and had the Pāṇḍavas of Kosala been the direct descendeants of their Mekalā counterparts, we should naturally expect this acount to mention some of the Pāṇḍava chiefs of Mekalā, and actually trace their descent from them. These facts seem to indicate that the Pāṇḍavas of Kosala were not lineal descendants of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā and at the moment we should rest satisfied with the position that the two Pāṇḍava families were collaterally related to one another. The problem can be finally solved only when more evidence becomes available.[95]

Bhandak, Arang and Ratanpur, the first in the Chanda District of Maharashtra and the last two in the Ranipur and Bilaspur Districts respectively of Madhya Pradesh) of the time of Nannarāja I, father of Tīvaradeva, but also in a Sirpur stone inscription of the last known Pāṇḍava monarch of Kosala, Udayana (*IA*, xviii, pp. 179-81, verse 2).

95. Mirashi believes that Udayana was a son of Bhartabala, also known as Indra, and that Udayana's son Indrabala was named after his grandfather whom he designates as Indrabala I. See his *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 235-36. But this recunstruction is not supported by the extant evidence.

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Kashmir Politics and the Role of Public Opinion on the Basis of Kalhana's Rājataraṅgiṇī

—M.C.P. Shrivastava

Kalhaṇa, the great poet of Kashmir, wrote his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, a history of Kashmir, in about 1148-49 A. D. He has written the history of the land from the remote past up to his own times. Many of the facts about the early period may not be historically true as they are based on tradition, but he is quite near the truth at least for the period from the seventh century A. D. onwards. The great poet, with his historical sense, has not only listed the names of the kings; but has also thrown light on the social, economic, religious and political life of the land. Naturally, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* provides valuable information on the subject under study.

Kalhaṇa, while discussing the rise and fall of the kings, also refers to the factor leading to the overthrow of the unpopular kings and the role played by different elements of the society. He has mentioned about revolts and rebellions against such kings and the court-intrigues. We have examples of kings ousted from power due to popular revolts and kings enthroned with popular support. It the, therefore, interesting to enquire about the role of the Public Opinion in the such events of importance.

In the very beginning of his work Kalhaṇa quotes a golden rule. He says that "those kings whose only object is to oppress their subjects perish together with their descendants, whereas royal fortune attends the race of those who will repair what has been destroyed."[1]

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1. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 188

—ये प्रजा पीडन परास्ते विनश्यन्ति सान्वया: ।
नष्टं तु ये योजयेयुस्तेषां वंशानुगा: श्रिय: ।।

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The poet records the miraculous recovery of Saṁdhimat from death by the witches and, therefore, chosen king by the people,[2] and ruled as Āryarāja. We may not believe in this story but we have certainly been provided with a practice by the poet that people played an important role in the selection of their kings.

Kalhaṇa mentions a queer situation when the people, though dissatisfied with their king, loved him very much. King Āryarāja was wholly addicted to quietism and he did not look after the affairs of the state; hence, his subjects became dissatisfied.[3] When a substitute was found, Āryarāja readily agreed to abandon the throne[4] and escape humiliation of being expelled forcibly.[5] Though the people wanted him to resume his duties, Āryarāja departed in all humility towards the forest. May people burst into tears, even followed him to a great distance.[6] This example definitely leads us to the conclusion that the kings of Kasmir always feared public opinion and certainly craved for peoples love. A king could be ousted from power, by the people but an unwilling king not be forced to remain in power. The kings of Kashmir avoided such actions which could turn public opinion against him. The action of Chandrāpīḍa, the son of Durlabhavardhana, is an example in this respect. Chandrāpīḍa, who was a virtuous king, wanted to build a temple ; but there was a hut of a tanner in the corner of the proposed site. The tanner was not willing to sell his ancestral land. Though the king could have forcibly occupied the land, yet respecting the sentiments of the poor tanner the king did not do so even for a noble cause like building a temple. Not only this, the noble kings were happy to find their wrong orders not executed by their officers. Once Lalitāditya had ordered to burn the town of Parihāsapura while in intoxication which was wisely disobeyed by his ministers and he was happy to find that his orders were not carried out.[7]

Another example of people's participation in the country's politics is found when people favoured in their beloved king Jayāpīḍa against the usurper Jajja. When Jayāpīḍa after collecting forces and being joined by his minister Devaśarmā fought Jajja at the village called Śuṣ-Ḳaletra, he was followed in the fight by a large number of villagers and men from the forests, who were unable to bear Jajja's role.[8] The active co-operation of common man is proved as Kalhaṇa clearly mentions that a village Chāṇḍāla named Śrīdeva, took part in the

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2. *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, II. 65-114.
3. *Ibid.*, II. 143.
4. *Ibid.*, II. 152.
5. *Ibid.* II. 155.
6. *Ibid.*, II. 162-65.
7. *Ibid.*, IV. 310-19.
8. *Ibid*, IV. 474 .

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fight on the side of Jayāpīḍa.[9] He was not a regular soldier is evident as he had asked his mother to give him food since he was helping the king to kill Jajja.

Kalhaṇa was vehemently criticised misrule and oppression on the part of the king as the life of such a king always remains in danger and those who are well disposed of towards their subject enjoy peace and bring prosperity to the country. Śankaravarman, the son of Avantivarman, after coming to the throne became oppressive and the land fell into the power of the Kāyasthas. Such a state of affairs was detrimental to the well being of the people and at the same time to king. Kalhaṇa mentions here a golden rule through the mouth of Gapālavarman, the son of Śaṅkaravarman, that 'his own people will always attempt the life of that king who accumulates riches.'[10] Being advised by his son, Śaṅkaravarman was reminded of his own childhood when he was made to suffer like common man in order to realise their miseries.[11] Perhaps this refers to the early life of kings at *Gurukula* where even a king's son had to live like a commoner. It was the ancient Indian practice to get the would-be king acquainted with the hardships of a common man so that he may not ignore them after getting the throne. Kalhaṇa further warns : "Those kings, who do evil to their subjects, have their family, their glory, their life, their wives, may even their name, destroyed in a moment."[12]

Kalhaṇa further records a conflict between the inhabitants of Urasā and the king Śaṅkaravarman on account of the quartering of his troops,[13] in which the king had to lose his life but the army, was saved by his ministers. The events that followed Śaṅkaravarman's death made sugandhā to assume royal power in 904 A.D.[14] She could rule for two years relying on the Ekaṅgas and the good will of the Tāntrins.[15] The history of Kashmir, that followed Sugandhā's death, is the history of court intrigues and influence of the Ekaṅgas and the Tāntrins till 939 A.D.

The Political system in Kashmir became so introlerable that Kamalavardhana, the commander-in-chief, determined to clear the mess, entered the city and defeated the opposing

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9. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV. 475-76.
10. *Ibid.*, V. 191.
11. *Ibid.*, V. 195-99.
12. *Ibid.*, V. 211.
13. *Ibid.*, 218-19.
14. *Ibid.*, V. 243.
15. *Ibid.*, V. 249—By this time the Tāntrins foot soldiers had formed a confederacy and were strong enough to punish or favour the rulers of this land (*Ibid.*, V. 248).

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forces.[16] The child king, Śūravarman II, placed on the throne by chiefs, councillors, Ekaṅgas and Tantrins, had to leave the palace. But Kamalavardhana did not enter the palace to occupy it, rather he went back to his residence.[17] He was a man of character and not an usurper; naturally he wanted a person to be placed on the throne by popular support. Hence, he summoned the Brāhmaṇas and asked them to select an able king. Kalhaṇa here remarks that Kamalavardhana was not well versed in politics, and he perhaps thought that the choice of the Brāhmaṇas would fall upon him as he was the ablest.[18] The poet, therefore, calls him fool because after getting power by force he let it go out of his hands in the hope of getting it back afterwards through diplomacy.[19] Unfortunately, the Brāhmaṇas decided in the favour of Yaśaskara due to his personal qualities.[20]

The summoning of the Brāhmaṇas to select king is a clear cut indication that the Brāhmaṇas had a great say in politics. They were regarded in high esteem by the people and their decision was gladly accepted by the people. Naturally, they may be considered to be the leaders of the society and their role in the affairs of Kashmir shows that from time to time. They attempted to set the politics of the country on the right path, though primarily they were devoted to learning.

Yaśakara set an example of a just and impartial king in the history of Kashmir, who had the popular support of the Brāhmaṇas. He, however, realised that the Brahmaṇas may try to dominate him and influence his decisions. Hence, he ordered the door keepers not to allow the Brāhmaṇas to see him and at the same time requested the Brāhmaṇas to avoid meeting him unnecessarily.[21] The Brāhmaṇas also realised this and being satisfied with the king they returned to their original occupation of learning. Yaśaskara, thus, established a good government and the law and order situation in the country became satisfactory under him.

The political condition after Yaśaskara again deteriorated in Kashmir. Kalhaṇa describes the royal assembly to be filled with whores, villains, idiots, and corruptors of boys, being unfit to be visited by the wise.[22] In the second half of the tenth century A.D., queen Diddā,

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16. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V. 452-53.
17. *Ibid.*, V. 457.
18 *Ibid.*, V. 457-58.
19. *Ibid.*, V. 459-60.
20. *Ibid.*, V. 475-76.
21. *Ibid.*, VI. 1-5.
22. *Ibid.*, VI. 159.

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the daughter of king Simharāja of Lohara, who was married to Kṣemagupta, became powerful and dominated the politics of Kashmir. Bhaṭṭa Phālguna, who was favourite of Kṣemagupta, became a favourite of Diddā also after the fall of Naravāhana. After Phālguna's death, Tuṅga rose to power and was made the prime minister. The former ministers rallied behind Prince Vigraharāja, the son of Diddā's brother and raised a rebellion. The Brāhmaṇas holding the *agrahāras* were induced to enter upon a solemn fast in order to cause disturbance in the kingdom.[23] When the Brāhmaṇas had united, the whole of the people was in uproar too, and searched daily in different places for Tuṅga wishing to kill him.[24] In order to bring about the fall of Tuṅga, the Brāhmin ministers made the Brāhmaṇas and the Purohitas of sacred shrines to start a solemn fast at Parihāsapura.[25] At this stage Kalhaṇa observes : "It was difficult for the king to allay this revolt, which was caused by common resolve of the Brāhmaṇas and the ministers, as when fire and storm combine (to cause a conflagration)."[26] The Brāhmaṇas also held a solemn fast (*Prāya*) to end the hostility between King Ananta and his son Kalaśa, which was causing ruin to the country.[27] This fast had a desired effect as we find that reconciliation reached between the two.[28] The history of Kashmir witnesses several examples of such solemn fasts undertaken by the learned Brāhmaṇas and thereby effecting desired changes. It was not easy to suppress the voice raised by these highly respected section of the society.

Kalhaṇa further refers to an important dynastic revolution which brought about material changes in the political state of the country. King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), having fallen a victim to his own Nero like propensities, had to face a rebellion under the leadership of the brothers Uccala and Sussala, though he came to the throne after Ananta by popular support. He was taken to pleasures and all immoral acts. There was famine also in Kashmir

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23. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI. 336.

—मुख्याग्रहाशन्स प्राप्तो विधातु राज्यविप्लवम् ।
धीमान्प्रायोपवेशाय द्रुतं प्रावेशशयद्विजान् ॥

24. *Ibid.*, VI. 337.

25. *Ibid.*, VII. 13.

26. *Ibid.*, VII. 14.—The comparison of fire and storm with the Brāhmaṇas and the ministers is interesting. The first may symbolise the Brāhmaṇas and the storm the ministers. The ministers exploit the situation to their benefit and succeed in effecting changes in the kingship.

27. *Ibid.*, VII. 400.

28. *Ibid.*, VII. 401.

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in 1099 A.D.[29] The life of people in Kashmir became miserable. He became, therefore, an unwelcomed guest. The disgusted Brāhmaṇas of Hiraṇyapura consecrated Uccala, who occupied the throne, after Harṣa was killed in 1101 A.D.[30] Uccala, a virtuous man, had to deal with the dishonest ministers and feudatories, inimical brothers and an empty treasury. As he was ever anxious to help the weak, the citizens were everywhere strong and the officials weak.[31] He took bold measures against the erring officials in order to make his subjects happy.[32] Being a popular king, as he was, he could not be tolerated longer by the vested interests and he was killed by a conspiracy hatched by his officials. When his queens entered his funeral pyre, people raised lamentations.[33]

Sussala, who was called from Loharakoṭṭaka by Garga, made his way to the throne,[34] though his another brother Salhaṇa had already become king. He was angry with Garga who had sent him message, while he was half way to Kashmir, not to come to Kashmir as Salhaṇa had already become king. Hence Garga was imprisoned and Gajjaka was made surperintendent in Lohara.[35] He had to face rebellion in Lohara and also that of the Damaras.[36] Kalhaṇa informs that the action of the king in recklessly rousing these hostilities brought ruin to the subjects.[37] While he fought with these forces in Śrīnagar his ministers were silent onlookers.[38] The deteriorating political situation and the condition of the people as such alarmed the Brāhmaṇas of Rājana-Vāṭikā who held a solemn fast (*prāya*)[39] and urged the king to compel his ministers to fight honestly on his side.[40] This shows that the Brāhmaṇas commanded respect of the people and could exert pressure on the king. The solemn fast undertaken by them can safely be said to be a weapon in the hands of the people and a non-violent way to express public opinion. Kalhaṇa further records that Sussala lost the confidence of the people besides his own relatives and soldiers.[41] People began to criticise

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29. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII. 1219-20.
30. *Ibid.*, VII. 1539; VIII. 6.
31. *Ibid.*, VIII. 54.
32. *Ibid.*, VIII. 85-87.
33. *Ibid.*, VIII. 369.
34. *Ibid.*, VIII. 480-81.
35. *Ibid.*, VIII. 640.
36. *Ibid.*, VIII. 645.
37. *Ibid.*, VIII. 650.
38. *Ibid.*, VIII. 752.
39. *Ibid.*, VIII. 758.
40. *Ibid.*, VIII. 769.
41. *Ibid.*, VII. 802-03.

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him without fear[42] and ultimately he had to abandon the throne when he found the whole city rising in tumult.[43] After the deprture of Sussala the political condition deteriorated so much that the people began to nourish a desire for his return.[44] Kalhaṇa here wonders at the change of the behaviour and attitude on the part of the subjects.[45]

During the rule of Bhikṣā-cakra, another unpopular monarch, the Brāhmaṇas of several *agrahāras* held solemn fast.[46] The growing dissatisfaction among the Brāhmaṇas alarmed the king who sent messengers to pacify them,[47] which shows that the king could not ignore the sentiment of these learned Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand the *Purohits* and the citizent were prepared for all eventuality and were prepared to fight also.[45] The king went personally to pacify them,[49] and when failed in his attempt he tried to win over the people to his side. He came back to the city and collecting all the people, held an assembly of the citizens who were dissatisfied without reason.[50] It is unique example when we find a king mobilising public opinion in his favour in order to counteract the move of the Brāhmaṇas who were bent upon to oust him from power. But the king was unable to convince the citizens who were prejudiced against him. Kalhaṇa here remarks that there is no remedy against those in reblellion.[51] When people rebelled the ruler had to surrender. Sussala ultimately reoccupied the throne of Kashmir. Sussala was, however, killed soon.

The march of old man, women and children to Śrīnagar under the leadership of Sujji[52] was another example of people's role in politics of Kashmir. Further, when Sañjapāla returned to Kashmir and was honoured by king Jayasiṁha, the citizens near the palace looked at him with tears in their eyes.[53]

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42. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII. 903.
43. *Ibid.*, VII. 813-17.
44. *Ibid.*, VIII. 893-94.
45. *Ibid.*, VIII. 895.
46. *Ibid.*, VIII. 898-900.
47. *Ibid.*, VIII. 903.
48. *Ibid.*, VIII. 906.
49. *Ibid.*, VIII. 908.
50. *Ibid.*, VIII. 912.
51. *Ibid.*, VIII. 913.
52. *Ibid*, VIII. 1408.

—वृद्धस्त्री बाल भूयिष्ठान्सह प्रस्थायिनो जनान् ।
ययौ रक्षन्पुरः कृत्वा प्रशुपालः पशूनिव ॥

53. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2052-53.

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Kalhaṇa further records a unique step taken by the people to correct the oppressing officials of Kashmir. When Citraratha, the minister of Jayasiṁha, became oppressive, the Brāhmaṇas of Avantipura held a solemn fact,[54] but when this had no effect on the wicked minister, a young man named Vijayarāja became the spokesman of the helpless people.[55] He said that the murder of Citraratha was the only recourse,[56] as it would check other officials oppressing people.[57] Here the the poet records a golden truth: "The destruction of one wicked person is called lawful when all are helped by it. Even the Jina (Buddha) slew a great snake which killed living beings."[58] Though Vijayarāja attacked Citraratha by a dagger on his head, but later he was himself killed. No doubt Vijayarāja died but on his hand a leaf was bound on which was written : "From *Yuga* and *Yuga* I came into existence to protect righteous, to destroy evil doers, and to restore sacred Law."[59] Though it is a quotation from the *Bhāgavad-gītā*; yet this shows that having attempted to kill a wicked minister for the general good of the people Vijayarāja rose to such a high status in public estimate that he was compared with Lord Kṛṣṇa.

Kalhaṇa also mentions another golden truth. He observes that powerful kings may not be subject to public criticism but when his power declines he is bound to face it as the Sun can easily he examined on a winter day.[60]

An example of the change of heart of the king is mentioned by Kalhaṇa. He records that the the people did not approve of the action of the king against his brother Mallārjuna[61]

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54. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VIII. 2224.
55. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2229.
56. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2233.
57. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2235.
58. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2234.
—धर्मः सर्वोपकार्येकक्षुद्रक्षपणमुच्यते ।
जधानाजगरं सोयि जन्तूनामन्तकं जिनः ।।
59. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2256-57.
—परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम ।
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ।।2256।।
लब्धा लिखिततकृत्यकारणा पत्रिका करात् ।
तस्यान्त समयाशंसा श्लोकेनानेन पावनी ।।2257।।
60. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2287.
61. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2300.

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and they reproached him in various ways.[62] People loved Mallārjuna so much that they moved to tears, seeing his plight.[63] However, it had a desired effect on the king as it changed his attitude towards his brother.[64] It was definitely a victory of public resentment and the king's fear of people's wrath compelled him to soften his attitude.

Kalhaṇa also refers to a revolution in Kashmir when every where in the villages the cultivators left their work on the fields and the Brāhmaṇas their Vedic-recitations and took to arms, eager for rebellion.[65] It is very difficult to ascertain the very nature of this rebellion but the participation of the Brāhmaṇas, devoted to studies and the cultivators, can safely be interpreted as a real show of public opinion and may be taken to be a proof that the people of Kashmir possessed a high sense of their rights and duties.

The holding of a solemn fast *(prāya)* by the Brāhmaṇas to press their view was a common practice in Kashmir. We find Kashmiri Kings always ready to redress the grievances of the Brāhmaṇas. Kalhaṇa mentios that when the Ḍāmaras on one occasion raised rebellion in Devasarasā, the Brāhmaṇas of the tract held a solemn fast *(prāya)* to compel the king to suppress their rebellion and thereby save their lands.[66] The king pleaded with the Assembly of the Brāhamaṇas that it was not the right time for uprooting the Ḍāmaras, but the Brānmaṇas were not convinced, naturally, the king had to incur the displeasure of this Assembly.[67] It is, however, mentioned by the poet that the minister Alaṁkāra was dismissed from his presence by the king upon the petition of the Brāhmaṇas.[68] The king also induced the Brāhmaṇas to give up their fast by the promise that he would uproot Trillaka after he had disposed of the pretenders to the crown.[69] All these show that the king always tried to take this highly educated and respected class into confidence.

Another example of the strength of public opinion is recorded by the poet. When the brave Dhanya asked Bhoja to see the king he was reluctant in the beginning[70] but when he found people in all praise for him he was convinced of his right action.[71] This shows that the

62. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VIII. 2303.
63. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2308.
64. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2310.
65. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2518.
66. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2733.
67. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2734.
68. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2737.
69. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2739.
70. *Ibid.*, VIII. 3201.
71. *Ibid.*, VIII. 3202.

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conception of political actions was judged right or wrong on the basis of their approval or disapproval by the people.

Taking anover all picture of the Kashmiri politics we find several elements playing effective role in the political ups and downs in the country. The Ḍāmaras, the Ekaṅgas, the Tāntrins, the Brāhmaṇas and the ministers were some of the sections of the Kashmiri society which had a big hand in bringing political changes. However, the people in general were not silent spectators. They too participated in agitations and rebellions against the erring kings.

The Ḍāmaras were the feudal land-owners and this section of the society often neglected the command of the kings and sometimes became elemantal in bringing kings down from power or placing some one on the throne. The kings of Kashmir, therefore, tried to keep agriculturists under control and did not allow them to amass wealth like the Ḍāmaras. Lalitāditya wanted the cultivators of the land to keep only that much of land which was necessary for their bare sustenance and the tillage of their fields. Giving the reasons he says : "If they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Ḍāmaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the kings."[72] The Ḍāmara power was so much deep-rooted that any attempt to suppress them produced revolution on their part and we note their successful rising during Harṣa's rule, which put an end to his rule and life.[73] In the time of Avantivarman a powerful Ḍāmara had appropriated the villages forming the temple's endowments ; thus, bringing the temple to destitute condition.[74] Having enjoyed the patronage of king's powerful minister Śūra, this Ḍāmara neglected summons after summons. It appears from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that this land-grabbing oligarchy was bent upon to undermine the royal power. Though attempts were made to keep these Ḍāmaras in check by the kings, the fullest development of the Ḍāmara power was achieved from the rule of the Lohara dynasty. These Ḍāmaras were settled in the fertile cultivated portions of the Kashmir Valley.[75] Kalhaṇa shows open aversion and contempt for the Ḍāmaras as he uses the term *dasyu* (robber) regularly for them.[76] However, the Ḍāmaras, being the landed aristocracy, must be excercising enough control over the people in general and land labour in particular.

The Brāhmaṇas of the *agrahāras* were another powerful group of the Kashmiri Society. Though essentially they were devoted to the pursuit of learning; yet when political condition

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72. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV. 347-48.
73. *Ibid.*, VIII. 1263 sqq.
74. *Ibid.*, V. 48 sqq.—The temple priests of the Shrine of Bhūteśvara complained to Avantivarman against Dhanva, a powerful Ḍāmara of Lohara.
75. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, p. 307.
76. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VIII. 7. see f.n.

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deteriorated due to the lapses of the king or his court the Brāhmaṇas organised solemn fast (*Prāya*). It was a very good example of bringing morl pressure on the king, who used to hold the learned Brāhmaṇas in high esteem as they were the leaders of the religion-oriented Hindu Society. The fast was a show of public discontent. No doubt a handful of Brāhmaṇas held fast but it had a great impact upon the society, as it created strong public opinion against the king. A non-violent step taken by them against a king often resulted into armed revolt. Sometimes the Brāhmaṇas also took up arms against the king. The selection of Yaśaskara as a king by the Brāhmaṇas is another example of the effective role played by the Brāhmaṇas in the rise and fall of the Kings.

The people of Kashmir also rose into rebellion several times. On such occasions even the village folk came out on the street with weapons in their hands and leaving their work in the field. This shows that the people in general took active interest in the affairs of the state. The rulers of Kashmir feared public opinion and those who ignored it had to lose their throne.

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Henry Fawcett : India's Friend in the Gladstone Ministry 1880-1884

—*Sumanta Niyogi*

Henry Fawcett, the well-kown Redical Liberal personality of the Victorian period, established himself as a Valiant fighter of Indian causes in the British Parliament during the period 1867-1879. His was indeed a voice on India which was heard with fairly good attention by all sections in the House of Commons, whether it expressed the poverty of Indian peasantry or exposed the extravagande of the well-rooted Anglo-Indian bureaucracy or gave vent to the injustices to India's interests. His immense involvement with India earned him the title "Member for India" in the Commons. His activities were widely reported by Indian newspapers and they left a profound impact on contemporary Indian nationalist leaders, who longed for the day when Fawcett would join the ministerial bench to puch forward India's interests.

The general election of 1880, marked by Gladstone's vigorous Midlothian campaign, ended in crushing defeat for the Tories. Fawcett had his share in the overwhelming Liberal triumph, and he returned from Hackney with what *The Times* regarded "one of the largest majorities every recorded for any member of Parliament."[1] Fawcett's election compaign aroused unusual enthusiasm in India and the public man of Bombay and Calcutta raised a sum of Rs. 9,000 towards meeting his election expenses.[2] Lal Mohun Ghose,[3] a prominent member of the India Association and later of the Indian National Congress, was sent to England to compaign for some Liberal condidates including Fawcett. His trip was jointly

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1. *The Times*, November 7, 1884, p. 9.
2. *Indian Mirror*, May 4, 1880.
3. B. 1849; Barrister; President of the Indian National Congress 1903 d. 1909.

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sponsored by the British Indian Association and the Indian Association.[4] On the eve of the election, Ghose submitted a petition to Fawcett, which had been signed by the members of the British Indian Association and leading merchants of Bombay and which had pleaded for the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, continuance of the Indian cotton duties and providing opportunity to Indian youths for successfully competing in the Indian Civil Service. All these issues figured in Fawcett's election campaigns of 1879 and 1880.[5] If Fawcett's election campaign created unprecedented enthusiasm among the Indian nationalist leaders, his victory in the election, and that of the Liberal Party in general, raised equally great elation among the Indian people. *The Friend of India's* editorial made an interesting recording of the people's reaction :

"The extraordinary interest which natives of India have taken in the English elections of 1880, is entirely without precedent, and so is their rejoicing in the success of one of the great political parties. We believe the interest has spread wider and gone deeper among the people of India than any political excitement which depended on a greater or less understanding of an English political movement ever did before. It has gone far beyond the classes of educated natives who generally take an interest in English politics. Shopkeepers and tradesmen who never before cared what was happening in England have, we are told, been seen to take a keen interest in the telegrams which informed us from day to day how it was faring with Liberals and Tories. There was everywhere a burning desire for the success of the Liberals, and the rejoicings when success was assured where so lively as to be astonishing. Two of our Indian contemporaries gave remarkable testimony to the warmth of the native rejoicing at the Liberal victory and the return to power of Mr. Gladstone. The papers to which we refer are the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Brahmo Public Opinion*, and the two together are admirably representative—the former speaking for the orthodox, old fashioned, and somewhat anti-European classes, and the latter for the advanced reformers of the Brahmo Samaj. It is not, however, in the Liberal Party so much as in two or three distinguished individuals that the Indians trust. These are, first and above all, Mr. Gladstone, and after him, Mr. Bright and Mr. Fawcett. As all these three are in the Government, they may well have some confidence that the new Government will make an effort to justice to India."[5a]

In the new government Hartington became secretary of State for India and Gladstone's trust in Fawcett's ability was confirmed by his appointment as postmaster-General. Fawcett's

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4. B.B. Majumdar, *Indian Political Association and Reform of Legislature*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 149; Briton Martin, *New India 1885*, Oxford, 1970, p. 10.

5. B. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

5a. *Friend of India*, 1 May, 1880.

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appointment disappointed his many admirers in India because they expected Gladstone to assign the office of the Indian Secretary to their "representative in the British Parliament." The Indian *Spectator*[6] repo.ted that the people in India "sanguinely hoped" to see Fawcett preside over the India Office, and commented that the Prime Minister was afraid of "future embarrassment." *The Maharatta*[7] also reported that with Liberal victory in 1880 it was hoped that Fawcett would get the office of the secretary of State for India, which would have been "by far the best place for him." The newspaper thought that his colleagues were probably afraid that in Indian matters he would prove too stiff for them, and that the practice of all English governments, whether Liberal or Conservative, appeared to be to have "the most inoffensive man" in that position.

Although a seat on the Treasury Bench offered Fawcett less scope for involvement with India, he fully enjoyed his new status after the many years he had sat below the Gangway."[8] Yet his promotion did not mean the end of his spirit of independence in search of a just policy for India. In his very first address in the new House he made it clear that, though holding an official position, he would speak on Indian questions as an "independent member."[9]

The Liberal government's policy with regard to the Afghan War meant a personal triumph for Fawcett. The government, however, failed to take on the entire cost of the war, but decided to make a substantial contribution towards meeting the cost. The government announced its decision in the Indian budget dabate on 7 August 1880.[10] Hartington in his speech made it clear that the war could not be said to have been entered into for the sole benefit of India, but was entered into for the "furtherrance of a Imperial policy."[11] The consequences of that policy had been "financially disastrous to India."[12] Hartington considered it not a "matter of charity but a matter of justice" that the British government, the British Parliament, and the British nation, which supported the government in pressing this policy and its financial results upon the Government of India, should be held responsible and that upon this country should fall some share of the cost of that policy which it had supported.[13] The Gladstone government proceeded on the principle that if India was called

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6. *Indian Spectator*, November 9, 1884.
7. *The Mahratta*, November 9, 1884.
8. *Hansard*, Vol. 355. August 17, 1880, 1450.
9. *Ibid.*, 1452.
10. *Ibid.*, See 1403-6.
11. *Ibid.*, 1403.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*

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upon to contribute men and money towards ambitious imperial schemes, sooner or later the burden would fall on the British exchequer.[14] If the war was a purely Indian war, India ought to bear the entire expense of it. But if there was something imperial about the war, or if it was not undertaken solely for the security and defence of India, Britain must make a contribution.

Fawcett received with tremendous joy the government decision to make "a solid and substantial contribution" towards the Afghan War expenses. He appreciated Hartington for the courage to do "just act"[15] and was glad that the contribution would be made on the ground of justice, not of charity. He reiterated his earlier stand that, alike by law and by justice, Britain was bound to pay part of the expenses whenever the troops of India were employed beyond the frontiers of India for imperial enterrises.[16] This he considered as "the discharge of a legal, equitable and honourable obligation."[17] The great danger, Fawcett reminded the House, lay in allowing an ambitious government, anxious for a "spirited foreign policy," to throw the cost of that spirited foreign policy upon "the impoverished and unrepresented people of India."[18]

The government proposal did not meet much opposition in the House. The government's decision to shoulder a substantial portion of the burden signified a hard-earned triumph for Fawcett. On 16 March 1881 the House agreed to the government's proposal that a sum of pound 5 millions would be contributed towards partially meeting the cost of the Afghan War. The Prime Minister himself moved the proposal and highly praised Fawcett's long struggle in securing the grant-in-aid.[19] The entire cost, as Gladstone estimated, was pound 13,000,000. Gladstone believed that the grant would have an excellent effect in India ; it would secure for the English people the good-will, loyalty and affection of the people of India. He supported Fawcett's contention that, not by superior force but by genuine friendship, would Britain be able to retain hold in India.[20] Stanhope, Northcote and Onslow were among the prominent Conservatives to voice their disapproval of the proposal. Their main contention was that as Indian finances showed an encouraging trend in three consecutive years, 1878-79,

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14. *Hansard*, Vol. 355. August 17, 1405.
15. *Hansard*, 1456.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, Vol. 259, March 16, 1881, 1206.
18. *Ibid.*, 1209.
19. *Ibid.*, 1149-50.
20. *Ibid.*, 1152.

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1879-80 and 1880-81, making a total surplus of pound 11 millions,[21] it was unjust and unnecessary to throw a partial burden on the English taxpayers.[22]

The policy of the preceding governmant received a further blow when the Liberal government decided to withdraw British troops from Kandahar and Pishin. Fawcett lent his fullest support to the proposal.[23] When he spoke against the practice of military expansionism in the name of preserving the security of the Empire he sounded much like Bright and Gladstone. And like them his concern for the people of the occupied lands led him to oppose annexation. He was shocked by the ignorance in Britain of wishes and opinion of such people. Such feeling was natural in a Liberal like Fawcett, because it was a period characterised by Gladstone's sympathy for the oppossed people "struggling to be free." He thought whenever a question concerning the retention of occupation or of annexation was proposed, the English people were invariably told that such a step would benefit the people as had happened in case of Transvaal.[24] He had feared the same story would be repeated in the case of Afghanistan and had expressed doubt about the contention of the late Conservative government that the people of Kandahar wished the British to remain. He believed, every Indian statesman of eminance from Lord Lawrence onwards, had held that the Afghan people passionately loved independence.[25] He quoted Sir Fredrick Roberts to show that he also held the same view.[26] The Conservatives had virtually implied that wherever British interests led, the British had a right to go. Fawcett challenged this view. Moreover he held that "most specific promise" had been made to the Afghan people that not a square inch of territory would be annexed except for the purpose of self-defence. He thought that the Afghans would have reacted as adversely to the British retention of Kandahar as the French did to the German rehention of Alsace and Lorraine."[27] Finally, Fawcett described the Afghan War as a War of Aggrandisement"[28] and alleged that the Disreaeli government had broken promises to the people of India. He pointed to the fact that the trade license tax had been imposed and the salt tax had

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21. Harington himself gave the figure in his budget speech of August 17, 1880. See *Ibid.*, Vol 255, 1391-4.
22. *Ibid.*, Vol. 259, 1955.
23. Harington himself gave the figure in his budget speech of August 17, 1880, See *Ibid.*, Vol. 255, 1391-4.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol. 259, March 25, 1881, 1956.
25. *Ibid.*, 1956.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, 1957.
28. *Ibid.*, 1959.

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been increased in order to provide money for the famine relief fund. But the fund had been exploited by the previous government for aggressive expansionism.[29] Thus, Fawcett hinted at the use of the famine fund for the retention of Kandahar. This was perhaps his severest criticism of the Afghan policy of the Tory government. *The Times* regarded his speech on the withdrawal of troops from Kandahar as "masterly."[30]

The Afghan issue thus ended in a hardwon victory for Fawcett. What had begun as a crusade against placing greater financial burdens on Indian revenue, culminated successfully in the Liberal government's decision not only to share a substantial portion of the war expenses but to withdraw from Kandahar.

29. Harington himself gave the figure in his budget speech of August 17, 1959.
30. *The Times*, March. 26, 1881, p. 11.

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Struggle for Freedom : The Gaya Trial of Revolutionaries

—Dr. N.M.P. Srivastav

The Gaya trial of revolutionaries was one of the most important incident in the history of Indian freedom movement in which youngmen were tried for waging war against the English by means of armed revolution. The case originated with the arrest of Pravat Chakravary[1] on January 14, 1933 who was known to be in touch with some Bihari suspects. From his possession the police recovered a cipher-book containing many hundred names of Indian revolutionaries. It also included the names of Baikunths Shukul[2] who was wanted since the murder of Phanindrra Nath Ghose in Bettiah in November 1932, and of Umamnath Singh, a youngmen living in Pahsi Kothi[3], Gaya.

The police searched Pahsi Kothi on January 16 where hidden between a wall and a thatched roof one revolver, one old pistol and five live cartridges were found[4]. The arms had

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1. Pravat Chakravarty was a revolutionary of Bengal. He was an important absconder for whom the government had offered a reward of Rs 1,000.

2. Baikuntha Shukul was hanged in Gaya Central Jail on May 14, 1934.

3. Pahsi Kothi situated in Mohalla Pahsi in the town of Gaya was an old house of Tikari Raj. When the *koṭhī* was searched Umanath Singh was not found there. The only occupant of the house was Mahanth Bhagat Das, a suspect of revolutionary activities.

4. Deputy-Inspector-general of Police Criminal Investigation Department to Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar and Orissa, January 16, 1933.

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been kept there by well-known revolutionaries—Bageshwari Prasad sharma[5], Sahdeo Singh and Mahanth Bhagwat Das.

The investigation revealed the connection of the youngmen of Gaya with the *Yuvak Sangh* and the *Hindustan Socialist Republical Army*.[6] The Yuvak Sangh was for the first time founded by Manindra Narayon Ray[7] in Patna to preach armed revolt under the guise of social service and Swadeshi. The Sangh was a recruiting ground for the young revolutionaries and it preached organisation, audacity and death.[8] Shatrughan Sharan Singh, one of the convicts of the *Gaya Conspiracy Case* was a member of the inner circle[9] of the *Patna Yuvak Sangh*. Although Manindra Narayon Ray was averse to political dacoitied conceived in haste some of his disciples including Shatrughan Sharan Singh were in favour of immediate violence. As a result a separate faction[10] soon developed to promote the dangerous underground activities of the secret societies.

Shatrughan Sharan Singh came to Gaya from Patna in 1928. He used to do congress works and preach armed revolution. In his statement in the court Bageshwari Prasad Sharma said, "Shatrughan Sharan Singh used to tell me that Mahatma Gandhi's efforts have failed, crore's of country's money had been wasted. He also told me that country's freedom can be

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5. Bageshwari Prasad, a student of Model School, Gaya, upto 1917, had left his studies without passing, Matriculation examination. He was a forest officer of Tikari Raj residing at the first floor of Pahsi Kothi.

6. *Hindustan Socialist Republical Army* was formed in the second week of September 1928 by the amalgation of the provincial parties in Punjab, U.P., and Bihar.

7. Manindra Narayon Ray was an assistant Editor of the Searchlight, the premier English daily of Bihar. See N.M.P. Srivastav, "Patna Yuvak Sangh and India's liberation," *The Searchlight*, January 26, 1978.

8. DIG(CID) to Chief Secretary, GBO, April 2, 1929.

9. The inner circle consisted of 30 members of which the most important were Satya Sarkar, Sudhanshu Guha, Haripada De, Subodh Rai, Sadhan Rai, Shatrughan Sharan Singh, Sailendra Datta, Jagadish Narayan, Bon Behari Bose, Bimal Behari Bose. Jnanendra Nath Biswas, Ashutosh Rai Chaudhuri. Rajeshwari Prasad Sinha, Ramnath Sinha, and Prithwis Nag.

10. The faction consisted of six members. They were Satya Sarkar, Sudhanshu Guha, Haripada De, Subodh Rai, Shatrugan Sharan Singh and Ramnath Singh.

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obtained only by armed revolution."[11] The *Gaya Yuvak Sangh* was started in 1929 with Shyama Charan Barthwar, Dr. Kesho Prasad, Shatrughan Sharan Singh, Bageshwari Prasad Sharma, Shahdeo Singh, Sheo Kumar Singh and Dwarika Prasad as its leading lights. The memebers were opposed to the policy of non-violence and decided to commit robberies to purchase arms and ammunition and to put them in a position to overthrow the British Government. According to a government report the *Gaya Yuvak Sangh* was undoubtedly the part of the *Hindustan Socialist Republical Army*,[12] In 1930 a secret party was formed with Shahdeo Singh, Shatrughan Sharan Singh, Dr. Kesho Prasad and Bageshwari Prasad Sharma as its members. Its main object was to drive away the Government by force and in order to accomplish the task they decided to collect arms, kill European officers and collect money by dacoities.[13] In June 1930 Dr. Kesho Prasad cashed a cash certificate for Rs. 1,000 from Gaya Post office out of which Rs. 300 was given to Sahdeo Singh in consultation with Shatrughan to sent it to Ganesh Babu of Makhanis Kuan Patna for the purchase of arms.[14] The memebers of the Party also sent threatening letters to the District Magistarte and the Jail Superintendent of Gaya. The letters contained cartridges also. In a statement Bageshwari Prasad Sharma, which was also supprted by Dr. Kesho Prasad's confession, said, "In course of the introduction Shatrughan Sharan Singh told me that Shyama Charan was a worker of the U.P. revolutionary society and that he was also a resident of this district and that he also worked in our party. After introduction I Used to meet Shyama Charan and talk to him at Gaya. During these meetings Shyama Charan used to say that the country required mass revolution... Probably in the beginning of October 1930 lots of members of the revolutionary society had been sent to jail in connection with the breach of salt laws. Mrs. Johnston, who was the District Magistrate at the time here got lathis used on the breachers of salt laws. I saw it... Mr. Bourke was superintendent of Gaya jail. There were reports that he used to ill-treat the prisoners who had broken salt laws. I did not see it but I saw results of such ill-treatments. As for instance Mr. Bourke broke the tooths of Mahanth Bhagawat Das (accused). I saw Mahanth Bhagawat Das's injury. I informed Shyama Charan about the ill-treatment of the prisoners at the jail and discussed with him. Shyama Charan told me that threatening letters should first be sent to both the officers i.e. Mr. Johnston and Mr. Bourke. Shyama Charan drafted the letter in English and gave it to me. It was in green ink. With the draft letter he gave me two revolver cartridges. After Shyama Charan left the place I gave the draft to Dr. Kesho Prasad to type the same. Dr. Kesho after several days gave me two apparently typed letters. I placed one cartridge each with the two letters...I attached these to the two

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11. Political (Special), GBO, file No. 86 (II) of 1933.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*

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letters by means of ordinary white thread. One was addressed to Mr. Johnston and the other to Mr. Bourke. I posted these letters myself after affixing stamps."[15]

During the course of investigation it was also proved that in 1930 there had been a proposal to wreck the Imperial Mail at Palmerganj and that an attempt had actually been made to rob the station cash there at the instance of Shyama Charan Barthwar.[16] The plan to loot mail bags and wreck the Imperial Mail was corraborated by Brij Bhushan Sahay.[17] In March 1930 Shyama Charan went to Palmerganj one day at 8 p.m. and met Brij Bhushan Sahay at the station. He said some money was needed and the postal cash of Palmerganj should be looted. There was no post office at Palmerganj. The nearest post office was at Jamhore. Brij Bhushan agreed to the suggestion of looting.

Some mail bags that time used to arrive daily at Palmerganj at 7.30 p.m. and were kept at the station for the night. Shyama fixed Saturday night for the purpose because he had been the cash in Mail bags used to be heavier on Saturdays. Shyama asked Brij Bhushan to remove the porters from the station and wanted him to be on duty. Then Shyama went away. Next Friday morning Sahdeo and Shatrughan went to Palmerganj. Shatrughan told Brij Bhushan that Shyama has sent them and asked him to keep everything ready. Shatrughan also assured him that they (he himself and Sahdeo) were members of the revolutionary party at Gaya. They were strangers to Brij Bhushan and so he hesitated to talk to them. But when he was assured they were party members, he told them to infrom Shyama that everything would be arranged as promised to him. They went away by train which left Palmerganj at 10 a.m. Next day i.e. on Saturday Brij Bhushan was on duty from 6 p.m. to 2 a.m. Five men including Shatrughan. Sahdeo, Deodhari and two other, whose names Brij Bhushan did not know arrived at Palmerganj from Gaya by train at 7.30 p.m. Shatrughan informed Brij Bhushan that they had arrived and then they went to the passengers' shed. Shyama did not come. At about 10 p.m. when all became quiet Brij Bhushan went to the Passengers' shed to see them. The shed was dark, there were also three or four passengers sleeping in that shed besides these persons. Brij Bhushan Stumbled against one man, who appeared to be Sahdeo. He

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15. Political (Special), GBO, file No. 86 (II) of 1933.

16. Supplement to the Bihar and Orissa Police Abstract of Intelligence, Patna March 17, 1934.

17. Brij Bhushan Sahay was Assistant Station Master at Palmerganj. He Passed the matriculation examination in 1920 and joined the railway service in 1921. In 1927 he was posted at Palmerganj as Assistant Station Master. He joined the revolutionary party in 1929 at the instance of Shyama Charan and used to work for the party at Palmerganj.

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aimed a pistol at Brij Bhushan. Brij Bhushan showed him his hand lantern and finding that it was he Sahdeo kept the revolver in his pocket. Brij Bhushan informed Sahdeo and Shatrughan that everything was alright and asked them to make arrangement for the loot. Then Brij Bhushan went back to his office.

But the police got the scant and the whole plan was frustrated. The military police arrived to the station. Brij Bhushan went again to the passengers' shed and told Shatrughan and Sahdeo that the plan of looting should be given up as the police were on the look out. Regarding the contemplated looting Shatrughan and Sahdeo had told Brij Bhushan that they should kill the boy who used to watch the box containing the mail for the key of the box in order to take out the content. But Brij Bhushan did not agreed to the idea. He maintained that they being five in number could easily overpower him. His view prevailed and everybody in the party had decided to act accordingly. But the looting was to be postponed. They suspected that Brij Bhushan had informed the police of the projected loot and Shatrughan threatened him of dire consequences if he had done so.[18] Brij Bhushan assured them that he had not given any clue to the police.

In his statement Brij Bhushan said that in the summer of 1931 Shyama Charan told him that in order to secure lots of revolvers he wanted to wreck the Imperial Mail. He agreed to his proposal and asked him how he could do that. He also asked him what arrangement would be made for men as one man could not do it. Shyama said that there was a party at Gaya and named Bageshwari and Dr. Kesho as persons from whom help could be received. After that Shyama went away to Gaya. It was decided to wreck the Imperial Mail on the following Friday. On the following Thursday evening some people came to Palmerganj. Brij Bhushan did not see them come. He came to duty at about 2 a.m. on Friday, when Shyama, Shatrughan, Sahdeo and five others came to his office. Shyama said that they would remain at some distance from the station and one of them would remain in his office, who would take the time of passing of Imperial Mail and communicate them immediately as soon as the line clear would be received by Brij Bhushan. It was decided to wreck the train between Phasar and Palmerganj.

Brij Bhushan changed his mind subsequently and after the passing of the U.P. Bombay Mail at 3 a.m. and giving line clear for the Imparial Mail he told the man who was waiting in his office that the Imperial Mail would not run that day. The man went away and then all of them came to his office. They were eight in all. Brij Bhushan informed them that it was

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18. *The Searchlight*, July 16, 1933.

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not the Imperial Mail that passed just then but a duplicate Bombay Mail.[19]

According to a Government report on the activities of the Gaya conspirators there was a dacoity in Daltonganj town on May 11, 1930 when more than five men robbed cash and half-notes from a mail runner.[20] Another dacoity took place at Daltonganj Mofussil and about 200 was stolen.[21] On September 16 Pramatha Nath Mukherji stole a revolver of a Daltonganj police sub-inspector from his quarters and attempted to fire the weapon as he was being chased but did not know how to release the safety-cateh. He was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment. The police recovered from his possession very suspicious correspondence and also a map of Palamou district with a track to Neterhat, a hill-station, marked in red ink. There were also some initials of other revolutionaries and instructions for cutting telegraph wires with the intention to commit some outrage at Neterhat while the Bihar Governor was to reside there from October 13 to 24.[22] About this time Ganesh Prasad Verma distributed revolutionary leaflats in trains. Shyama Charan was arrested in Banaras on October 7 with arms, ammuition and explosives and was fined under Arms Act. He was also suspected in the Banaras Durgakund Bomb explosion but was not sent up.[23]

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19. The sessions judge had very low opinion about Brij Bhushan Sahay. The judge had formed opinion that Brij Bhushan Sahay was playing the double game had not told the whole truth and his certain statements had tended to throw doubt upon his evidence. He considered that Brij Bhushan was a police informer.

    Clarifying the position the DIG (CID) wrote to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar and Orissa on October 10, 1933, "The judge, however, is quite wrong in accepting the defence plea that B.B. Sahay was police informer. Far from being an informer, he was under watch, and we had him transferred from Palmerganj to Digha in November 1930 because we had information that he was in the Gaya Party. We had even removed his from Digha to a more distance place...It will be seen that the judge has considered some of his evidence suspicious, he has accepted other parts of his statement and used them convict the accused, that is those parts on which there are material corroboration on record."

20. The case remained undetected until January 1933 when following confession Shyama Charan and Pramatha Nath Mukherji were identified.

21. This case also remained undetected until January 1933 when Shyama Charan was identified by a witness.

22. DIG (CID) to Chief Secretary, GBO, March 2, 1933.

23. *Ibid.*

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During the year 1931 Sahdeo was in possession of a revolver and Kesho Prasad possessed about a gross of 320 revolver ammunition. Bageshwari Prasad Sharma at the suggestion of Mithilesh distributed some dynamite obtained from some mica mines. In April Major Bourke committed suicide but Shatrughan Sharan Singh propogated that it were he who murdered the Major. In October Pramatha Nath Mukherji smuggled a letter out of the Gaya Central Jail with a view to strenghening the organisation and in November Sahdeo and Bijoy Kumar Das Gupta asociated together in organising the Party.[24] During the year the government had ordered the interception of correspondence of Shatrughan Sharan Singh which continued from August 8, 1931 to February 7, 1932.[25]

During the year 1931-32 Dr. Kesho Prasad collected several hundred rounds of ammunition and the Gaya revolutionaries also discussed the possibility of murdering European officials.[26] In April 1932 inflammatory leaflest issued by the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army was distributed by Shyama Charan. About April 27 Sahdeo made over 130 cartridges to Lala Prasad for safe custody. In May the party members also discussed the possibility of Killing Mr. Meredith, Additional Sessions Judge, Patna, and the special Assistant to the DIG (CID) in revenge for the *Patna Conspiracy Case* results.[27] It is also on record that about May 10 Ram Dheyan and Mahanth Bhagwat Das had unsucessfully approached Dr. Kesho Prasad for the loan of two revolvers which they wanted to make use of in Patna. There was also a discussion in the middle of the year for committing a big house dacoity near Dobhi and also a mail robbery at certain place. The same time Shayma Charan distributed in Bararas a phamphlet, 'cult of bomb' for which Guru Prasad Chaudhary was sentenced in Patna for two years' rigorous imprisonment. On August 5 the police conducted a raid on the house of Lala Prasad and recovered 129 rounds of revolver ammunition.[28]

In is also on record that On August 25, 1932 Shatrughan Sharan Singh had assisted

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24. DIG (CID) to Chief Secretary, GBO, March 2, 1933.

25. DIG (CID) to Chief Secretary, GOB, October 30, 1931.

26. Political (special), GBO, file No. 31 of 1933.

27. DIG (CID) to Chief Secretary, GBO, March 2, 1933.

28. Lala Prasad absconded until February 24, 1933 when Kesho Prasad, who was his relative, induced him to surrender and confess. Lala Prasad was custodian of the ammunition belonging to the party.

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Ishwar Dayal Singh, who had been convicted along with Yogengra Shukla[29] in the *Tirhut Conspiracy case* in escaping from Gaya jail. About this time Shatrughan made over two revolver to Radha Mohan for safe custody who in turn made them over to Ganga Kurmi. Throughout the year different members of the party paid seven visits to Calcutta to forge contact with the revolutionaries there.[30] In November and December. The Bengal absconders also visited Bageshwari's place in Pahsi Kothi. There was also a proposal by Mahanth Bhagwat Das to poison some wealthy persons to enrich the party fund. In December there was a scarce at palmerganj Railway Station that Shyama and Mithilesh wanted to commit robbery there and at the Daltonganj treasury. As a result the number of armed guards were doubled.[31]

On January 20 the police searched the house of Mithilesh and recovered 12 cartridges, formula for bomb making and several proscribed books. The Gaya organisation was well advanced by the time it was unearthede. Even after investigation started certain members were active and three of them committed a postal robbery just outside Gaya on January 31, 1933.[32] On March 12 there was a mysterious explosion in Palamau in which a school boy lost his finger. The boy, Deolal Chokra had been given by Umeshwari Singh, a student of M.E. School, Jamhore, a phial asking him to sake it. When he shook it, it exploded causing injuries to his hands, chest and abdomen. One of his left middle fingers was altogether blown off. The government connected the incident with the Gaya Conspiracy case. The DIG (CID), W. Sealy, wrote to the Chief Secretary, "Umeshwari Singh, the accused is the case is a student of Jamhore M.E. School and lived in the house of Lal Babu Singh of Jamhore, P.S. Aurangabad, District, Gaya, Lal Babu is known as a leading agitator of the village and his son Raghubans was arrested in connection with the *Gaya Conspiracy Case* but not sent up for want of evidence. Raghubans was known to be a very close associate of Shyama Charan Barthwar and Mithilesh Sharan Singh, important accused in that conspiracy case, and it will be remembered that bomb formula were recovered in the house of the latter. The accused studies at Jamhore, one of the centres of activity of the accused of the *Gaya Conspiracy Case* and it is quite passible that the youth is connected with them."[33]

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29. For details about Yogendra Shukala see N. M. P. Srivastav, "Yogendra Shukla : a daring revolutionary" *The Searchlight*, May 6, 1979.

30. DIG (CID) to Chief Secretary, GBO, March 2, 1933.

31. Ibid.

32. Political (special), GBO, file No. 31 of 1933.

33. DIG (CID) to Chief Secretary, GBO, May 23, 1933.

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On March 15, 1933 one of the absconding accused Bishwanath was arrested in Banaras with a revolver and cartridges. The police also recovered from his possesion three formula for bomb making and a letter to a co-accused.[34]

The case originated on the complaint of Rai Saheb Ajit Kumar Ganguly, CID Inspector, which was filed before the District Magistrate of Gaya on March 20, 1933. The sanction of the Government to a conspiracy case under section 121-A, 120-B, 396 IPC and 19(f) of the Arms Act, was obtained. The magisterial inquiry was opened in Gaya Central Jail on April 3,1933. The accused arrived the court premises shouting "Long live revolution."[35] Seventeen of the accused were committed for trial. They were Shyama Charan Barthwar,[36] Sahdeo Singh,[37] Shatrughan Sharan Singh,[38] Mithilesh Kumar Singh,[39] Mahanth Bhagawat Das,[40] Pramath Nath Mukherji,[41] Bishwnath Prasad,[42] Shyam Nath

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34. *Terrorism of India* (1917-1936), Home Department, Simla, 1937, p. 114.

35. DIG (CID) to chief Secretary, GBO, April 6, 1933.

36. Shyama Charan Barthwar, alias Martin, alia Ramji, alias Manager was son of Damodar Prasad of village Kharanti, P.S. Obra, District Gaya. He had been arrested on January -4, 1933 and was in custody for seven months and 20 days.

37. Sahdeo Singh (20) was of Madho Saran Singh of Sabdalpur, P.S. Makhdumpur (Gaya). He was arrested on January 17, 1933 and was in custody for seven months and 24 days.

38 Shatrughan Sharan Singh (26) son of Shiv Charan Singh of Senuari P.S. Tikari (Gaya) was arrested on January 20 and was in custody for seven months and 24 days. He was interviewed by the author on April 17, 1975.

39. Mithilesh Kumar Singh (27), son of Ram Ratan Singh of Jamhore, P.S. Aurangabad (Gaya) was arrested on January 23, 1933 and was in custody for seven months and 21 day.

40. Mahanth Bhagwat Das (22), alias Mosaheb Singh, son of Tirth Raj Singh of Korra, P. S. Ghosi (Gaya), was arrested on January 16, 1933 and was in custody for seven months and 26 days.

41. Pramatha Nath Mukherji (26) was son of Binode Bihari Mukherji of Chitrasalpi, P.S. Hari Pal, district Hooghly and Daltonganj town.

42. Bishwanath Prasad (18), son of Anand Bihari Lal of Baikunthpur Brahmdi, P. S. Samstipur, district Darbhanga and of Gaya town and Banaras, was arrested on March 15, 1933 and was in custody for five months and 29 days.

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Tondon,[43] Ram Chandra Singh,[44] Radha Mohan,[45] Ram Dheyan Singh,[46] Deodhari prasad Yadav,[47] Dr. Keshav Prasad,[48] Ganesh Prasad Varma,[49] Bijoy Kumar Das Gupta,[50] Jegdeo Lohar,[51] and Lala Prasad.[52] Nine undertrial prisoners[53] sent petitions to the government

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43. Shyam Nath Tondon (16), alias Kedar Nath Malviya, son of Ramdutt Malviya of Abhaipur, P. S. Kotwali (Allahabad), was arrested on January 30, 1933 and was in custody for seven months and 14 days.

44. Ram Chandra Singh (17), alias Jagat Deo Malviya, son of Durga Dutta Malviya of Hewatt Road, P. S. Kotwali (Allahabad) was arrested on January 30, 1933 and was in custody for seven months and 14 days.

45. Radha Mohan (28), son of Gopal Lal of Chanchaura, Gaya town, was arrested on February 26, 1933 and was in custody for six months and 15 days.

46. Ram Dheyan Singh was son of Rajdeo Singh of Karma, P.S. Aurangabad (Gaya).

47. Deadhari Prasad yadav (38), son of Ratna Chand Yadav of Moradpur (Gaya), was a leper. He was arrested on February 14, 1933 and was custody for six months and 27 days.

48. Dr. Kesho Prasad (27) son of Ayodhya Prasad of Pahsi, Gaya, was arrested on January 21, 1933 and remained on bail from February 1 to April 3, 1933. On April 3 he was offered pardon but he refused it. He was custody for five months 21 days.

49. Ganesh Prasad Varma (22), son of Kripa Narain Lal of Chorra-Basdiha, P.S. Kutumba, district Gaya and of Daltonganj, was arrested on Febryary 14, 1933 and was in custody for six months and 27 days.

50. Bijoy Kumar Das Gupta (32) was son of Mahabir Chandra Das Gupta of Chittagong and of Banaras.

51. Jagdeo Lohar (33), son of Dipan Lohar of Atrauli, P.S. Obra (Gaya) was arrested on February 11, 1933 and was in custody for six months and 27 days. According to Shatrughan Sharan Singh he was an expert in gun-making and prepared guns far better than prepared by Rodda and Company, Calcutta.

52. Lala Prasad (17) alias Parmeshwar Prasad, son of Shyam Behari Lal of Pahsi and of Sherghati, Gaya, was arrested on January 21, 1933 and was in custody for seven months and 25 days.

53. The Petitioners were Shatrughan Sharan Singh, Ram Dheyan Singh, Mahanth Bhagwat Das, Deodhari Prasad Yadav, Pramatha Nath Mukherji, Ganesh Prasad Varma, Sahdeo Singh, Mithilesh Kumar Singh and Lala Prasad.

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requesting that the session trial should be held in an open court and not inside the jail. The Comissioner of Patna Division, A.P. Middleton, wrote to the Chief Secretary, "I understand that the CID are opposed to the request and I strongly recommend that it should not be granted. I understand that during the priliminary enquiries sympathisers with the accused shouted revolutionary slogans in the neighbourhood of the central jail and this fact is on record in the enquiry."[54] As a result their petitions were rejected by the Governor in council.[55] It was directed by the Governor in Council that the court of the Additional Sessions Judge shall hold its sitting in the Gaya jail for the trial of the case.[56]

The case opened before the Additional Sessions Judge on June 20. Two of the accused-Deodhari prasad Yadav and Ganesh Prasad Verma—went on hunger-strike for over a week as a protest against the Government having not given them a lawyer to defend themselves commenting on which *The Searchlight* wrote, "there are several other accused we understand, who are going undefended while the case is proceeding from day to day before the special sessions Judge. The demand, therefore, of these accused for a lawyer to defend them is, on the very face of it, just and reasonable. The law also provides for it and, as a matter of fact, Government not unoften do engage a lawyer to defend even the worst criminals accused of most heinous crimes, when he is undefended in a court of law. If that is so, why should not that privilege be extended to the undefended accused in the *Gaya Conspiracy Case?* Justice and equity demand that whatever may be the charge against them they should have every facility for a fair and impartial trial before being convicted of otherwise of the guilt with which they have been charged. We understand that the judge besides giving every facility that lies within his power, has forwarded the application of the undefended accused to the Government. We do hope the government will see the justice of the demand and ere long make suitable arrangment for their defence."[57] Consequently, the Government afforded legal defence to eight of the accused who were undefended.[58]

The charges against the accused were under three hands. First, that you during the Christian year 1929 to 1933 at Gaya, Palmerganj, Daltonganj, Banaras, Patna and Calcutta conspired among themselves and with Brij Bhushan Sahay, Bageshwari Sharma, Rajdeo, Raghubans, Sudama Gopal Babu, alias Ganesh Prasad, Bhagat Prasad, Jogendra Shukul, Ishwar Dayal, Jhabbar Bhai, Ramana, Joshi, Hiralal, Bishwanath Chatterjee, Suraj Nath Chaube, and

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54. Commissioner of Patna Division to the Chief Secretary, GBO, May 31, 1933.

55. Chief Secretary to the Commissioner of Patna Division, BGO, June 6, 1933.

56. The Bihar and Orissa Gazette, Extraordinary, Ranchi, June 7, 1933.

58. *The Searchlight*, July 9, 1933.

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Moni Roy to deprive the King Emperor of the sovereignty of the British India or to overowe by means of criminal force or show of criminal force the Government of India and the local Government and thereby committed an offence punishable under section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code and within the cognisance of the court.

Secondly, that the object of the said conspiracy also being to commit offences punishable with transportation for life to wit dacoity, and therby committed an offence punishable under section 120-B of the Indian Penal Code and within the cognisance of the Court.

Thirdly, that the object of the said conspiracy also being to commit offences punishable for a terms of more than two years, to wit, (a) robbery and (b) offences under section 19 (e) and 19 (f) of the Arms Act and therby committed an offence punishable under section 120-B of the IPC and within the cognisance of this court.[60]

On August 10, 1933 one of the accused Shatrughan Sharan Singh met the District Magistrate of Gaya and intimated him that all the accused were willing to plead guilty to the charge under section 121-A only, if they could be let off lightly.[61] The matter was discussed between the DIG (CID) and the Chief Secretary and it was decided to drop alternative charges against them under section 120-B. Consequently all the accused except Pramatha Nath Mukherji, Bijoy Kumar Das Gupta and Ram Dheyan pleaded guilty to the charge under section 121-A.

Brij Bhushan Sahay[62] and Bageshwari Prasad Sharma[63] were the main approvers in the case. The government had appreciated the services of Maharaja of Tikari in assisting the crown who went out of his way and at every stage of the investigation secured the canfession

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59. They were Sahdeo Singh, Kedarnath Malviya, Jagatdeo Malviya, Bijoy Kumar Das Gupta, Deodhari Yadav, Mahanth Bhagwat Das, Ganesh Prasad Varma and Mithilesh Kumar Singh.

60. DIG (CID) to Chief Secretary, GBO, June 22, 1933.

61. DIG (CID) to Chief Secretary, August 17, 1933.

62. Bageshwari Prasad Sharma was son of Raghunath Prasad Sharma of Sumairwa, District Patna and of Gaya.

63. Brij Bhushan Sahay was son of Bishun Sahay of Dhanhara, P.S. Aurangabad, District Gaya.

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of Bageshwari Prasad without this man's evidence the case would never have gone through, for of the three selected approvers One (Dr. Kesho Prasad) resiled and another came in for court's criticism. It was due to constant interest the Maharaja took in the matter that Bageshwari remained staunch throughout the whole proceedings.[64] The Governor in Council sent a letter of appreciation to the Maharaja through the Chief Secretary which runs : "I am directed to say that His Excellency in Council understands that it was on your advice that Bageshwari Prasad, the approver in the recent Gaya Conspiracy case, disclosed all he knew of the conspiracy. His evidence in the case was of very material importance. His Excellency in Council has desired me to convey to you his thanks and his appraciation of your loyal action in the matter."[65]

The judgement was delivered on September 12, 1933. Sixteen were convicted and sentenced to terms ranging from one year's rigorous imprisonment to seven years' rigorous imprisonment with a fine of Rs. 200 for the three leaders Shyama Charan Barthwar, Dr. Kesho Prasad and Bishwanath Prasad. One of the accused Ram Dheyan was acquitted for want of evidence. In the case Shyama Charan Barthwar, Dr. Kesho Prasad and Bishwanath Prasad were sentenced to seven years' RI each ; Sahdeo Singh, Shatrughan Sharan Singh and Jagdeo Lohar for five years, RI each ; Mithilesh Kumar Singh, Pramatha Nath Mukherji and Lala Prasad to four years' RI hach ; Jagatdeo Malviya and Kedar Nath Malviya to three years' each ; Mahanth Bhagwat Das and Ganesh Prasad Verma to two years' RI with a fine of Rs. 150 each ; Radha Mohan and Bijoy Kumar Das Gupta to two years' RI each ; and Deodhari Prasad to one year rigorous imprisonment. Eleven[66] of the sixteen accused appealed to the High Court. But the appeals were dismissed.[67]

According to a government report the *Gaya Conspiracy case* was a decisive blow to

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64. DIG (CID) to Chief Secretary, GBO, April 11, 1934.
65. Chief Secretary to Maharaj Kumar Gopal Sharan Narayan Singh of Tikari, Gaya, October 2, 1933.
66. Those who had appealed to the High Court were Shyama Charan Barthwar, Bishwanath Prasad, Shatrughan Sharan Singh, Sahdeo Singh, Jagdeo Lohar, Mithilesh Kumar Singh, Ganesh Prasad Varma, Pramatha Nath Mukherji, Dr. Kesho Prasad, Lala Prasad and Bijoy Kumar Das Gupta.
67. The High Court of Judicatura Patna (Criminal Appellate Jurisdiction) Criminal appeals Nos. 331 to 335, March 21, 1933.

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terrorist in Bihar.[68] The Government considered that the sentences were satisfactory and the case would act as a damper on terrorist activities in Bihar.[69] But it was not so. Subsequent events proved that the activities of revolutionaries could not be curbed completely. They were active throughout the province during the trial and even after the conviction of the sixteen accused in the case.

68. Terrorism in India, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
69. Extract from fortnightly DO No. 5139-e, dated September 18, 1933 to M.C. Hallett, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

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F. INDIA AND ABROAD

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Aryan Culture Abroad

—*B. Ch. Chhabra*

By Aryan Culture we meen Indian Civilisation or Hinduism. Its roots are buried in the remote past so much so that the present day historians have widely different views on its origin as well as on the facets of its later development. In the present article we propose to draw attention on one particular aspect thereof. Manu, the famous author of the *Manusmṛti*, the supreme authority on Hindu law, declares :

Etad-deśa-prasūtasya sakāśād=agrajanmanaḥ |
svaṁ svaṁ charitraṁ śikṣheran pṛithivyām sarvamānavāḥ ||

"Let all the men on this world learn their conduct and duties from the Brahmin native of this land." By 'this land' he refers to Āryāvarta, i.e. India. It may be pointed out that the ancient name of our country is Āryāvarta, 'the country inhabited by the Āryas' Later on it was called Bhārata or Bhāratavarṣa, after Bharata, son of Duṣyanta from Śakuntalā. To the foreigners like the Greeks and the Persians, it became India and Hindustan, meaning thereby 'the country or the land lying across the river Sindhu.' It may be pointed out that *s* in Persian becomes *h*, *saptāha* and *soma* become *haftāḥ* and *homa* in Persian. In Greek *h* is silent as in *hour*. Thus Hindus become Indians. This is just by the way.

Let us come to the theme proper Aryan Culture, say Hinduism, and its expansion beyond India. Here again we must define India—India of the British rule and India after partition, India after independence ! We are not concerned here with the geographical boundaries. We are concerned with the Hindu Culture, say Hinduism or Aryan Culture. That again, in ancient times and not at present. Now-a-days Indians are flying all over and many settling abroad. Our aim in this short article is to show how in ancient times, when the media of transport were not so fast and prolific as today, some adventurous people from India went abroad and spread their own culture there slowly and gradually. Besides, we restrict our subject to the regions lying in the east or south-east of India proper.

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The chief motive of those Indians who ventured to go abroad in those early days was earning money. They were traders and merchants mostly. And their trade flourished so much so that some of them settled there permanently. These traders were mostly from the western regions of India. There is a saying among the Gujaratis something like this : "*je jāvī Jāve te phir ke nahī āve je āve to itnā dhan lāve ki sāt pīḍhī khāve*," which means that 'one who goes to Java never returns; if he returns, then he brings with him so much wealth that may last for seven generations.' It was on this account that those regions were named by them as *Suvarṇa Bhūmi* and *Suvarṇa Dvīpa*. The former refers to the regions now known as Burma, Laos, Thailand, Malayasia, etc., and the latter refers to the islands of Singapore, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes, etc. In fact traces of early Indian culture are found also as far as the Hawaiian Islands in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. It is again very significant that the Sanskrit language and literature have played a very important role in this drama, so to say.

Quite a number of books have been written on the subject in Dutch, English, French as well as in Hindi. In the present short article, we propose to reproduce a short Sanskrit inscription as an example It consists of one verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, in chaste Sanskrit. It is engraved on a stone in what we may call Pallava-Grantha characters, a later development of the Brāhmī script.

The piece of the stone with the inscription is now in the museum at Bangkok in Thailand. I happened to notice it on my way back from Indonesia in December 1960. That was the time when I had gone to Indonesia as a visiting Professor. I got some estampages of the inscription prepared. One of them is reproduced here. It consists of four lines, each line containing one quarter of the verse. It reads as follows :

TEXT

Line

1 Yaś=śrī-Mahendravarmm=eti

2 Mahendra iva viśrutaḥ [i]

3 Sa Śaṅkara-tatāk-ākhya-

4 ñ=chakhān=emañ=jalaśayam [ii]

TRANSLATION

"He, who is known as the illustrious Mahendravarman, famous like Mahendra (i.e. Indra, the Chief of gods), excavated this reservoir of water, named Śaṅkara Tank."

Even though there is no indication in the inscription as to the identity of this Mahendra-varma, it is possible to identify him with the king Mahendravarman of Kambuja or

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Kambujadeśa, *i.e.* Cambodia, now called Thailand. He was a son of Vīravarman, and the youngest brother of Bhavavarman. This last mentioned ruler is reputed to have founded the dynasty of Kambuja kings, having defeated his rivals, of the earlier kingdom of Fu-nan. It goes without saying that the present Thailand at that time formed part of Kambuja or Cambodia. Bhavavarman was succeeded by his youngest brother whose name was Chitrasena and who assumed as the second name Maherdravarman at the time of his coronation. The practice of assuming coronation names was in vogue in ancient India and was followed also in lands and islands that came under the Indo-Aryan influence. The reign period of this Chitrasena-Mahendravarman falls between the closing years of the sixth century and the early years of the seventh century A.D.

It may further be observed that this Mahendravarman was a devotee of the god Śiva. This is indicated by the name given to the reservoir of water as well as by his two other inscriptions each of which records the establishment of a Śivaliṅga.

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Cultural Influence of India of Tibet

—P.S. Shrivastava

Indian culture fashioned a unity of Asian civilization across the millenia, the broad philosophical and religious movements from age to age reveal their permanent contribution to the rich Indian heritage. The three phases of Asian unification represented by the march of Mahāyāna Buddhism across the Himalayas to China and the Mediteranean, the golden age of Gupta culture with the rise of the Indian colonies, and the Tantric renaissance responsible for fresh Hinduisation in Nepal, Tibet further India and Indonesia are for the first time sociologically delineated.

The literature of Tibet was considerably influenced by Indian literary models. The Tibetan books, thougn made of paper did not follow the scroll format of China but adopted the palm leaf format of India. An honorific description for a Tibetan loose leaf book is *Poti* (Sanskrit, *Punthi* or *Pustikā*). Besides one bundle of Tibetan loose leaves contains more than one book, sometimes twenty to thirty tracts. The whole bundle has one single pagination running from one book to anothers without any space between the end of one book and the beginning of another. The Tibetan would attribute this practice to the Indian origin.

The discovery of the wealth of materials, literary as well as archaeological in India, Tibet and other places too, throws a flood of light on the close Indo-Tibetan cultural contact in the past. The message of peace and Dharma was taken to Tibet by Buddhist missionaries enlightening the people there with the rich heritage of India. In spreading culture in Tibet, Indians acted with broad vision and an attitude of co-operation recognising and assimilating the best in Tibetan culture. This process of religious and cultural expansion continued for a long time. Except for a few happenings the expansion always remained a peaceful one. The Indian rulers, missionaries, monks, artists sculptors, traders as well as physician who went to Tibet never felt that they were in a foreign land, only because the Tibetans were kind, gentle, honest, open, cheerful, humerous and intelligent, though the climate and geography of the two countries differ.

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The close contact of India with Tibet was not merely due to the desire of the Indians to spread Indian trade and religion in the region but ardent wish on the part of the Tibetans to accept the Indian way of life. Buddhism played an important role in cementing the ties of friendship and mutual understanding. In the beginning the Buddhist monks suffered untold miseries and difficulties while visiting and staying here in the course of their missionary career.

Before the advent of Buddhism, Bon, an animist cult, was the dominant faith of Tibet. The religion is known as Bon. The verb Bon-pa means to 'murmer spells'. The founder of Bon, according to its tradition, was one Tomba-Shenrab. The followers of Bon are called Bonpos. The highest deity of Bonpos is the blue sky which is supported by a Swarm of Lha or good spirits and is in perpetual conflicts with the Hdre or Goblins. (Men were often pawns in the spiteful squabbles and jealousies of Lha and Hdre and the way to keep from their wrath was through bloody sacrifices, including those of human beings. Gods and demons alike could be controlled by thaumaturgic power developed by Shens or high priests. Those wizards killed to heal, their magic being always black, employing methods at once violent and vulgar). In Bon religion the people worship nature gods and goddesses and practice bloody sacrifices as in some Brahmanical sects in India.

Brahmanism was also known to the Tibetans. Corrington Goodrich says, for some unexplained reason the Tibetan, who under the direction of Indian Pandits in the 7th century of our Era, used Sanskrit as the basis of their long and close association with the Chinese and their heavy borrowing from the latter's culture"[1]

The legendary accounts also point to the contact of India and Tibet in the past. Pandit Sherab Gocha, in his tribute to Indian culture, mentions that the Tibetan race originated from the Indian king Rupati of the Kaurava army who fled to Tibet in the guise of a woman, after being defeated in a great battle with the famous Pāṇḍavas. The king Rupati along with his 1000 followers settled in Tibet.[2] Again the first king of Tibet Nya-thri Tsen-Po in 127 B.C. is said to be son of a king of Magadha, India. Buston-Rinpo-Chhe also suggests that the first king of Tibet named Nyathri-Tsen-Po was an Indian.

Regarding the Tibetan scripts, it is well known that it has the impact of Indian script as the reason is quite obvious that the need for a script arose for the task of translating Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Tibetan. It was thus quite natural to import the script from the country from where the sacred doctrine and the sacred books were imported.

Thon-mi-Sambhota, a minister of Srong-Chen-Campo arrived in India in 632 A.D. and studied Sanskrit under the able guidance of Pandit Devavidyā, Siṁha and Līpikāra. On his

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1. *A Short History of Chinese People* (London, 1962), pp. 13-14 fn.
2. Pandit Sherab Gocha, *Tangur*, Chapter Ka, p. 52.

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return to Tibet he invented the Tibetan alphabets on the model of the Brāhmī script. He made Tibetan Grammar more or less on the lines of Pāṇinī, an illustrious son of India.[3] The grammar framed by Thon-mi-Sambhoṭa contained 8 chapters but tragically enough for the Tibetans, a sizeable part of this monumental work was destroyed and burnt during the regime of Lang-dar-ma, a renegade of Buddhism and a staunch exponent of native Dharma called Bon. Only the first and the sixth chapters namely '*Trinshad*' and *Linga-Avastara*' were saved and they have been handed down to the Tibetan posterity.[4]

He also made the first Tibetan translation from Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and the historic tradition of literal and faithful translation begins with the inventor of the script. The book for the first time translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan was a Sūtra named *Ratnamegha*.

The translation was done in a manner unique in the history of translation all over the world. It was literal as well as word for ward translation and at the same time not exotic to Tibetan literature or culture, Tibetan syntax being strictly absorbed. The result has been astounding. If the Tibetan rendering of any Sanskrit work is retranslated into Sanskrit it leads to almost complete restoration of the original. This has not only helped the correct reading of many obscure Sanskrit texts, but also the correct interpretation of the Sanskrit works lost in India.

Further, when a Nepali Buddhist calls the Tibetan script as Lhasa Sanskrit, he consciously or unconsciously affirms two historic facts, that the script is derived from Sanskrit and that it eventually preserved the treasures of Sanskrit and also of Sanskritised Tibetan tradition. Indian legends and legend patterns made a smooth passage into the trans-Himalayas along with Avadāna and Jātaka while Aśoka became sort of national figure for Tibet. Fables and legends of king Vikrama were relayed from Tibet to Mongolia.

Imagery and idiom of Sanskrit became a part and parcel of Tibetan literature. The Indian science of dialectics, including probes into consciousness and matter, flourished in Sakya and Drespung.[5]

Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra, Ratnamegha Sūtra and *Kūrma Śataka* were translated. According to Alexander Csomade Koros, the *Suvarṇaprabhā Sottama Sūtra* was translated by Jinamitra, Sila Indra Bodhi and Ben-deye-she-de during 703 and 802 A.D. With the help of Dharmakoṣa, Sāntaraksita translated the *Hetu Chakra* of Dingnāga. During Kamalaśīla's time Vimala

3. Vinshatl (ny-shu-pa), K. Angrup Lahuli, 1979.
4. Vinshato (ny-shu-pa), K. Angrup Lahuli, 1979.
5. *The Buddhist Logic*, (Leningrad, 1930-32), Stcherbatsky.

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Mitra, Buddha Gupta, Santi Garva and Visuddha Simha, in collaboration with Tibetan Lo-tza-wa,[6] like Dharmalok, Gorin-chen-de and Śākya Prabhā, rendered several Buddhist texts into Tibetan.

The noted Tibetan Lo-tza-wa, Rin-chen Sang-po (957-1055 A.D.), with the help of Paṇḍit Sraskavbarma, Padmākara Gupta, Buddha Śrī Śānta, Buddha Pāla and Kamala Gupta translated a number of philosophical and Tāntric treatises such as *Haribhadra, Abhisamaya, Alankaraloka*, Naga-juna's *Aṣṭāṅga Haṛidaya Sanghita Vidyika* and *Sumaga-Avadana* with the help of Rin-chen Sang-po and others. Atiśa transtlated *Bhāvaviveka, Madhyamika Ratnapradīpa The Kālachakra Jyotiṣī* was also translated during Atiśa's time.

The *Buddha Kapāla Tantra* was translated by Sakya, Ye-she with the help of Go Khung-pa tha-tsa. During the time of king Ye-sheo, Smritigyana and Bibhuti Chandra were invited by the Tibetan translator Pad-ma-Ru-tsi for the translation of Sanskrit texts. The *Nyāya Bindu* of Dharmakīrti was translated by Ngo-lo-den She-rab (1059-1108), Ye-she Lo-do translated *Mañjuśrī-Mūla Tantra*. The birth of another great Tibetan Lo-tsa-wa, Pa-tsab Nyi-Madrag corresponded with the death (1655 A D) of Rin-chen-Sang-Po. He translated *Chatu Śataka* of Āryadeva, *Madyamika Avatāra Bhāṣya* of Nāgārjuna and *Lakṣaṇa Anusariṇi* of Pūrṇa Vardhana. During the Sakya period, in Tibet (1147-1216 A.D.) *Nyāya Pravasa* and *Prajñāpradīpamālā* were translated.

Shabgton Do-Je Gyal tsen with the help of Lakṣmikara translated Daṇḍī's *Kāvyadarśana*, Harṣa's *Nāgānanda Nātaka* and Kṣhmendra's *Bodhisattva Avadāna Kalpalatā*.

There was another great genius in the 13th century A.D., Buston Rin-chen-dup who translated the works of Durgā Sinha and Harsakīrti. His greatest contribution to the imported literature. however, was the review and arragements of the higher to scattered translations into the two monumental Buddhist collections, the *Kan-Gyur* and *Tan-Gyur* and preparation of an index for the both.

The *Lokānanda Nāṭaka* of Chandragomi and *Meghadūta* of Kālidasa were translated sometime in the 14th century. Paṇḍit Baharatna was perhaps the last Indian Buddhist monk who visited Tibet and helped the Tibetan Lo-tza-wa in translating the Tāntric texts. From available records it appears that the translation activity was cerried on till the 17th century A.D. Besides, there were other translations too. The translated literature preserved the manners, customs, opinions, knowledge, ignorance, superstitions, hopes and fears of India. Some of the Sanskrit originals of these translations have been lost or destroyed due to time

6. The translator.

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and historical factors. Consequently we will be benefited immensely form indological study as a whole if we go back to Tibetan sources and not only to Sanskrit sources.

The influence of Sanskrit on Tibetan can easily to understood by seeing some words having the same pronunciation and meaning in both Sanskrit and Tibetan lanuage for example:—

Paṇḍita
Tampura
Oṁ Mani Padme Huim
Guru

According to one of the popular Tibetan traditions, all the religious and secular scriptures, known as *Ring-na* (knowledge) are divided into ten categories.[7]

Five of them from a 'group of major subjects' such as :—

1. Bzorig-pa	Technology.
2. Gso-ba-rig-pa	Medicine.
3. Rgna-rig-pa	Grammar.
4. Lsha-ma-rig-pa	Logic.
5. Mang-don-rig-pa	Religion.

The remaining five categories are known as 'the group of five minor subjects' and they are as the following :—

1. Snyan-dngas	Poetics.
2. Sdeb-sbyor	Metrics.
3. Mngon-briod	Laxicons.
4. Zlos-gor	Dramatics.
5. Rtsis	Astrology.

Reviewing the Tibetan literature, we can say that the Indians have contributed a lot to the thought of Tibet with the help of religious teachers as well as others in the various fields of learning as mentioned above.

In the field of astrology, word refers to the Indian system of astrology. The hexagonical calculation of the cycle of years which is no longer prevalent in India, was carried from India according to Kālachakra Tantra by 11th century A.D.

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7. Bhagawan Das, *Ayurveda in Tibet ; The Tibet Journal*, p. 94.

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The four works on medicine based on the Bon religious tradition which was composed by Kyung-trul Jigme nam-mk'ai dorje during 1937-1950 and published by the Tibetan Bonpo monastic centre, Ochgat, Himacal Pradesh, India (1972), provide simple evidence of the influence of Ayuraveda in Tibetan medicine tradition.[8]

About twentyone Ayurvedic works of Nāgārjuna, Candranandan, Vegabhata, Ravi Gupta, Dānendra, Brahmaputra, Hasavajara, Devadāsa, Sarva-hitāmṛta Datta, Raghunātha, Manaha, Vydhipāda, Salihotra[9] also exist in Tibet.

In the 8th century A.D., Vairochana, a Tibetan scholar, studied '*Rasārṇavatantra*', written in the form of a dialogue between Hara and Pārvatī under the able guidance of Candranandan in India. Besides he learnt medicine from 24 other scholars.

Srong-Tsan-gampo invited Bhāradvāja, a physician from India, to translate some medicine texts into Tibetan. Tri-Srong-de-tsen invited Śāntigarbha for the same purpose. Guhyavajra, another medical expert, went from Kashmir to Tibet for the same work. In the 10th century A.D. Rin-Chen-Zeng-Po came to India for 10 years to learn medicine and he paid one hundred gold coins to the Kashmir Paṇḍit Janārdaṇa and learnt from him 120 chapters of '*Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*' along with its Chandrikā commentary by Candranandan.

The influence of India in respect of Tibetan art and architecture is clearly detectable as the presence of Indian artists in Tibet is historically proved since time immemorial. The history of the Tibetan Buddhist art is closely connected with the history of that religion itself. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the first artist who painted frescoes and modelled practice figures of the gods were not Tibetans, but Indians who accompanied the first apostles who introduced the new religion in the land of snows.

The images of gold, silver, copper, bronze, stone, clay in the temples and monasteries fall into various categories of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tārās, Dākinīs, Yidams, Dharmapālas, historical personages and non-human types, etc.[10] They indicate that the Tibetan art contains strong influences and echoes of the dying Indian culture of the Gupta Era and mainly the period of the Pāla dynasty (middle of the 8th to the end of the 12th century A.D.) which temporarily was even politically dependent on Tibet.

The oldest Buddhist temples were built approximately in the middle of the 7th century, e.g. the Rivo K'ang cathedral in Lhasa, founded by king Srong-tsang-gam-po. The oldest

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8. Bhagwan Das, *Ayurveda in Tibet* ; *Tibet Journal* p. 94.
9. *Ibid*.
10. L.L. Mehrotra, *Glimpses of Indian Culture in Tibet*, (India's contribution to World Thought and Culture), p. 406.

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monastery is the Bsamyes, founded by Padmasambhava in about 770 A.D. The inner lay out of most of the temples in Tibet follows the Indian tradition.

Some monasteries keep their sacred writings in the Stūpas. Some were set up in the memory of some important events. Sometimes eight such Stūpas can be found standing in a row to honour the eight most important events in Buddha's life and the eight Indian Stūpas in which the Buddha's ashes were placed after cremation. The type of the tomy developed out of Indian Stūpas as far as the idea of building a memorial to the dead is concerned, but not in its actual from as we know that the art is closely linked with the lives of the peple of Tibet itself too though imported from India.

The painting too, the contours of the figures, were outlined in Indian ink. The painting of the picture ended with its consecration. For this purpose the Lama wrote on the back in Indian ink or red colour.

Most of the features of the Tibetan painting go back to the Indian traditions of different schools the Bengali-Nepali school and the Kashmir school. The oldest Tibetan frescoes bear a strong resemblances to the cave drawings of Ajanta. They apply not only to the types of gods but also to their entire content. Tibetan paintings have huge variety of themes Scenes from the life of the Buddha taken from the Jātakas are reminiscent of Ajanta paintings of India. The direct inspiration to the Tibetans, however, did not come from Ajanta, but from the art of the Pāla kings of Bengal.

Some scholars have suggested that China has her influence on the paintings of Tibet. There is no doubt at all in this opinion ; but the Chinese influence remains restricted rather to lesser details of an external nature. The result of the Chinese influence can be seen in those fantastic landscapes in the background with the rocks, rivers, animals and clouds. Both these traditions were mechanically placed side by side on one picture, for example, by the side of a typical Indian figure, there may be an elephant pointed in the Chinese manner, standing on a Chinese mountain and rocks on which Indian trees and bushes are going with Indian saints, floating on Chinese clouds holding Chinese peonies in their hands instead of Indian lotus flowers, etc. Here again we find this mechanical arrangment side by side with the most varied elements which even after centuries of joint existence did not merge but continued side by side where they can be easily distinguished and divided.

Tibetan sculpture continued along with the traditions of Indian plastic arts of the Pāla and subsequent periods. Gupta period also incorporated the Indian conception of beauty and its artistic representation. Significant features of this are the elegant, soft modelling, and the expression of beautitude.

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A very attractive and impressive kind of diminutive Tibetan sculpture can be found in the tiny clay reliefs called Tsa-Tsa. They represent minute figures of various popular divinities or saints and even in those small, sometimes microscopic dimensions, they are very fine and practically modelled down to the smallest details. The custom of making such minute reliefs came to Tibet from India, where they are used as souvenirs of pilgrimages to the sacred places of Buddhism. They are moulded in wood or metal casts. The first little moulds of this kind used in Tibet were probably imported from India.

The most common decorative elements were lotus flowers, heads of monsters (*Kāla*-heads) with their paws in front of their muzzles, the serpent gods, heads of monsters (*Makara*) with elephant trunks, all of them ancient Indian motifs.

Tibetan art did not go out of Indian art merely superficially, or by taking over large sections of its iconography. It has to it mother-daughter relation, the one gave life to the other, they have common features, yet are independent personalities. The Chinese influences were only peripheral, without affecting the basic itself. The Chinese absorbed the Indian influences in their nature culture. Whereas in Tibet the Indian roots remained much more obvious and, therefore, in many ways the Tibetan works of art differ comparatively little from their Indian patterns.

As a matter of fact, Buddhism was introduced in Tibet by the memorable efforts of Srong-btsen-sgam-po and Khri-srong Lde-btsan in the first half of the 7th century A.D. and the second half of the 8th century A.D respectively. Before Buddhism reached Tibet through Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla and Padmasaṁbhava, it had undergone in India itself a profound evolution in its doctrine and practice. The three Piṭakas viz. Vinaya, Sūtras and Abhidharma had been compiled. The split between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna had taken place, and the assimilation of the elements of the Yoga school of Hindu philosophy into Buddhism had led to the growth of Yogāchāra school. Mahāyāna Buddhism led to the ramification of Buddhist schools like Tantrayāna and Mantrayāna. It would, therefore, be seen that the form of Indian Buddhism that came to Tibet in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., mo e than a millennium after the Mahaparinibbāna, had undergone a good deal of acculturation.

Contribution of the great Indian saints to the major orders of Tibetan Buddhism can never be forgotten. The founder of r-Nying-ma was Padmasaṁbhava who came to Tibet from Urgyan, North-West India, in the second half of the 8th century A D. Sākyapa is another sect of Tibet which slightly differs from the former one. Lamaistic in Kargyupa sect is directly traced back to Tilopā and Naropā in India. The founder of Kādampā was Atiśa, a scholar of philosophy from the Vikramaśīla monastery of India who arrived in Tibet in 1038 A.D. Atiśa's disciple Dromton formed for the first time the order of priests and monks which came

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to be known as Kādampā and was later on merged in Tsong Khāpā's sect, Gelukpā. In Gelukpā, it is believed that the Lamaist started with Dromton, which had its root in India.

The Tibetan shaped their philosophical social institutions according to the tenets of Buddhism which continued a broad social philosophy. Around this aspect of philosophy, the Tibetans developed institutions and systems to suit the needs of the people. Gradually religion came to pervade all aspects and layers of life in Tibet. As a result of it, the social life of the people was elevated from a state of barbarism to a state of unsurpassed spiritual culture.

The social customs and behaviour in the society was influenced by India to some extent. In the funeral ceremony they practice all the three forms enjoined by the Hindu scriptures such as burial underground, cremation and throwing into the river according to the suitablility of the place. The conception of the rebirth after death also existed as in Indian religion.

Like India monogamy, polygamy and polyandry all were in vogue. But monogamy was more practiced than the other two. The most ideal king like Srong-tsen-Gam-po and many other wealthy men in ancient Tibet and the king Daśaratha, Lord Kṛṣṇa, etc. in ancient India were examples of polygamy. Draupadī in the *Mahābhārata* and *Jaṭilā* belonging to the Gautama lineage are the examples of polyandried system in ancient India. Tibetan polyandry has been mentioned almost in every reference to that country.[11]

Horoscopicol study also matters much sometimes in settling the marriage in both the societies. Among the eight forms of Indian marriage, the Ārṣa form in which the father gives his daughter in marriage after receiving a cow and a bull from the bridegroom, according to the requirements of Dharma, has more or less a resemblances to the Tibetan marriage system as the bride's mother is paid a certain sum of money commonly known as Nu-rin (breast price). Nu-rin is always paid to the bride's family whether the bride's mother is living or not.

A huge number of honorific words in Tibetan language show high regards to the saints and proper respects to the elders in the society as well as the cultivation of high culture which we find in India too.

In the educational activities both the countries appear to be the same in some respects, as the students live with their Gurus during the student life. Gurus take proper care of

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11. Markham, NMG. B.13,123, Wilson, A.3, 23, off, Turner, cctl, 349, Ahmad Shah, EYT, 54, Shering, WT BB, 305 ft. Cornby, TT, 152, Savage London, If L, ii,62, Rockill LL 230 Off, Bonvalot, At, ii, 124 ft, Disek, G.K.D., iii, 14, Cunningham, L, 289.

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Śiṣyas and guide them for the development of their personality as a whole. Certainly that is the impact of Indian system of education.

Again in Tibetan cosmography, India and Tibet formed one zone called Jambuling (Sanskrit Jambudvīpa). The legendary accounts of India relating to Kailāsa and Mānasarovara also never accept India and Tibet as two different countries Consequently we have to look to India than any part of the would even including China, for the background of Tibetan culture and history. Simultaneously, it must not be forgotten that whatever was borrowed from India, in the name of culture and religion, was adopted to suit local conditions and the native Tibetan character and mentality, with the result that remains striking, original and homogeneous.

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63

The Devarāja Cult

—Arun Kumar Sinha

The cult of Devarāja or Jagatarāja seems to have been the official religion of the kingdom of Kambuj, and Jayavarman II was its founder. Something very like it was to be found in Champā and in Central Java. From the inscription of Dong-Duong[1] (Champā) it appears that there was a mysterious connection between the god Bhadreśvara (Śiva) and the reigning dynasty. In the Canggala and Dinaya inscriptions of Central Java something like the same relation is hinted at. In Kambuja, the Devarāja cult was the eternal prototype of the mortal kings—something like a deification of the royalty. Moreover, in Kambuja, Champā as well as in Java. We find Brāhmaṇa sage playing an important part in this close connection between a Śiva-liṅga and the ruling dynasty. In the case of Kambuja it is Hiraṇyadāma, in Champā the ṛṣī Bhṛgu, and in Central Java the great sage Agastya. Probobly there may have been a common origin for this. Java may have been the centre from where this cult spread and we know that Java got its Agastya cult from Kuñjarakuñja in South India.

In Kambuja, the cult of Devarāja led to the Royal Chaplain enjoying a pontifical position. And the Kambuja hierarchy was established by Jayavarman II.

Devarāja in Sanskrit grammar could mean "King of the gods." This title is usually applied to Indra, the King of the Indian Vedic gods. However, Devarāja could also mean "god —king" or the "king, who is god." If this title is applied to a king, it would definitely mean a deification of the king and royalty.

The concept of the deified kings and kingship is very familiar. Various Sanskrit texts describe the *rāja* clearly as a manifestation, incarnation or part of one or Several gods.[2]

With regard to the Devarāja cult of Cambodia, the question is whether Devarāja was one of the innumerable titles of one of the Hindu gods worshipped by the kings of Angkor or whether the title Devarāja was applied to the kings themselves.

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George Coedes clearly answered this question in the affirrmative in his book "*Angkor : An Introduction*"; which contains perhaps the most comprehensive description about the "cult of Devarāja, or god-king".

In the Hinduised kingdoms of Indo-China and Indonesia, Hinduistic cults especially accentuated a tendency already apparent in India itself and developed into the cult of royalty. The royal essence, or as referred to in several texts, the "inner self," was supposed to reside in a *liṅga* ensconced in a Pyramid in the exact centre of the royal city which in turn was located in the centre of the world. This miraculous *liṅga*, a kind of palladium of the kingdom, was supposed to have been obtained from Śiva through an intermediary who was a Brāhmaṇa priest, who then gave it to the first king of the dynasty.

In Cambodia solemn installation of this royal cult was celebrated in the ninth century by Jayavarman II, the first king of the Angkorian dynasty. It took place on tee summit of Phnom Kulen. We know that his successor Indravarman instituted the cult of the god-king at Bakong under the name of Indreśvara. The builder of the first temple of Angkor, Yaśovarman, installed the cult at the summit of Phnom Bakheng at the centre of the city under the name of Yaśodhareśvara about 900 A.D. The royal god was transferred in 921 A.D. by king Jayavarman IV to Koḥ Ker, the short-lived capital. The national god, at the summit of the great central Pyramid, was called by the name of Kamrateng jagat ta rājya, "Lord of the universe who is royalty". After the god-king was returned to Angkor, it was installed on Phimeanakas, which had been especially contructed at the beginning of the eleventh century. At the end of the eleventh century Baphuon was constructed to house the golden *liṅga* containing the "inner self" of king Udayādityavarman II.

From all these evidences, it is safe to say that it was the king who was the great god of ancient Cambodia, the one to whom the biggest groups of monuments and all the temples in the form of mountains were dedicated.[3]

It is mainly through Coedes that it has been generally accepted that the king of Angkor were already deified during their life time as god-kings or Devarājas,[4] the concept of which became a synonym for the deification of the Kings in South-East Asia.

Finot made a distinction between the royal liṅgas on top of the temple mountains and the Devarāja. According to him the Devarāja was an "abstract symbol of kingship" which followed the various kings of Angkor to their respective capitals whereas the royal liṅgas on the top of the temple mountains were, as according to the Hindu śāstras, unmovable. Ph. Stein argued very similarly and came to the conclusion that the Devarāja actually was "a rite rather than a material symbol.[5] As evidence in refutation of these ideas Coedes adduced two

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main points. Firstly, no building so far has been found in Angkor which could have been the shrine of this important cult image and secondly, the great Tribhuvaneśvara liṅga on the top of the Prasat Thoṃ in Koḥ Ker, erected by Jayavarman IV in 921 A D., is the preeminent example of a royal Devarāja liṅga that was consecrated for a particular king and for a particular temple.

J. Filliozat again raised strong arguments against the idea that the Devarāja was the symbol of the deified kings of Angkor. On the basis of data derived from the Tamil literature of the 9th century A.D.—especially from the hymns of Mānikkavâcakar—Devarāja was Śiva himself, worshipped as the king of the gods on the top of the Mahendra mountain. Filliozat comes to the conclusion that "it is unnecessary to suppose peculiar Khmer ideas of the king as god to understand how the Devarāja was established on the Mahendraparvata in the shape of a liṅga, Devarāja, meaning "king of gods" designates Śiva himself, normally represented by a liṅga and established on the very mountain referred to by Mānikkavācakar." And he concluded, "the Khmer expression" "Kamrateṅ Jagat rāja" means simple the "lord of the world (Jagadīśvara) who is king and not" who is the (Khmer) king "having performed the ḷiṅgasthāpana."[6]

The only comprehensive source about the Devarāja cult is the famous Sdok : ak Thoṃ inscription of the year 1052 A.D. In this inscription the Brāhmiṇa priest Sadāśive wrote down the history of his ancestors who had been the official royal priests of the Devarāja since it had been established by his forefather Śivakaivalya on the Mahendra mountain in the year 802 A.D. An analysis of this inscription, which was republished by P. Dumont and G. Coedes in 1949[6], in my opinion clearly reveals three facts.

1. The Devarāja is not identical with the "personal royal liṅgas (like Indreśvara of king Indravarman on the Bakoṅ)[8] on top of the various temple Pyramids.
2. The Devarāja was a movable image (calanti pratimā).
3. The Devarāja was Śiva himself, and not the king of Angkor.

The Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription leaves no doubt that the Devarāja was established only once in a great ceremony on top of the Mahendraparvata in 802 A D. No other Pratiṣṭhā or sthāpanā ceremony of any other Devarāja liṅga is mentioned in the whole inscription which otherwise describes in complete detait the history of the Devarāja and its royal priests. This establishment of the Devarāja has thus to be understood as a singular grand political ceremony or sacrifice whose aim was to free Cambodia from Java and to make Jayavarman II the only king of the earth (Kamrateṅ Phdai Karoṃ) and who thus became a Cakravartin or universal ruler.[9]

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According to Coedes theory, as already mentioned, this ceremony had been repeated again and again whenever, after a coronation, a new temple mountain and its Devarāja liṅga was consecrated. According to Coedes, the Tribhuvaneśvara liṅga in Koḥ Ker is the most convincing example of the repeated renewal of the Devarāja in the shape of the personal royal liṅgas on the various temple mountains, because it would be highly improbable that the huge Tribhuvaneśvara liṅga should have been "carried off" by Jayavarman IV from Angkor to Koḥ Ker, only to be subsequently transported back to Angkor again during the reigns of his successors. But there are strong arguments against this interpretation of the evidence. From inscriptions in Koḥ Ker it is known that Jayavarman IV after his usurpation in 921 A.D. erected his temple mountain in Koḥ Ker which he dedicated to the Vraḥ Kamrateṅ jagat ta rājya or Tribhuvaneśvara.[10] In Coedes' opinion this liṅga was the Devarāja of Jayavarman IV.[11] The Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription, however, states very clearly that the Devarāja remained in Angkor from several years after 921 A.D. under the legitimate king Harṣavarman I and Isānavarman II who ruled in Angkor till 925-928 A.D. From this evidence it is clear that as an usurper Jayavarman IV his early years must have reigned without the legitimation by the Devarāja. It should, therefore, become apparent that the name Tribhuvneśvara in Jayavarman's inscription of the year 921 A.D and the name kamrateṅ Jagat ta rājya in later inscriptions was applied to the god Śiva of Koḥ Ker and not to the Devarāja, which remained in Angkor at least till 928 A.D. when Jayavarman finally became the sole king of Angkor.

A fresh examination of the Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription furthermore has successfully demonstrated that the Devarāja was a single "mobile image" (Calanti Pratimā) or substitute for the original Devarāja. From this inscription we know that the Devarāja had been established only once on the distant Mahendra mountain with a grand ceremony (Pratiṣṭhā Kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja) and that Śivakaivalya and his successors officiated in front of the Devarāja which was taken to the various places where the kings established their copitals.[12]

But there is another form of the statue of a god that even today plays an extremely important role in the Hindu temples of India. This form is the "Calanti Pratimā" or "mobile image" of the chief deity which appears usually in the form of a bronze image. These calanti Pratimās are particularly important in Śaiva temples where a liṅga is worshipped, which according to the sāstra law books, stands fast in the temple and should not be carried out (Śivaliṅgam na cā layat). In several parts of India, calanti Pratimās played another, even more important role which could be of considerable significance for the meaning of the Devarāja. In any instances the holy places and the original images (mūla bera) of the state deities (rāṣṭra devatā) were remote from the capitals of the ruling dynasties. In these cases bronze sculptures were made of the original images which were subsequently worshipped by the royal priests in the imperial capitals, usually in the immediate vicinity of the palace.

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It is not difficult to surmise the reason why a calati Pratimā was brought into the vicinity of the palace. It was done in order to make the power of the state divinity effective for the legitimation of rulership.

This hypothetical explanation that the Devarāja was a calanti Pratimā in the form of a bronze sculpture representing Śiva in one of his divine embodiments can be verified by an inscription at the Bayon (Late 12th century). A series of inscriptions in the chambers of the Bayon list what were obviously the miscellaneous statues that stood in the various chambers of the Bayon [13] One of these inscriptions[14] mentions the Kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja together with names of other deities whose holy places were also remote from Angkor, e.g. Kamrateṅ jagat chok gargyar and the Kamrateṅ jagat Sambhupura (Koḥ Ker and Sambhor). From this inscription it is apparent that the Devarāja, together with other calanti Pratimās of important deities of the Khmer empire, had been brought to the new Buddhist state temple at Angkor.

The third result of the analysis of the Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription is a confirmation of Filliozat's argument that the name Devarāja designated the god Śiva himself and not the Kings of Angkor. First of all, no passage in the inscription, nor in any other inscription, refers to Jayavarman II or to any of his successors as the Devarāja.[15] On the contrary, the Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription clearly describes that the whole ceremony of establishing the Devarāja had been conducted in order to make Jayavarman the single king of this earth (Kamrateṅ Phdai Karom) and a universal ruler (Cakravartin). The expression Kamrateṅ Phdai Karom ("the king of the lower earth") has to be seen in a direct connection with the Khmer word for Devarāja Kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja ("the lord of the word, who is king"). The word jagat (world) and Phadai (earth) in fact designate the two poles of divine and earthly lordship. The god Śiva is the "lord of the world, who is king," while here below the king rules as "lord of the earth". This antithesis becomes even clearer when we read that the "lord of the world who is king" followed the "lords of the earth" to their various capitals in order to protect them. One must, therefore, ask how the king of Angkor can be the Kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja himself when he is actually protected by the latter.

Having come to the conclusion that the Devarāja is Śiva himself worshipped in a form of a mobile image which is not identical with the liṅgas on top of the various temple mountains, we should now turn for a few moments to the personal royal liṅgas, named after their founder kings like Indreśvara, Yashodhareśvara or Rajendreśvara. Accordieg to Coedes these liṅgas were the very Devarājas which had been established by the respective kings on top of the temple mountains which they hed constructed during their reign.

According to Coedes king Jayavarman IV, after his usurpation in the year 921 A.D., tried to out do Jayavarman II, who had called himself a Cakravartin or universal ruler of the

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earth. Instead of that Jayavarman called his royal liṅga in his new capital Tribhuvaneśvara or "lord of the three world," thus claiming a cosmic and truly divine lordship. According to Coedes Jayavarman IV in 921 A.D. had thus become the "true founder of deification of kingship" in Cambodia.[16] This interpretation of the evidence, however, is completely untenable, In several inscriptions at Koḥ Ker, the Tribhuvaneśvara liṅga on top of the Prasat Thoṃ, is clearly called a liṅga of the god Śiva (e.g. Sambhor liṅgam, idam Śivasya, Ugrasya liṅgam). The conception of Jayavarman's kingship becomes even clearer when we consider that he dedicated his kingship to Tribhuvaneśvara-Śiva.[17] The reason of the dedication of his empire to lord Śiva is quite obvious. As an usurper without the sanction of legal succession and, for several years, without the legitimation by the Devarāja cult he names his rival state deity at Koḥ Ker directly after one of Śiva's title and even dedicated his kingdom to him so that in the future he would rule as part (aṃśa) or deputy of Śiva. As such he was accountable only to the god. Thus Jayavarman IV derived the legitimacy of his rule directly from Śiva. An attack on the King would be tantamount to an attack on the rule of Śiva. Hence Jayavarman IV, the usurper, possessed a higher legitimination for his rule than the kings of Angkor.

From all these evidences it is safe to say that it was not the king but Śiva himself who was the great god of ancient Cambodia, the one to whom the bigget groups of monuments and all the temples in the form of a mountain were dedicated. This, however, would mean that in Angkor a Devarāja cult in the sense of a cult of deified kings has never existed.

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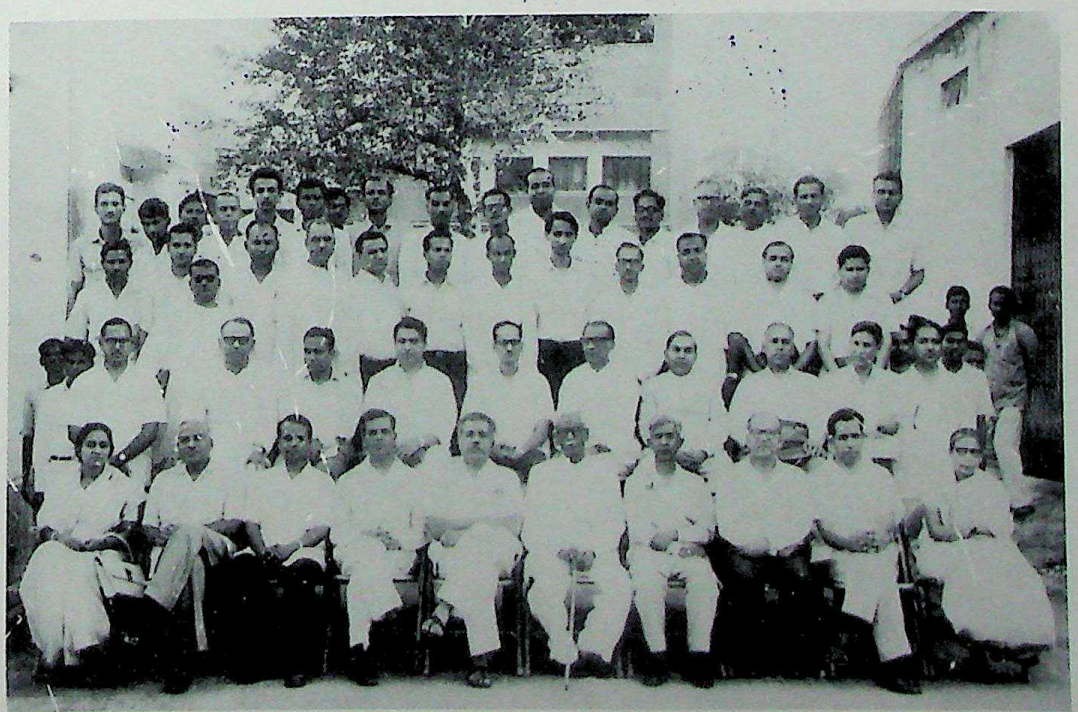
I



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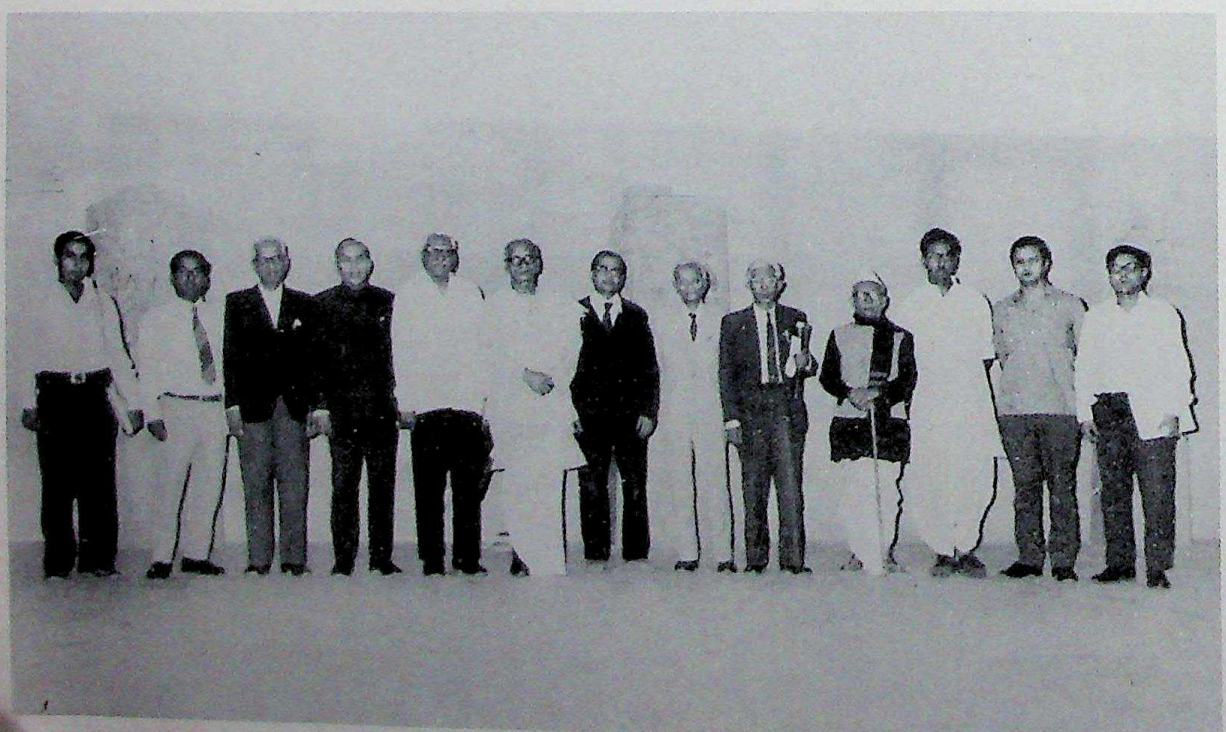

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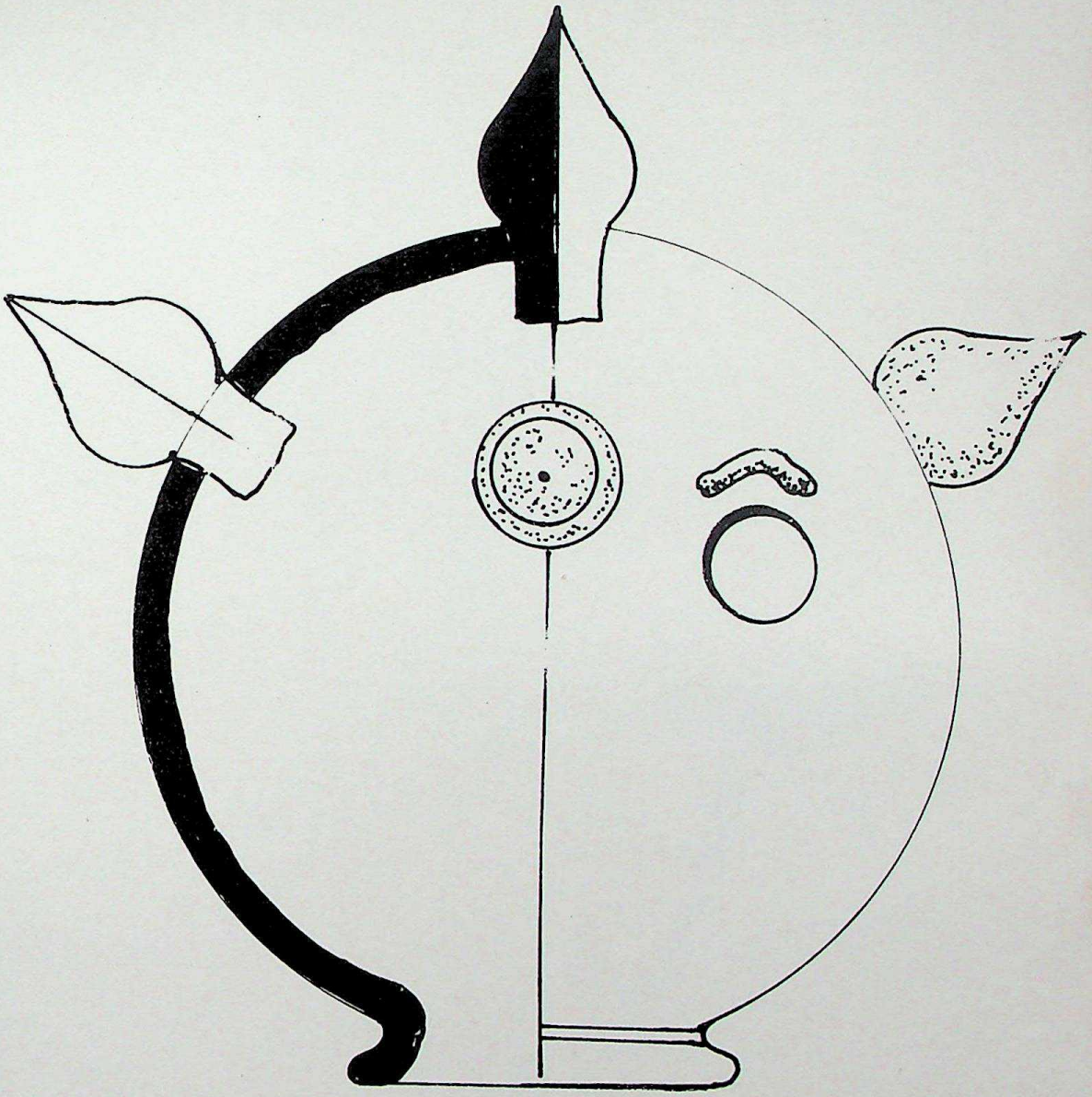

VII -I

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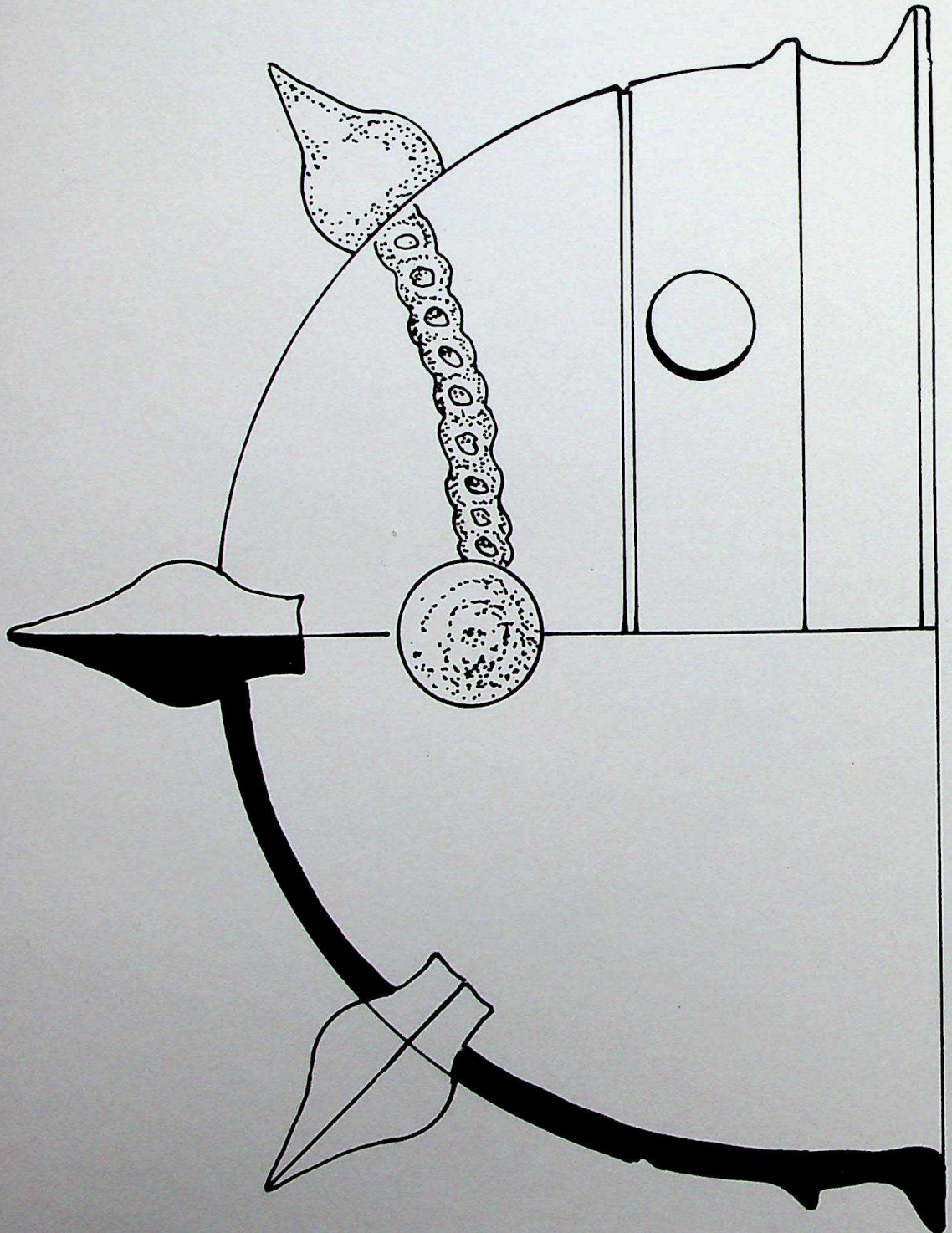

VII-II

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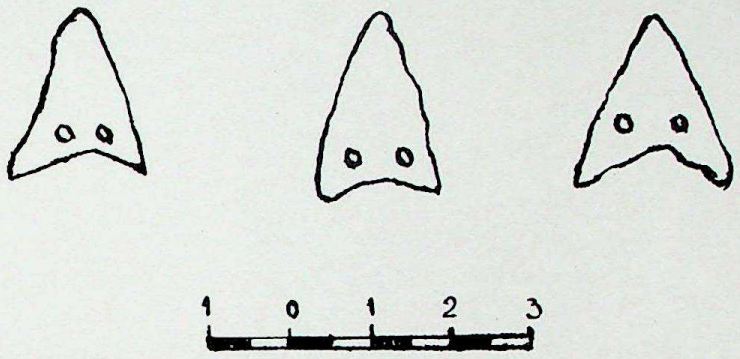

Bagor, Rajasthan, Copper Arrowheads

VIII – I

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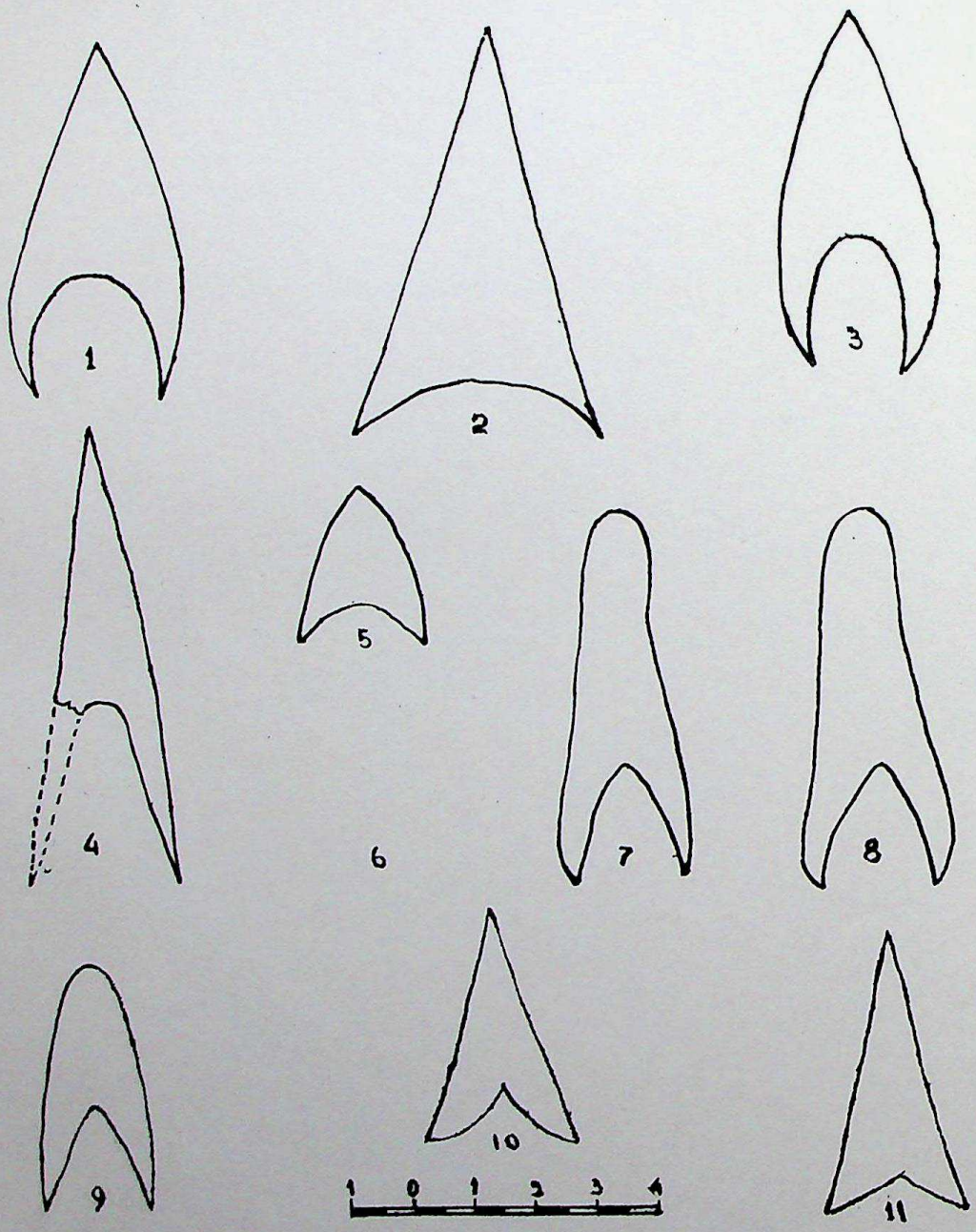

Ganeshwar, Rajasthan, Copper Arrowheads

VIII—II

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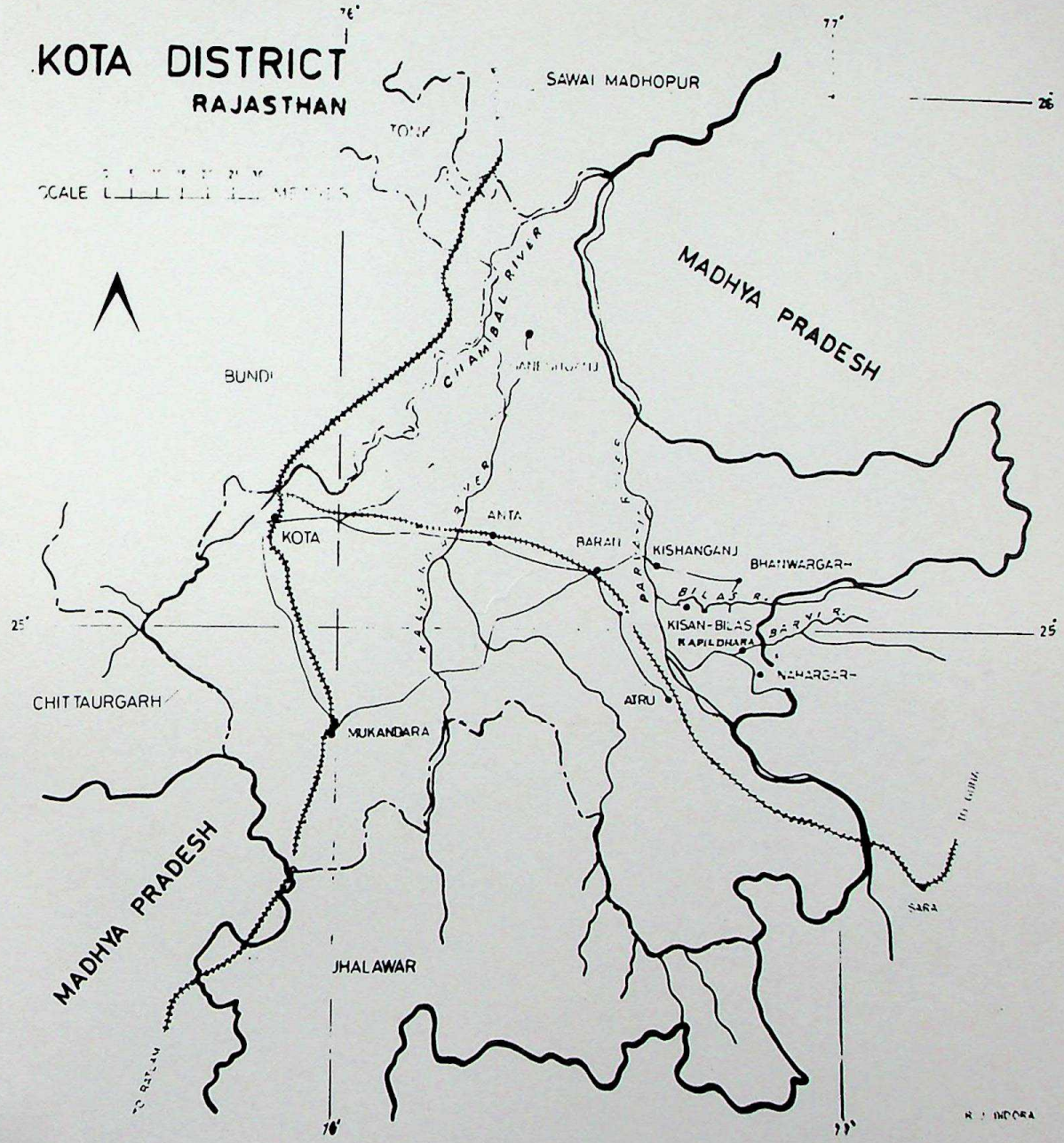

IX – I

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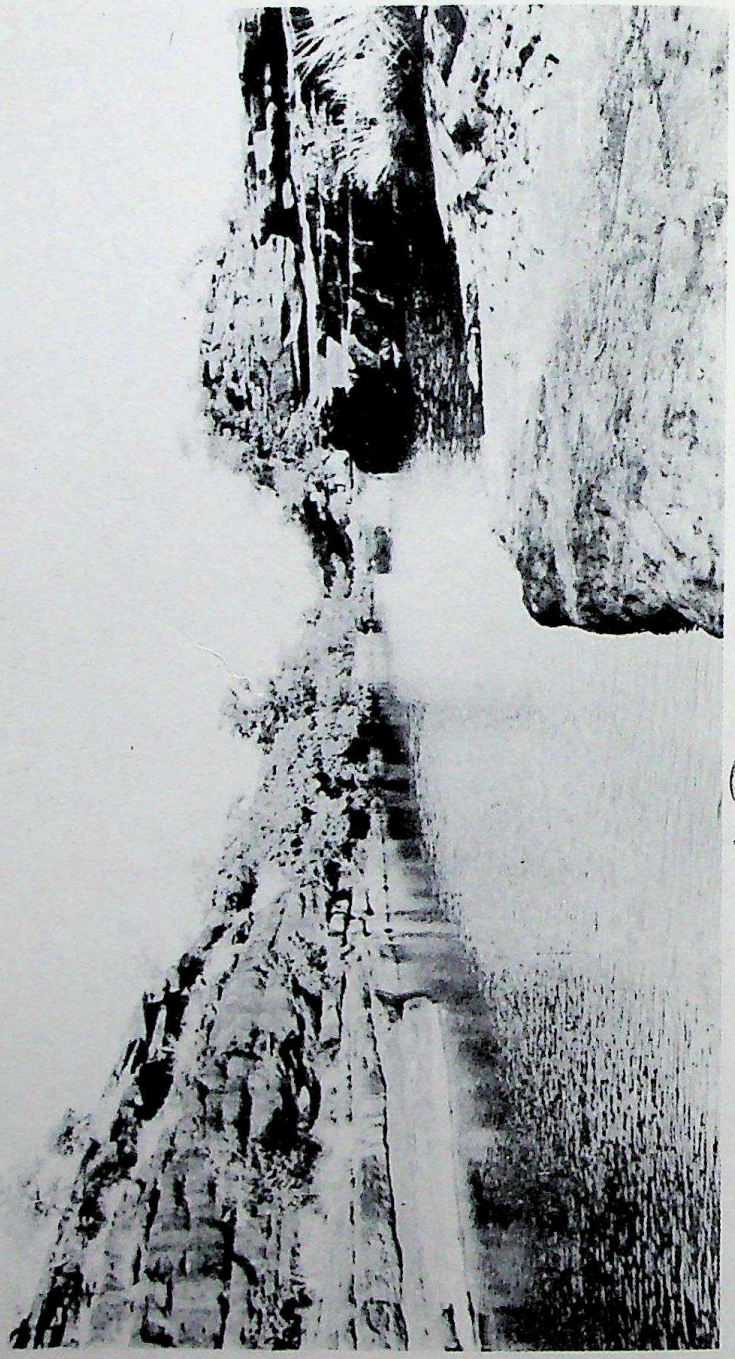

X-II

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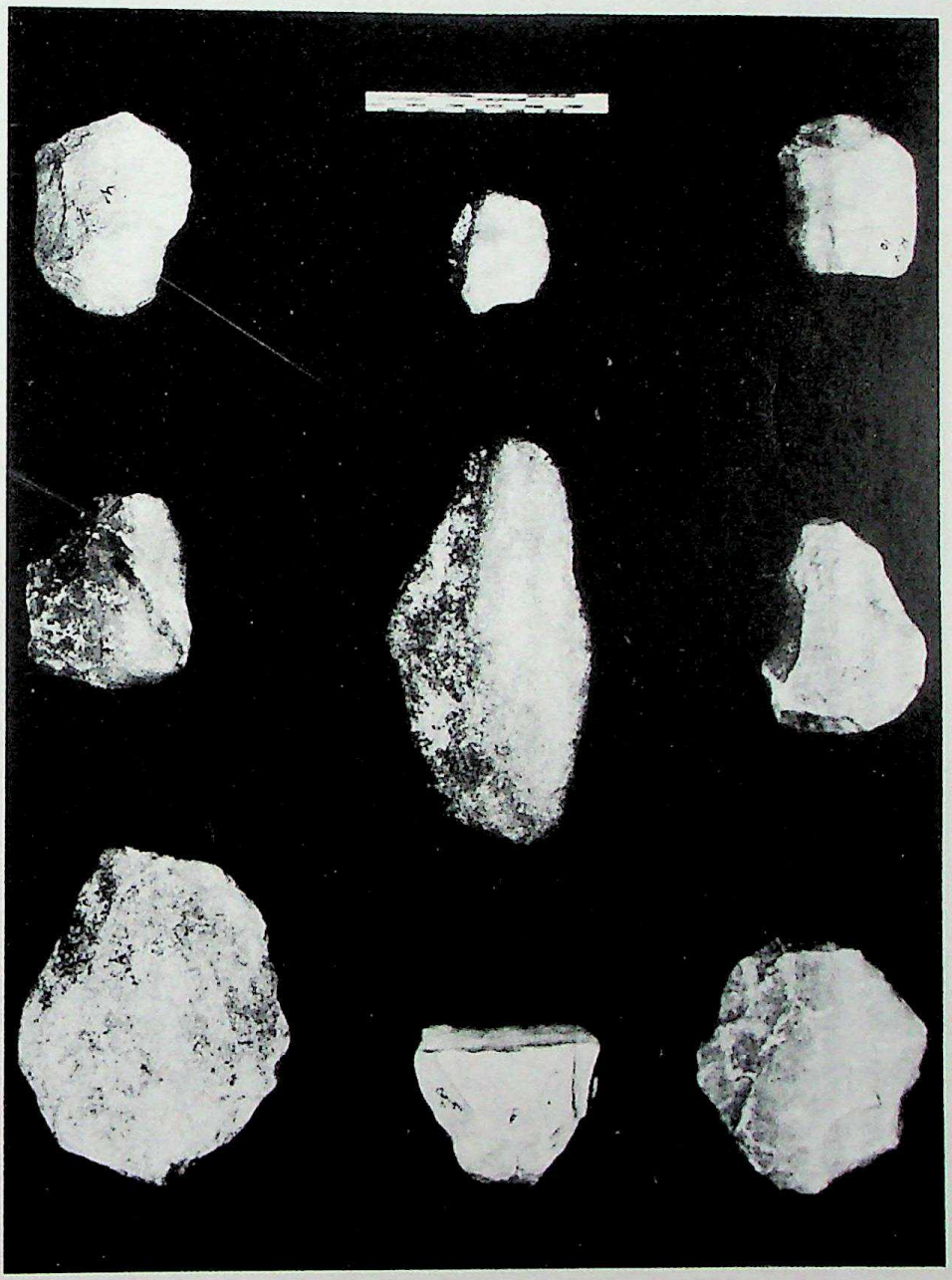

XI-III

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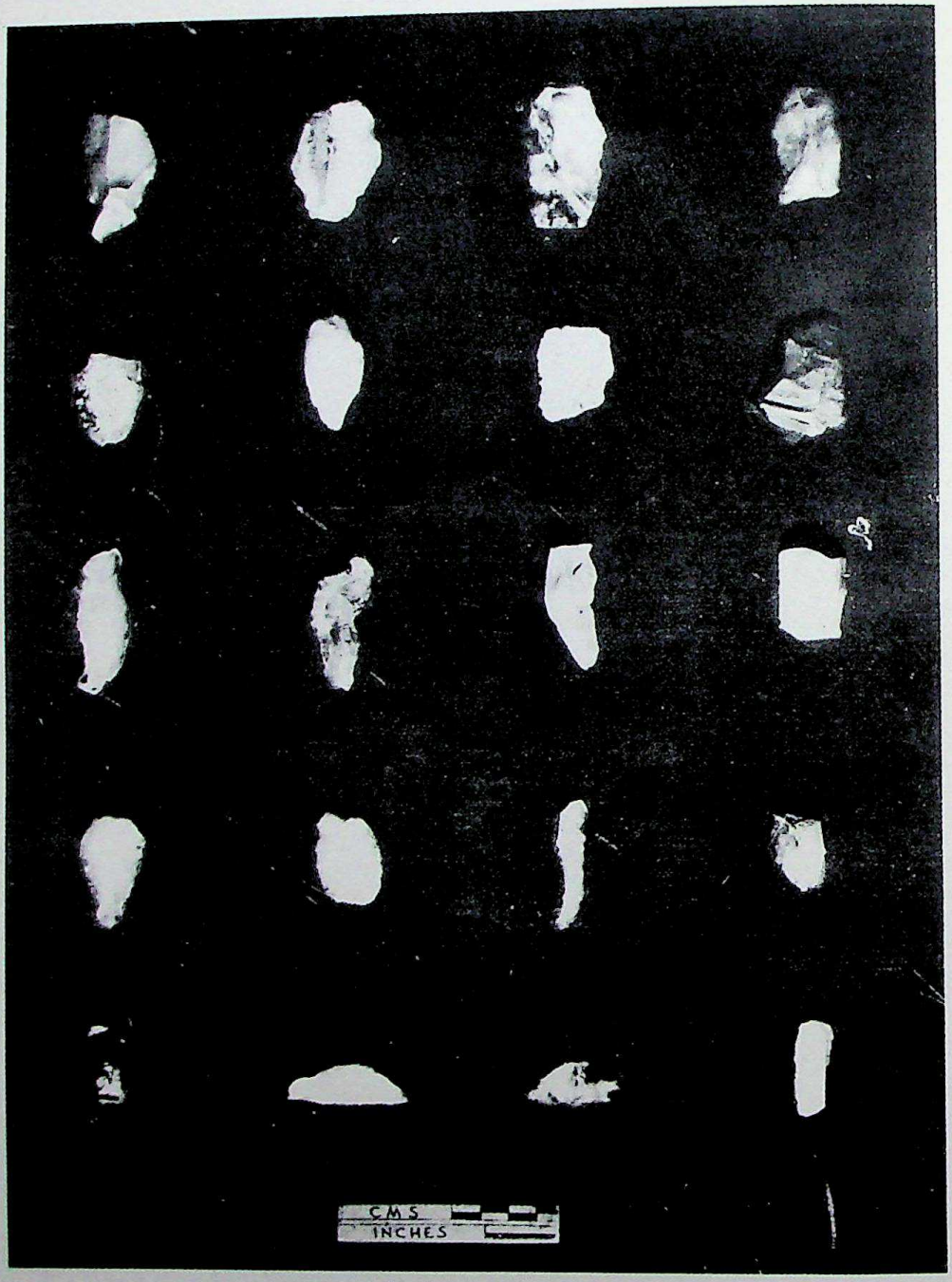

XII – V

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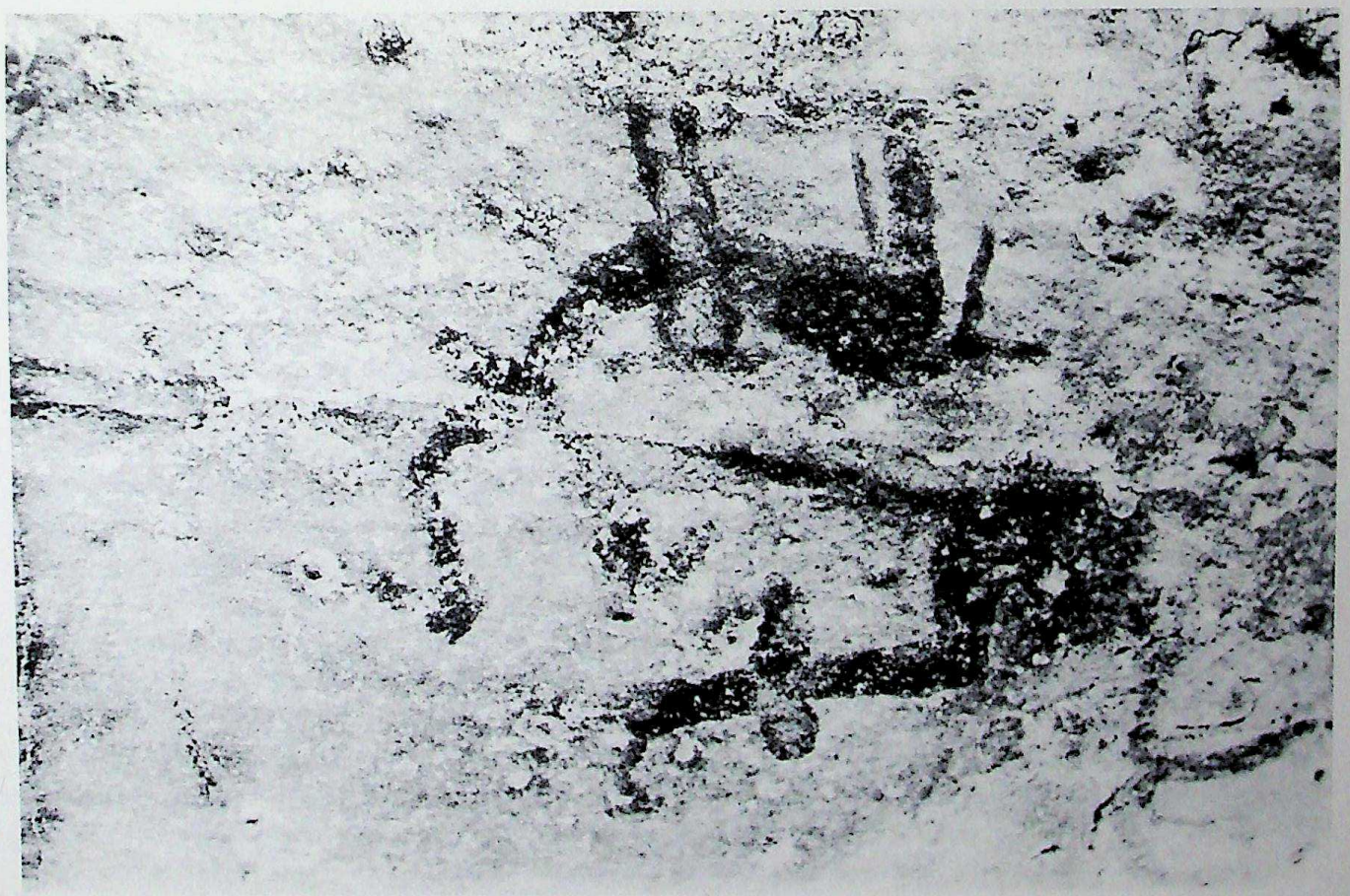
A - VIII

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

IX-XIX



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XV-III

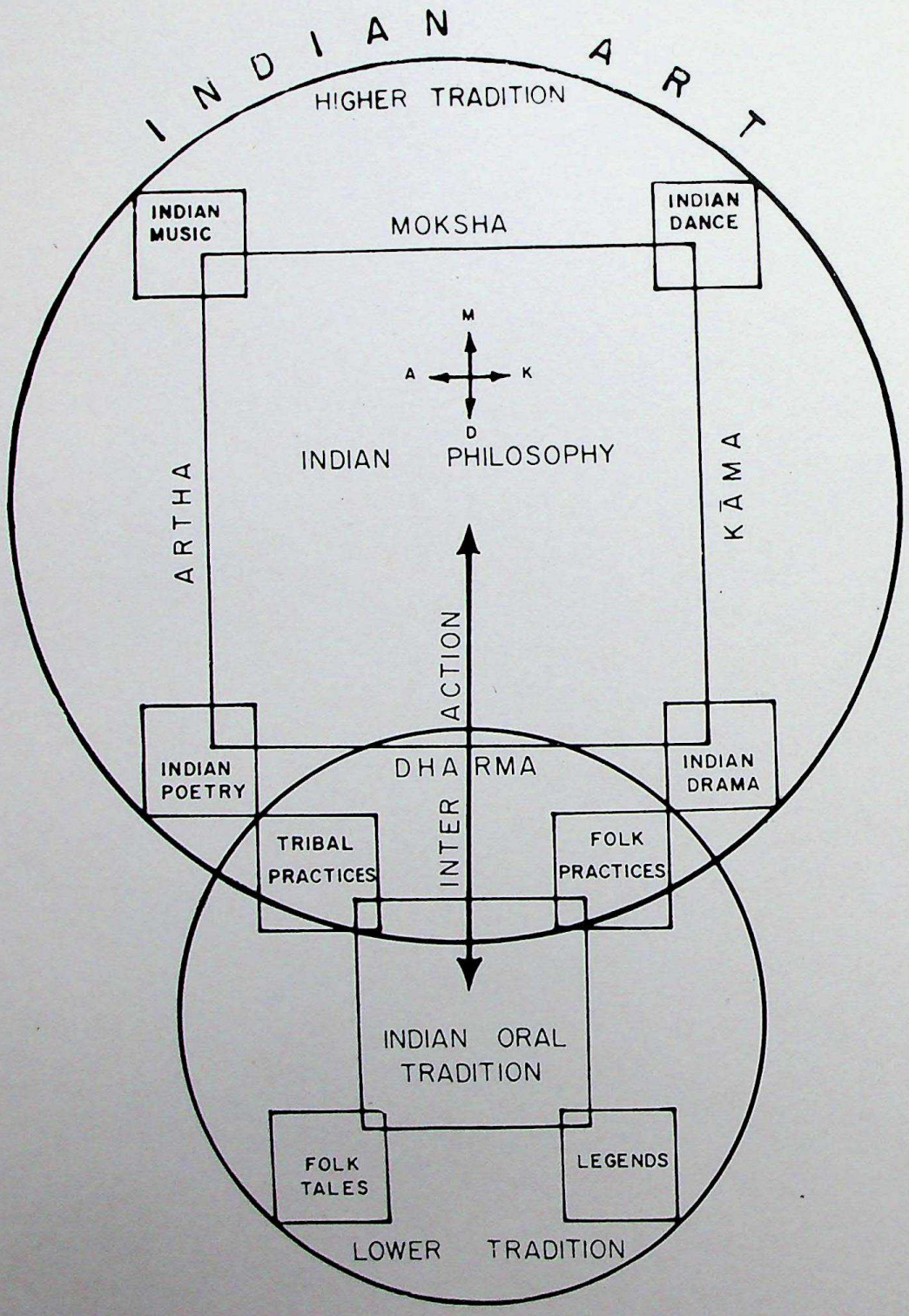
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XVI – VIII

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XVII - IX

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



XVIII -I

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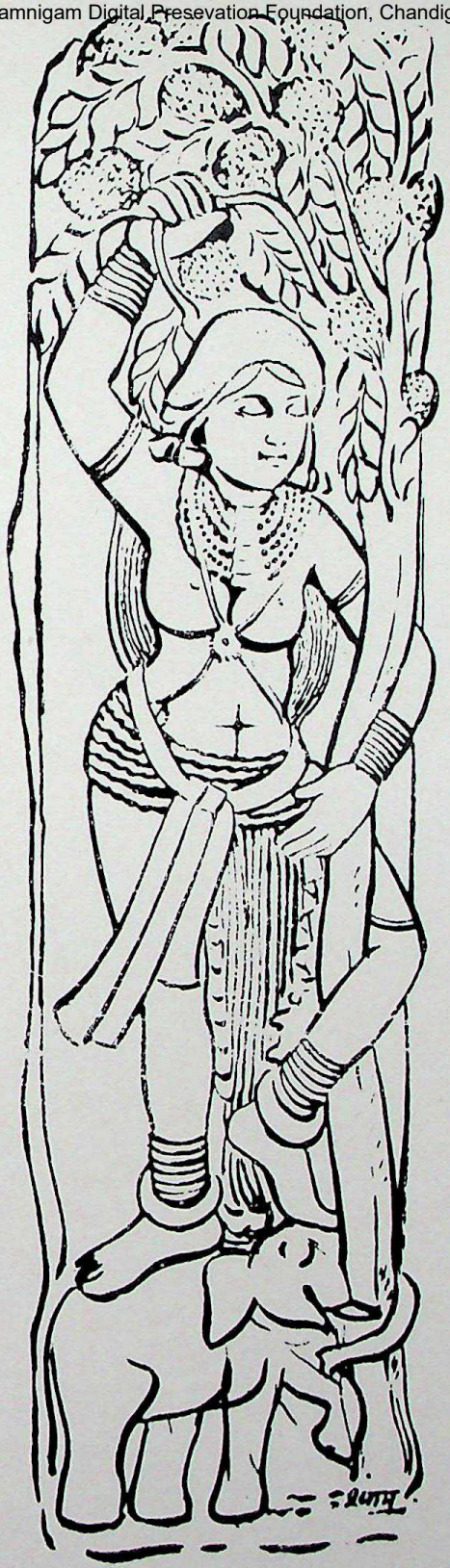

XIX-I

Fig. 1 'Dohada', Bharhut, 2nd Cent. B.C.

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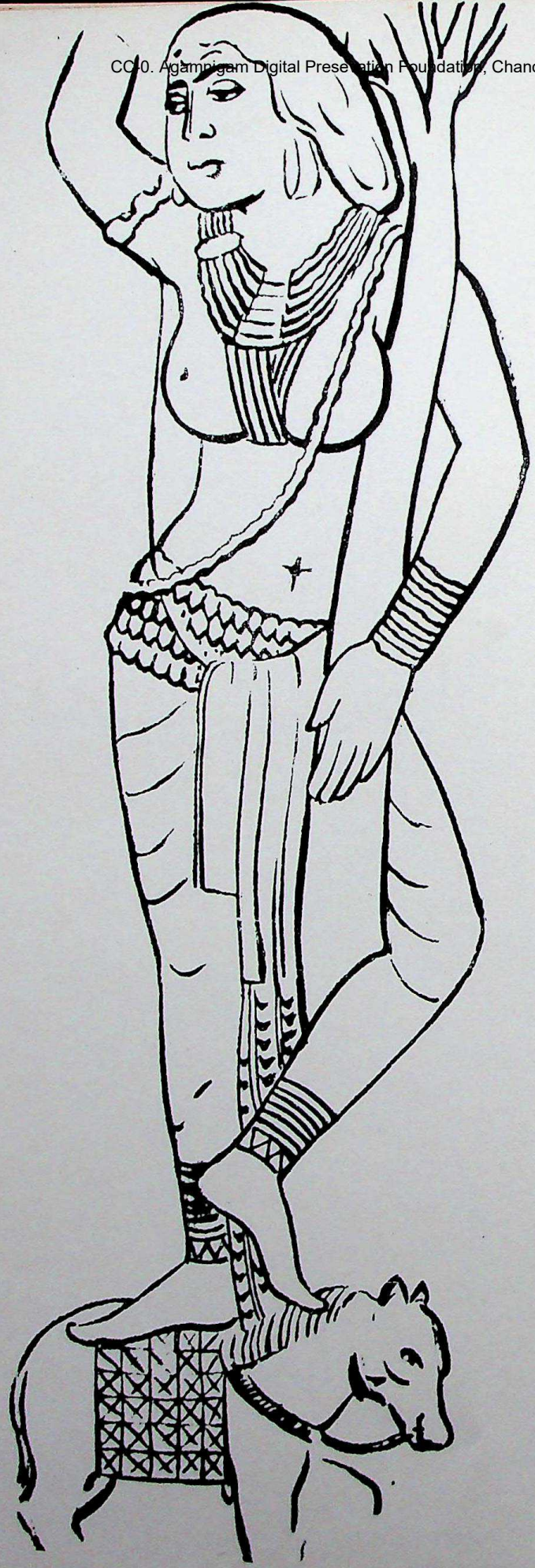

XX-II

Fig. 2 'Dohada', Bharhut, 2nd Cent. B.C.

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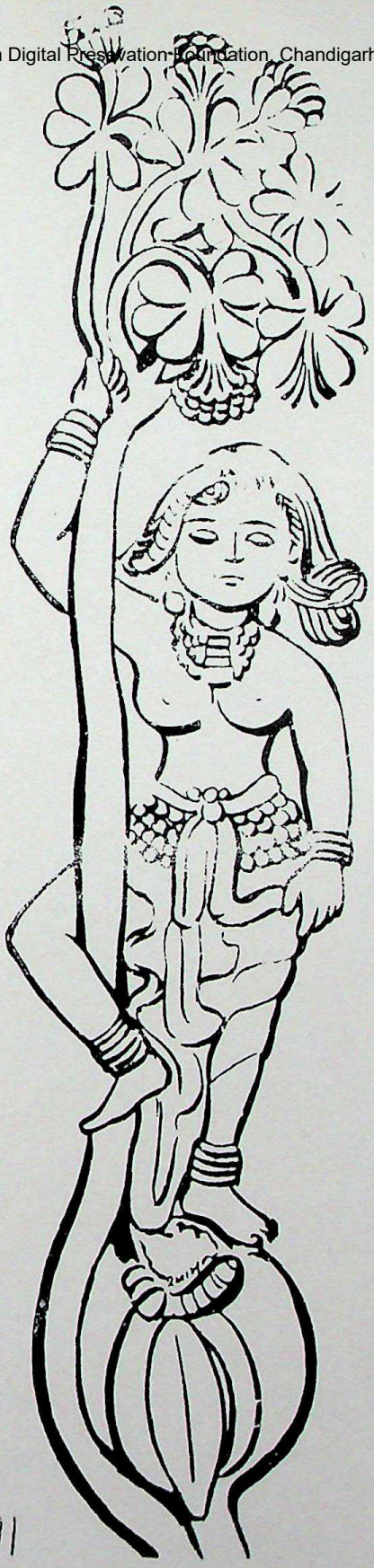

Fig. 3 'Dohada', Bharhut, 2nd Cent. B.C.

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XXII-IV

Fig. 4 'Dohada', Mathura, 2nd Cent. A.D.

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XXIII-V

Fig. 5 'Dohada', Mathura, 2nd Cent. A.D.

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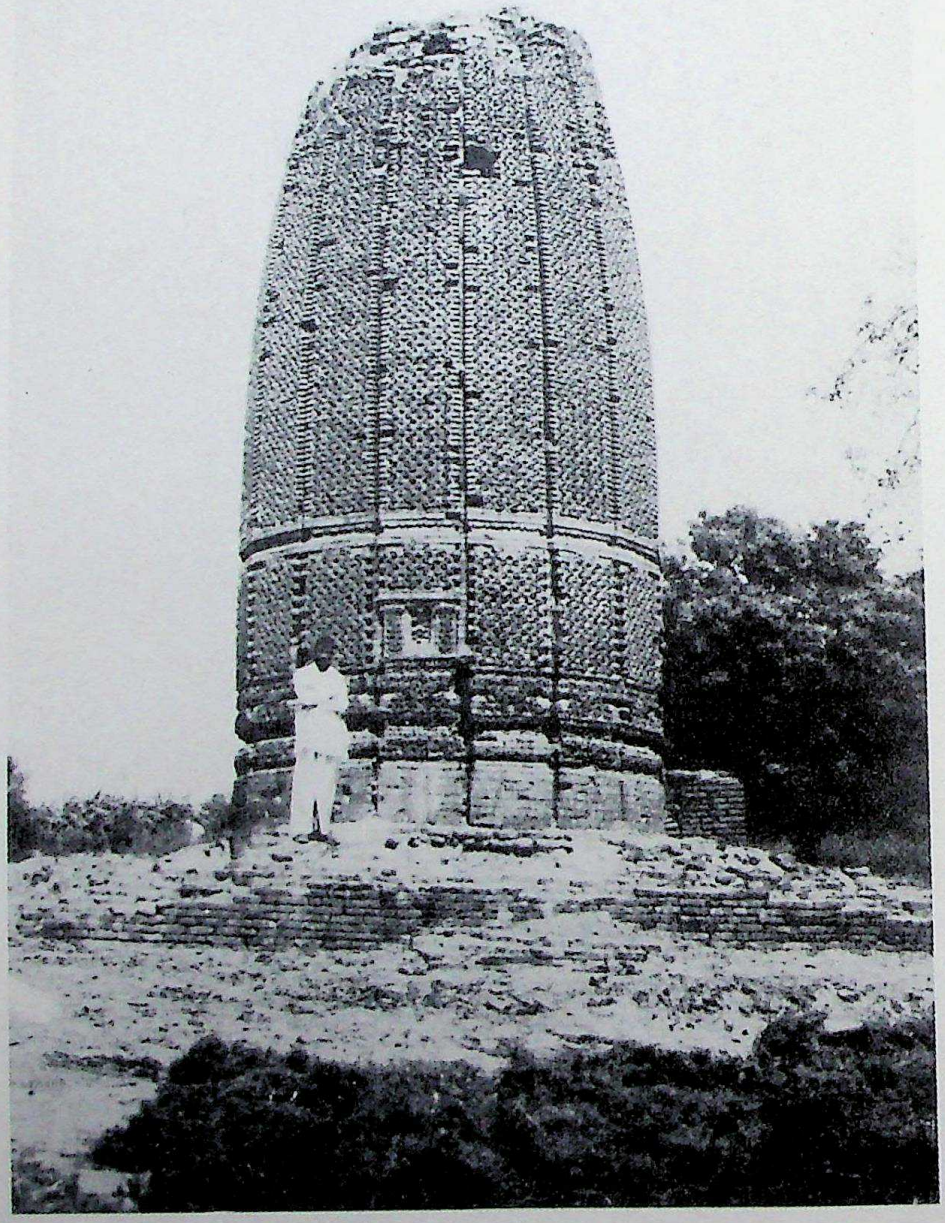

XXIV–I

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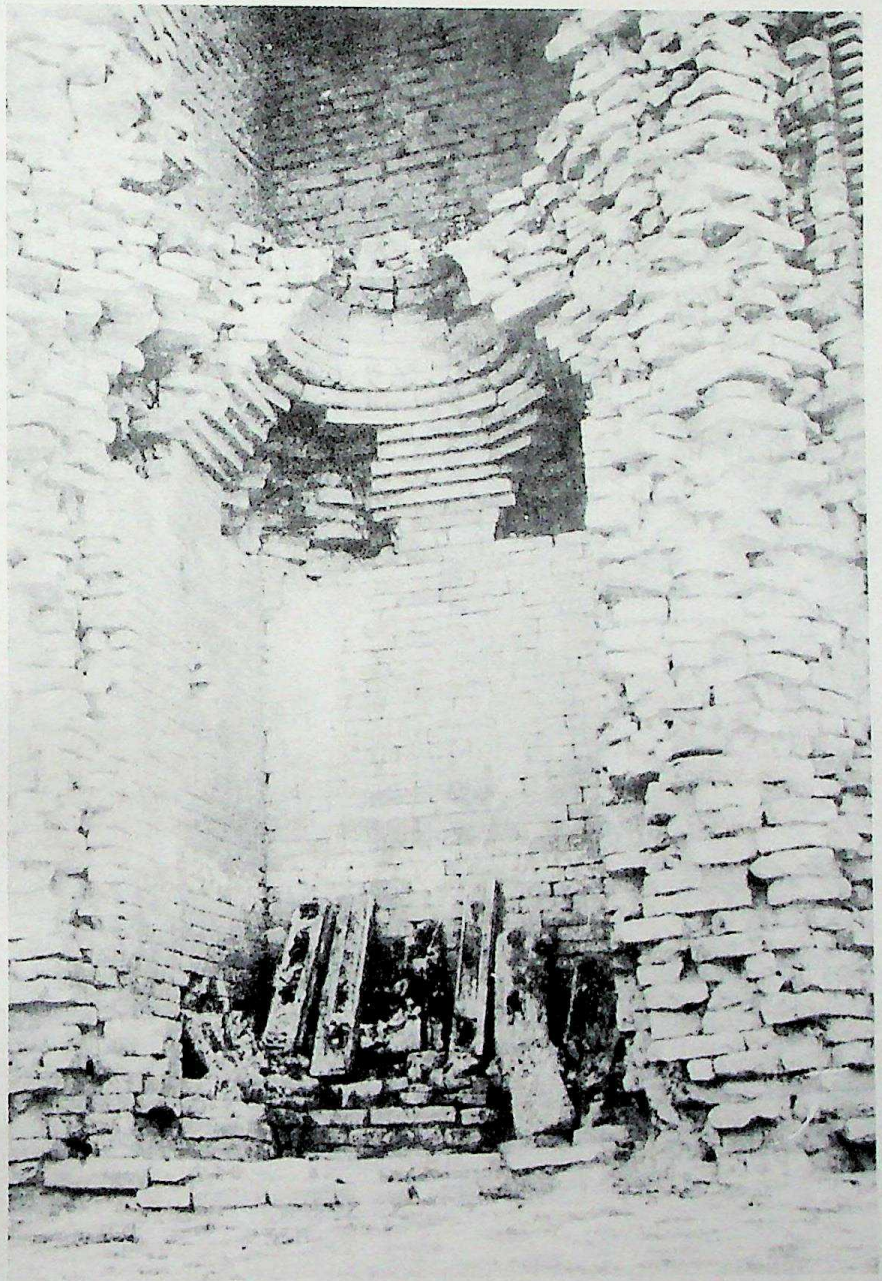

XXV-II

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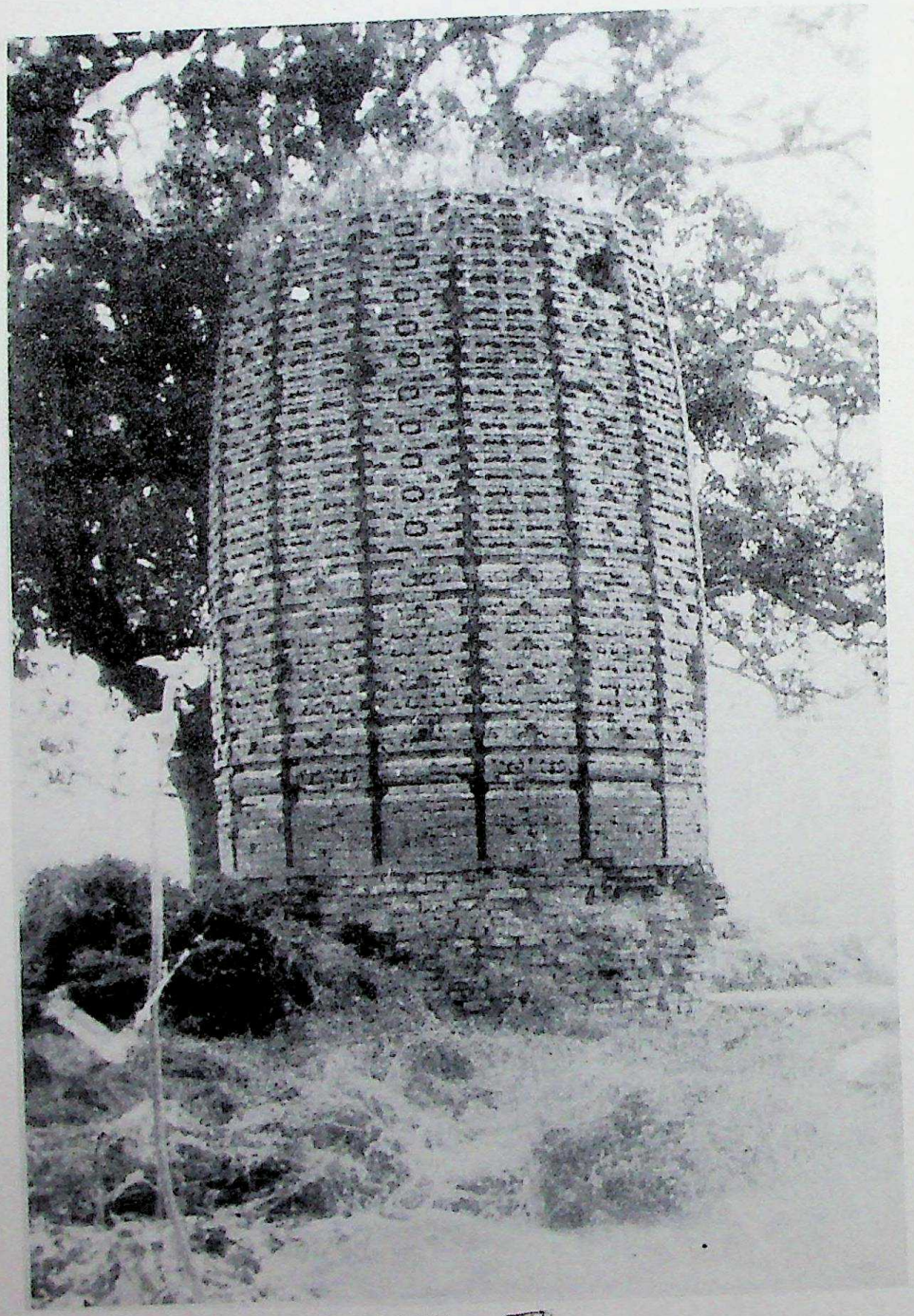

XXVI – III

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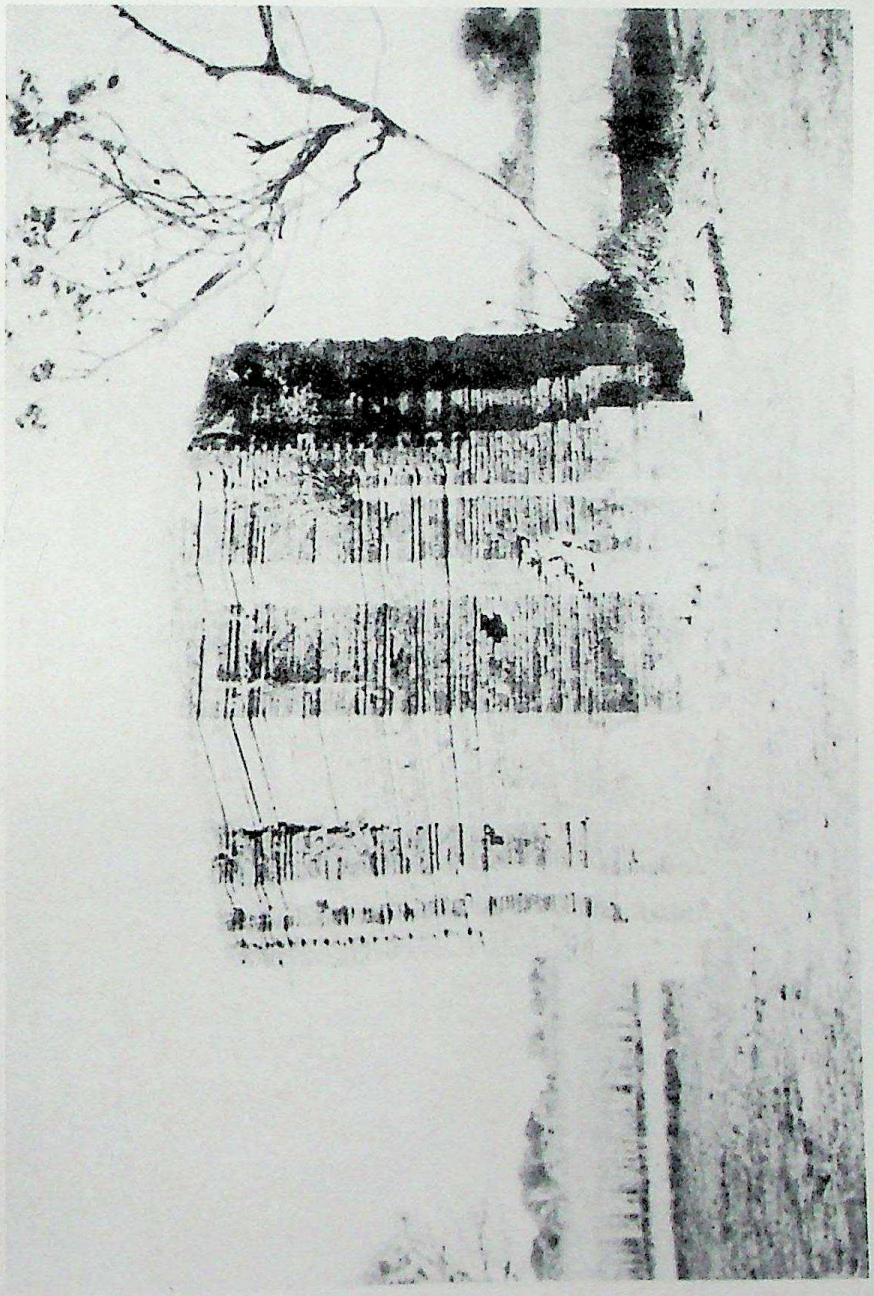

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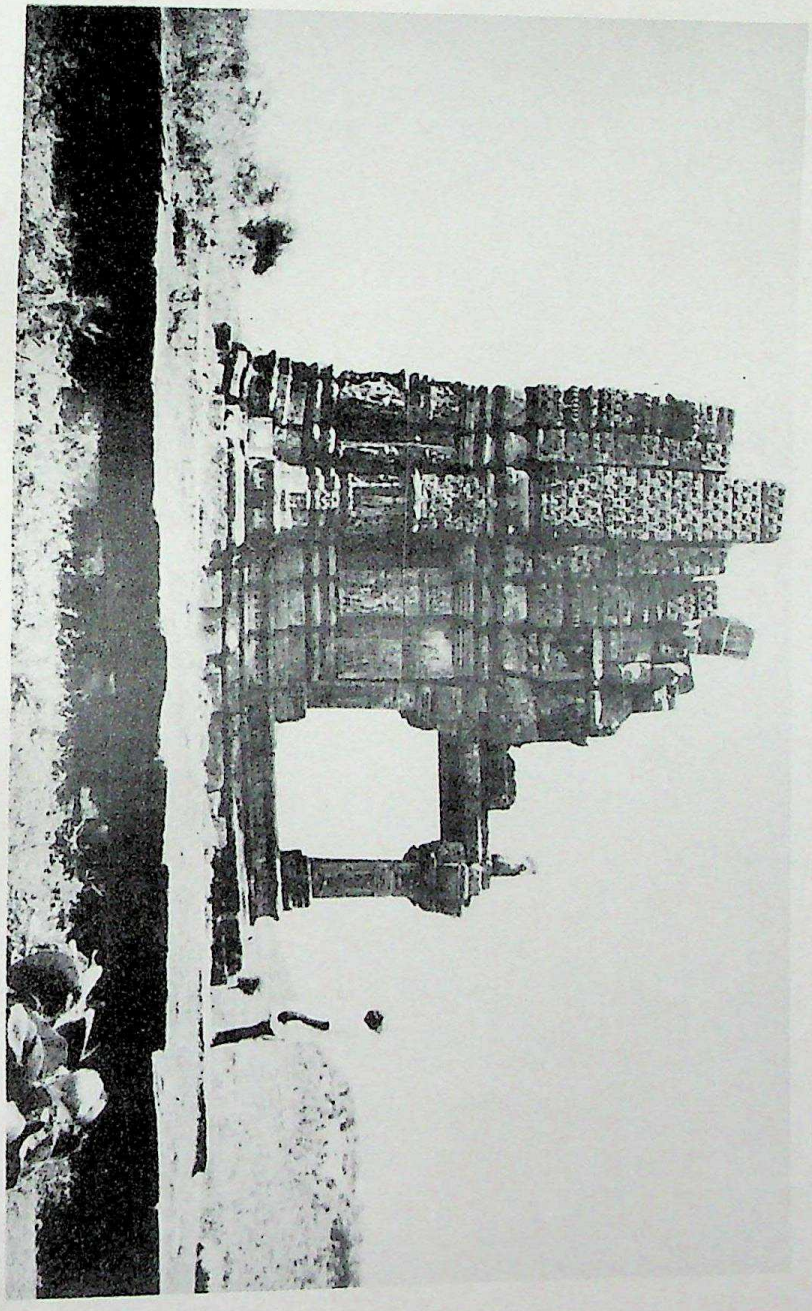
XX VIII – V

XXIX-VI

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



I-xxx

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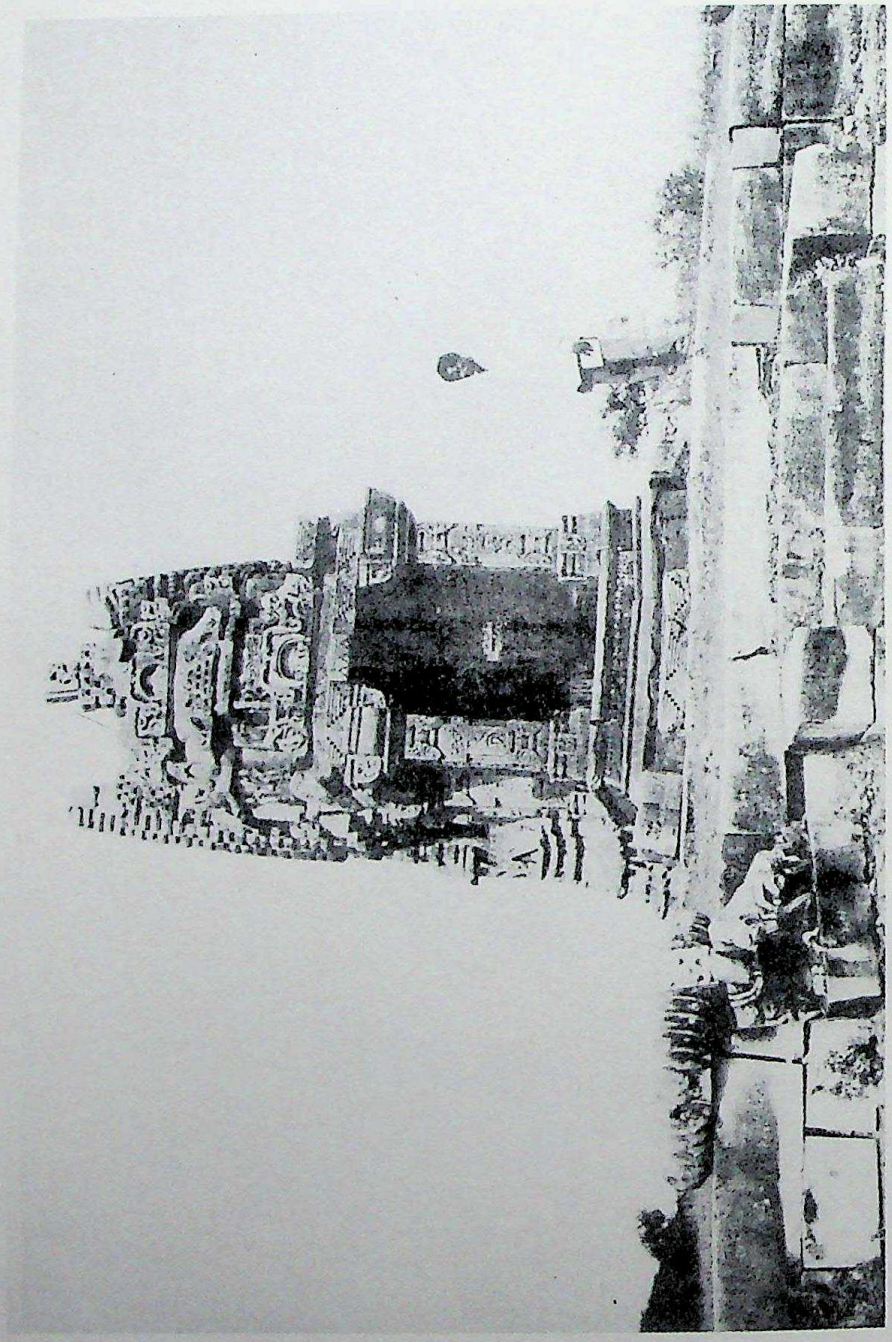

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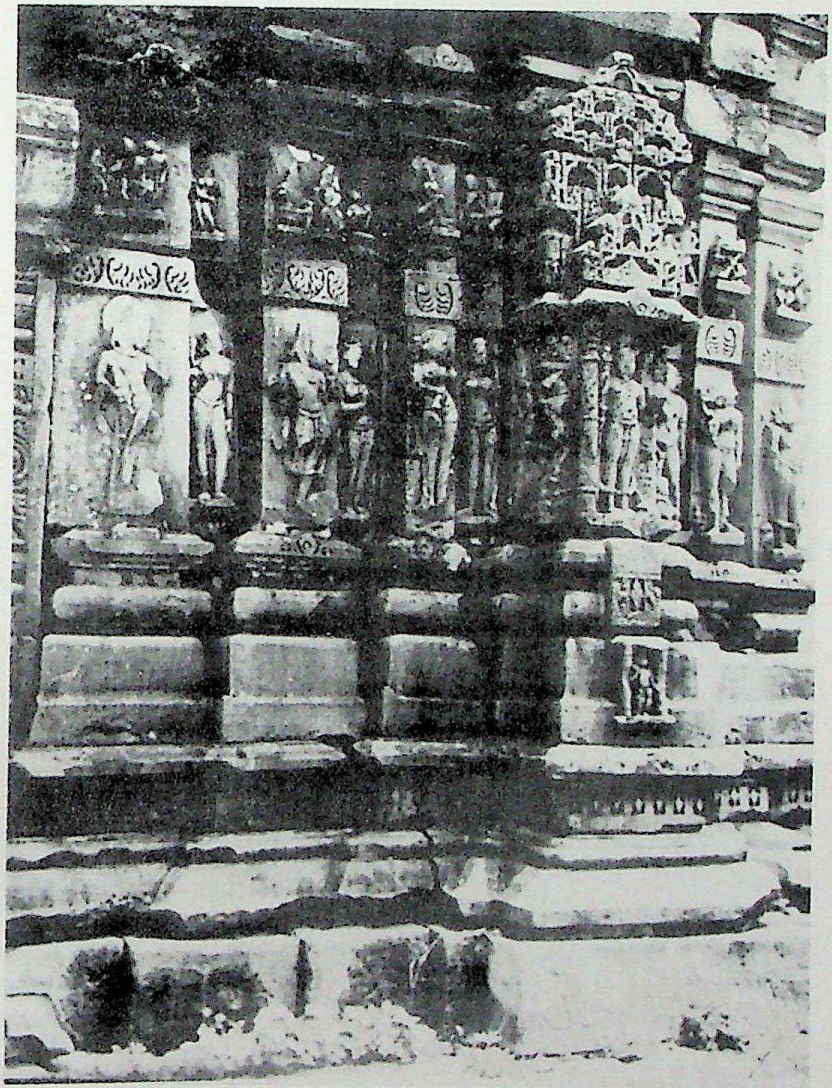

XXXII — III

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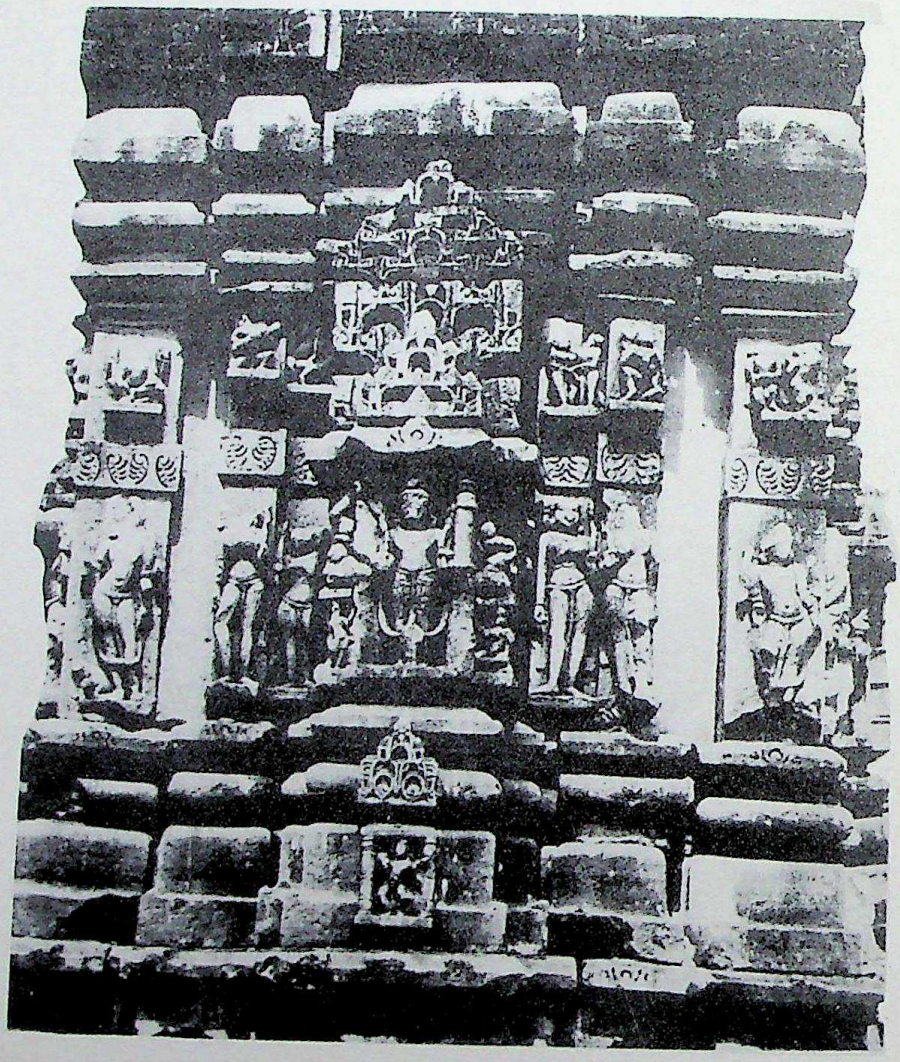

XXXIII — IV

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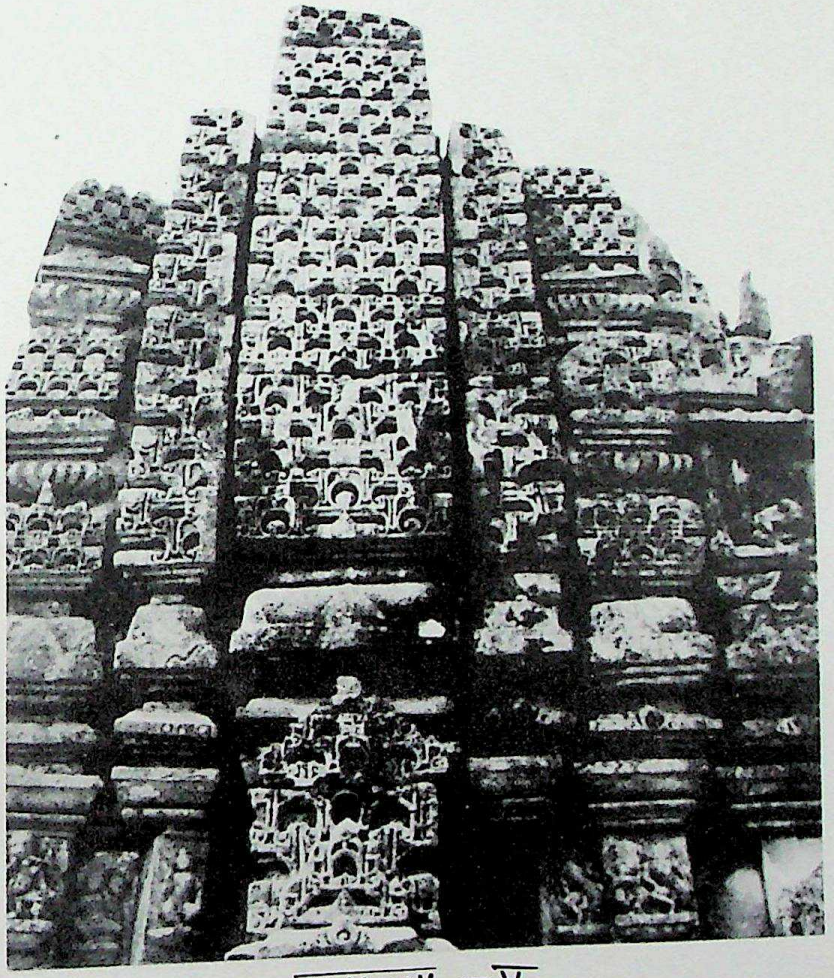

XXXIV – V

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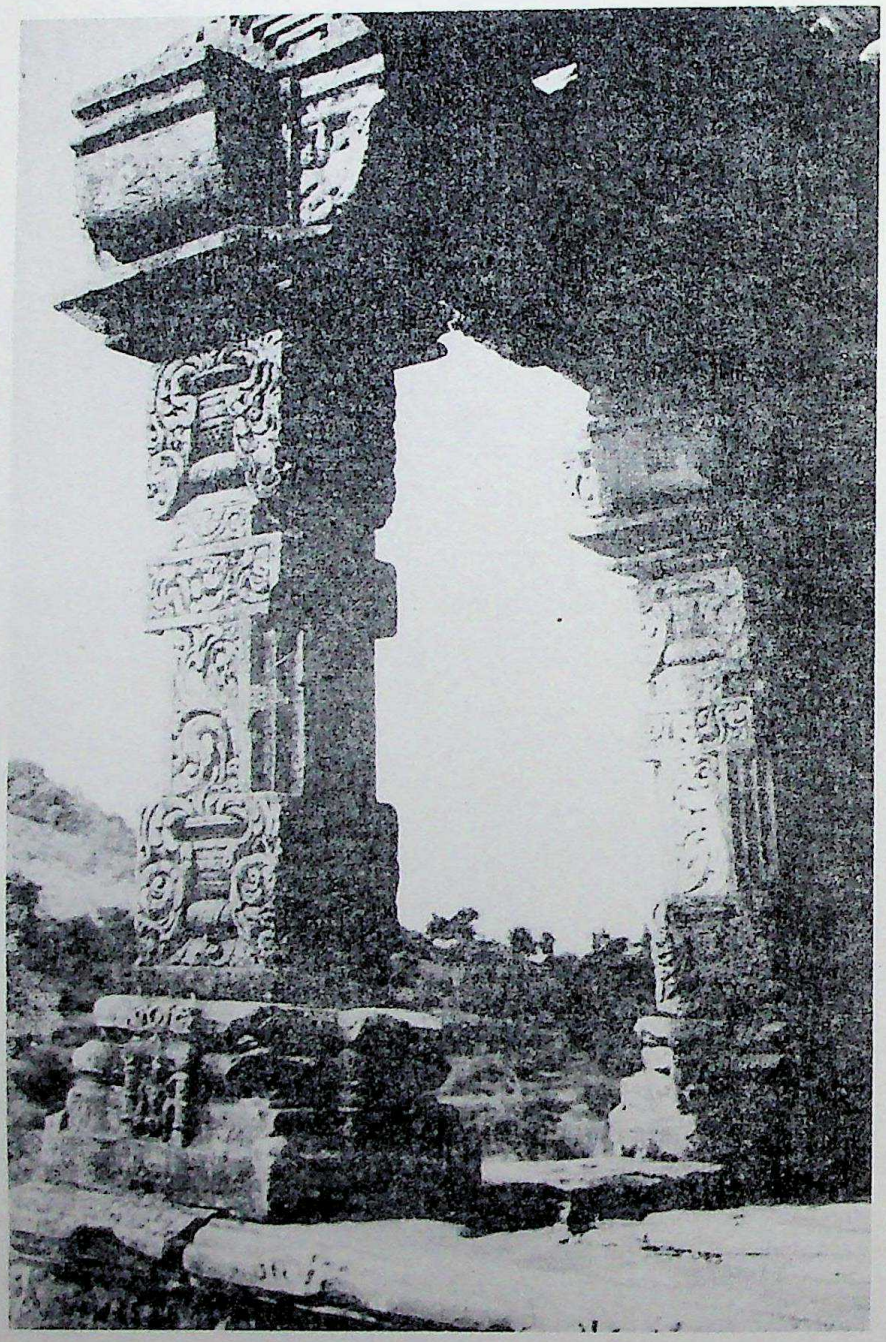

XXXV–VI

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XXXX

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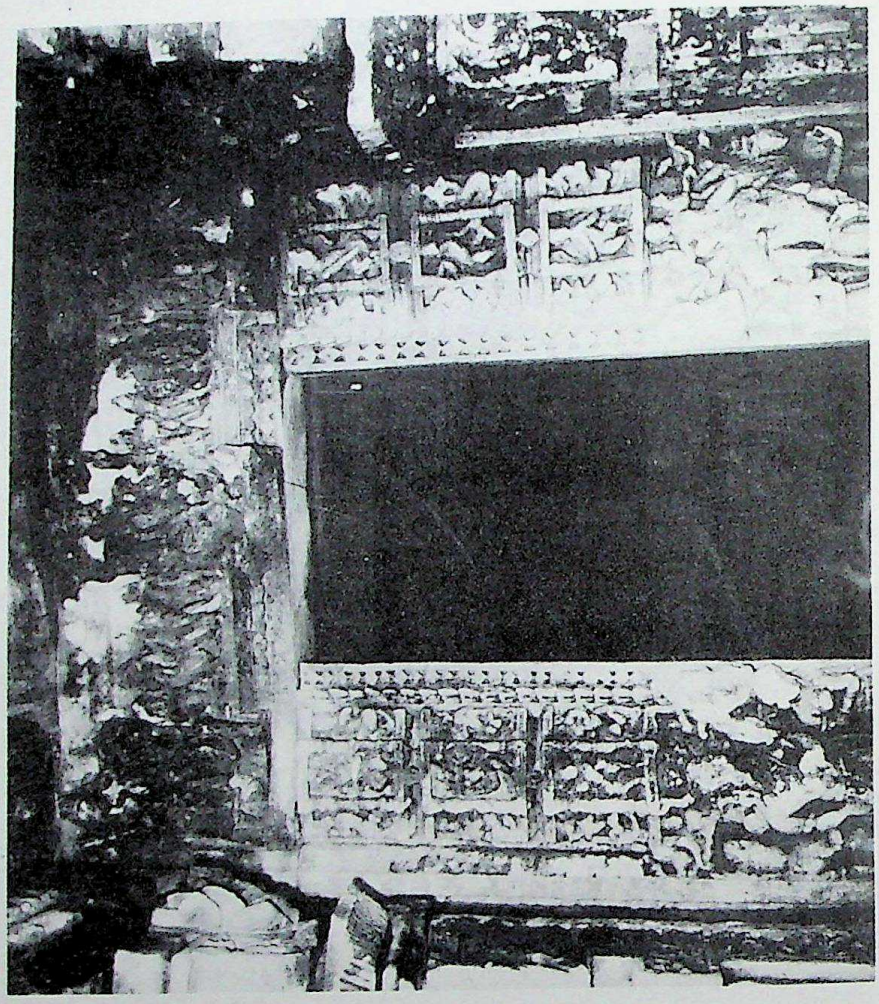

XXXVII – VIII

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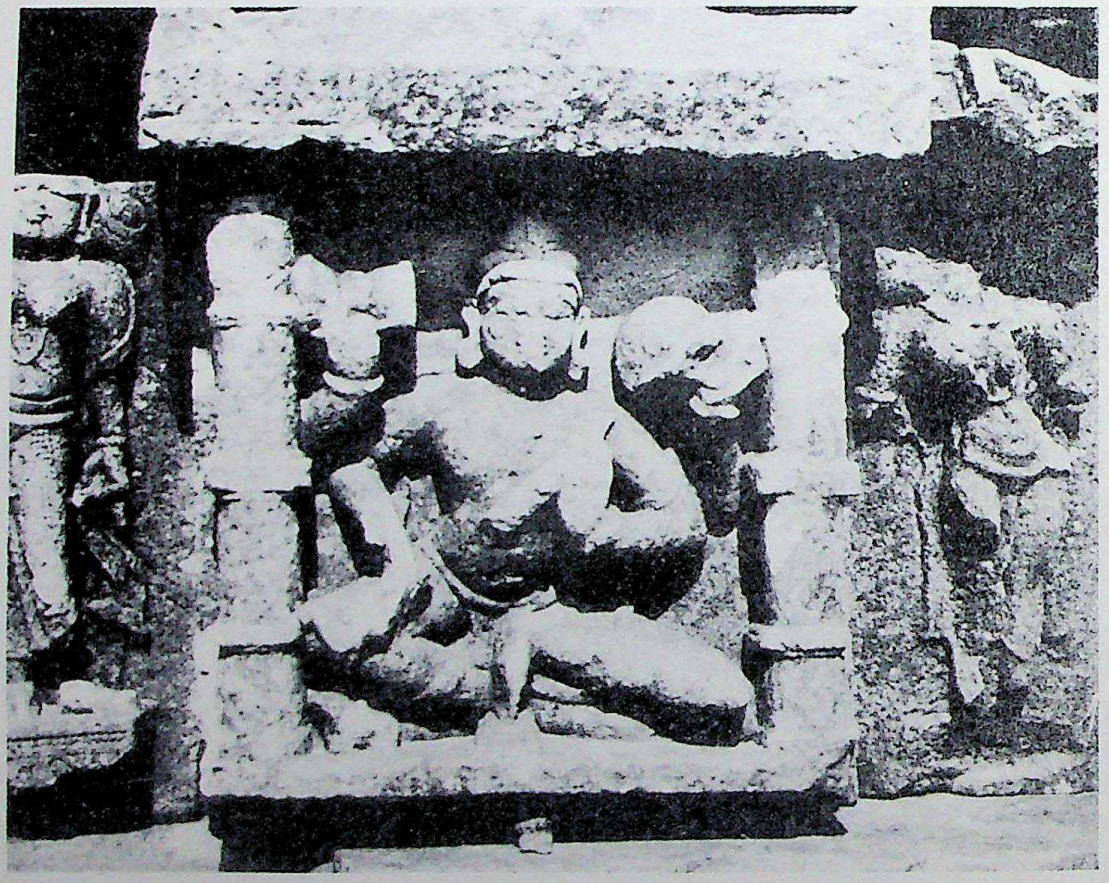
XXXVII—IX

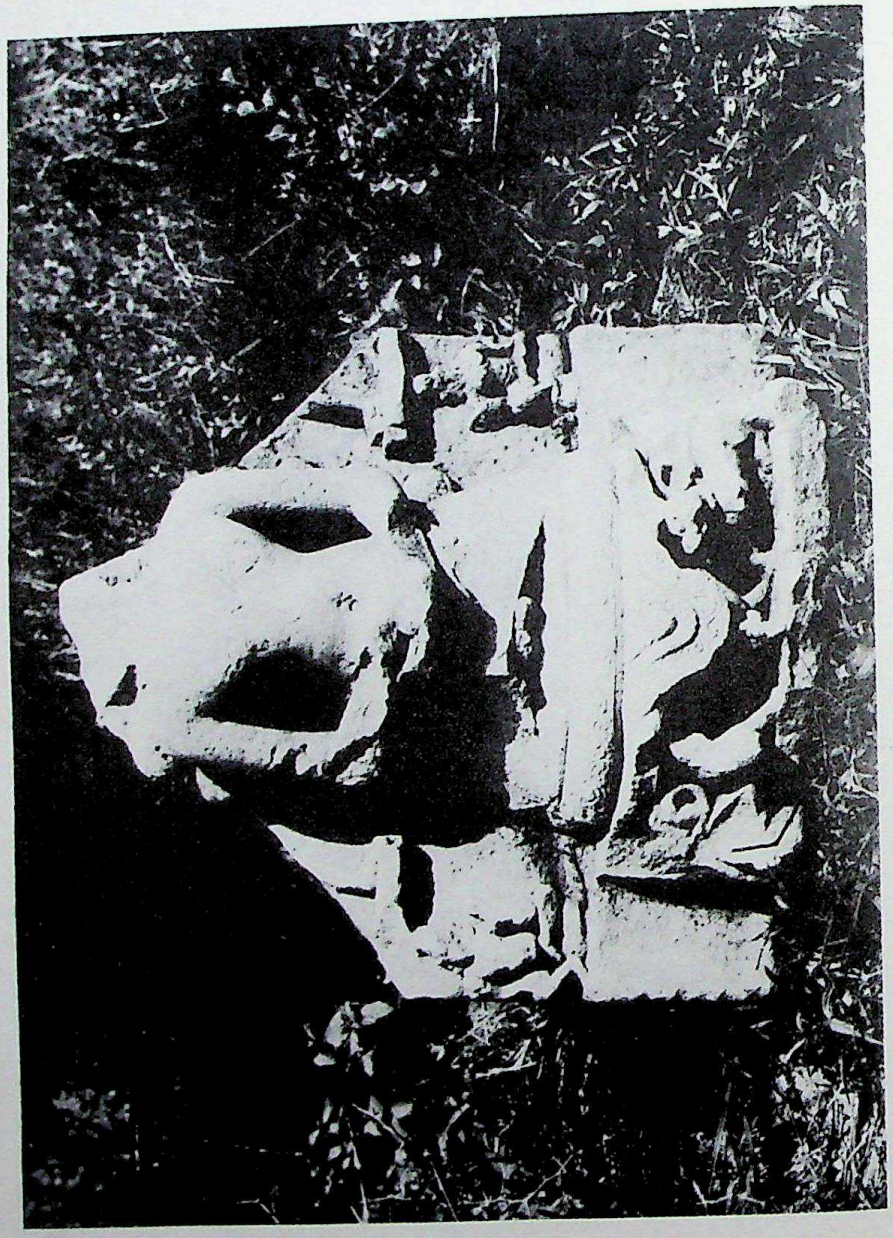
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XL-XI

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



XLI - XII

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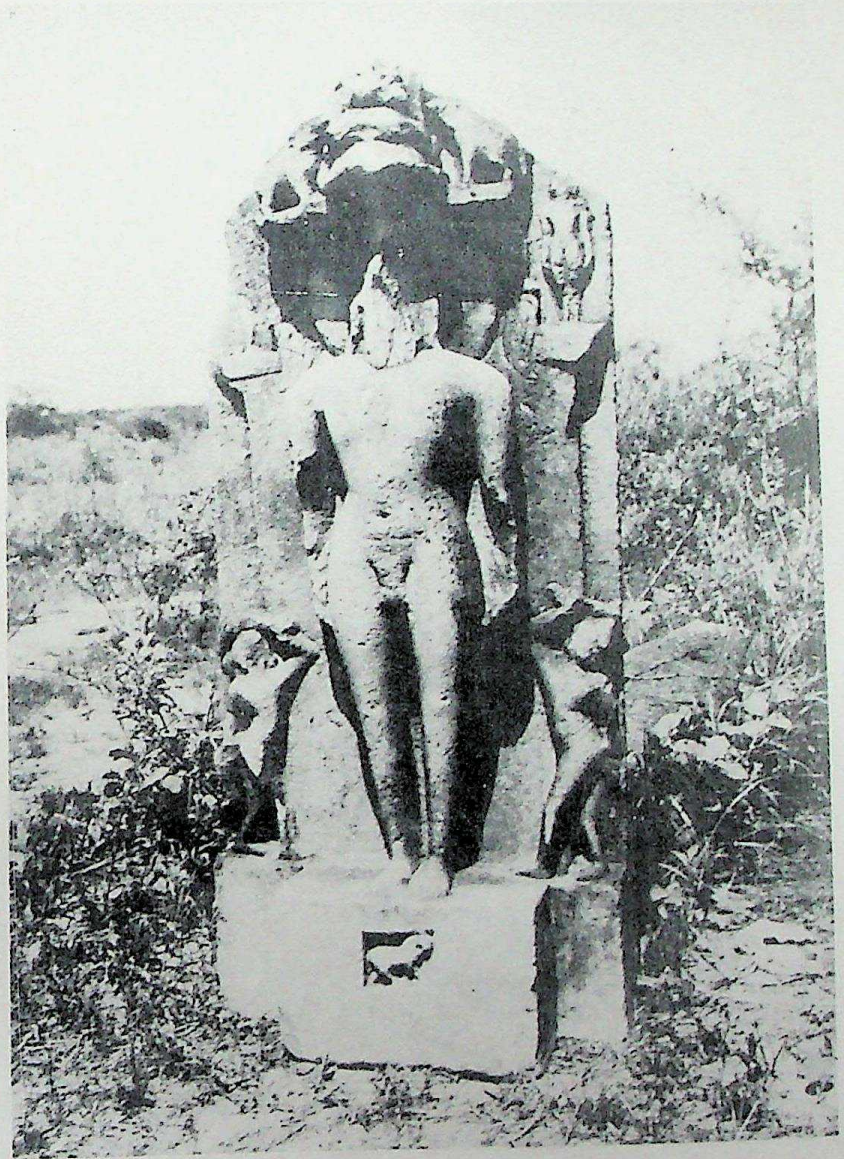


XLII - XIII

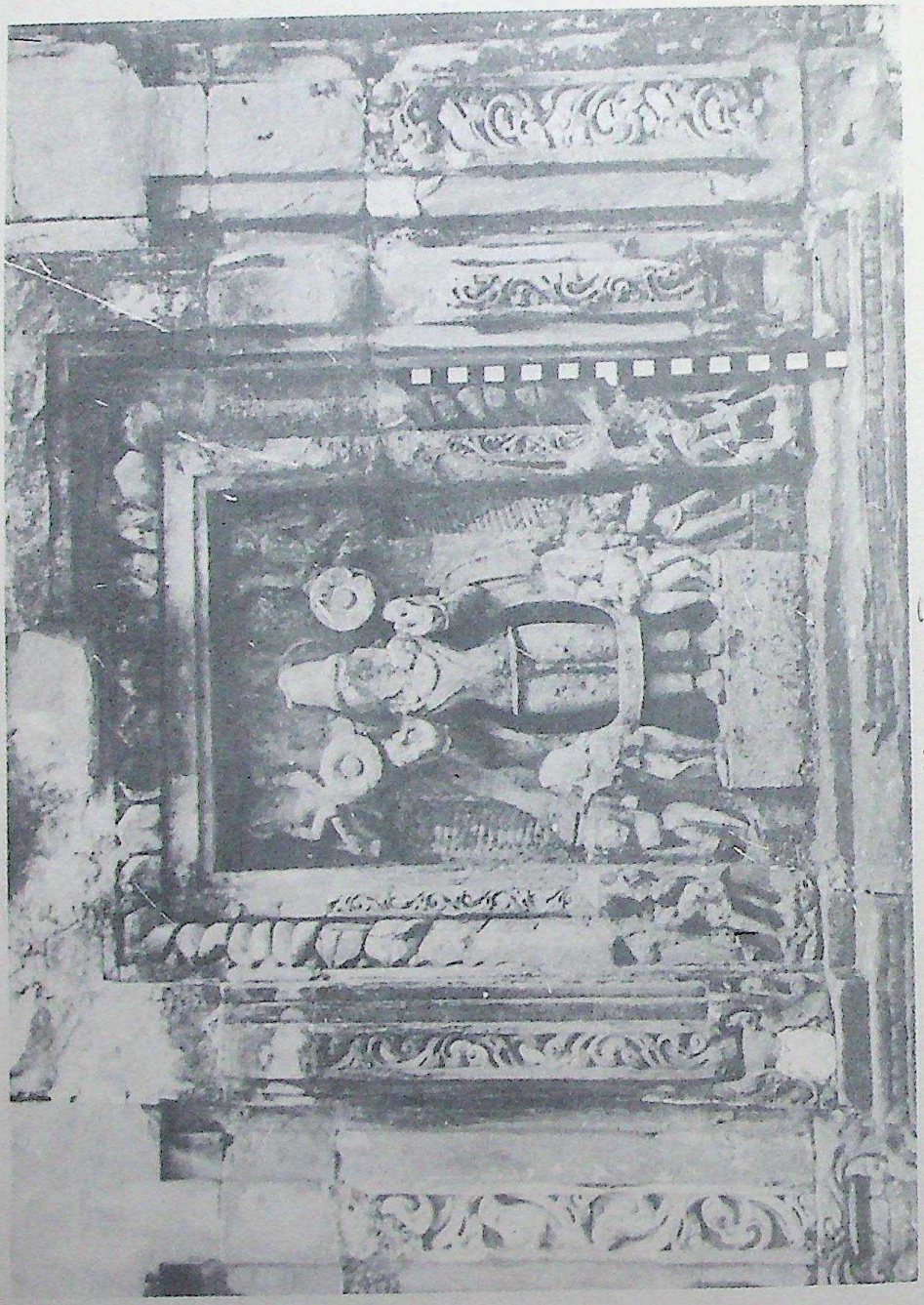
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XLIII – XIV

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XLIV – XV

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



XLV-I

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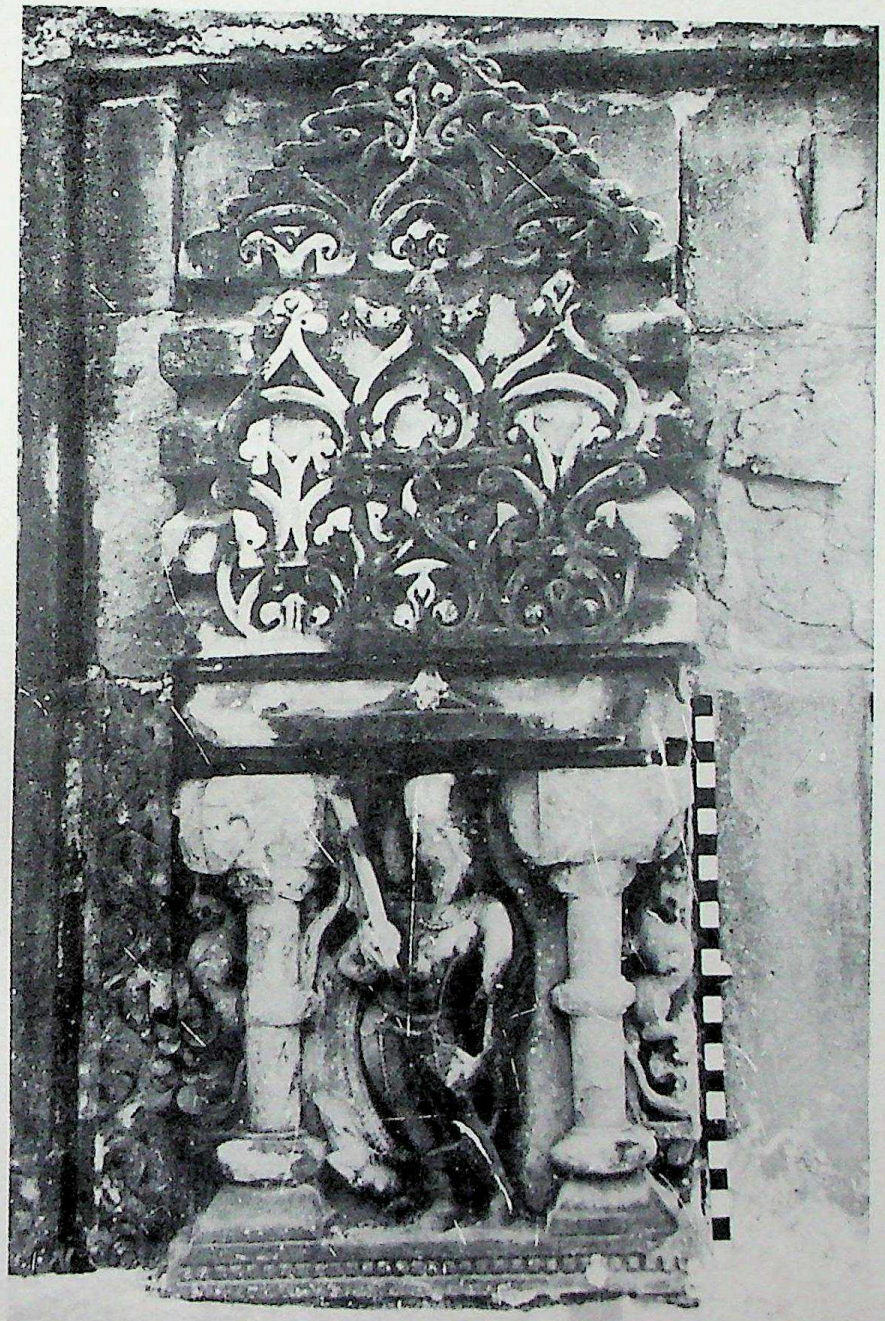

XLVI – II

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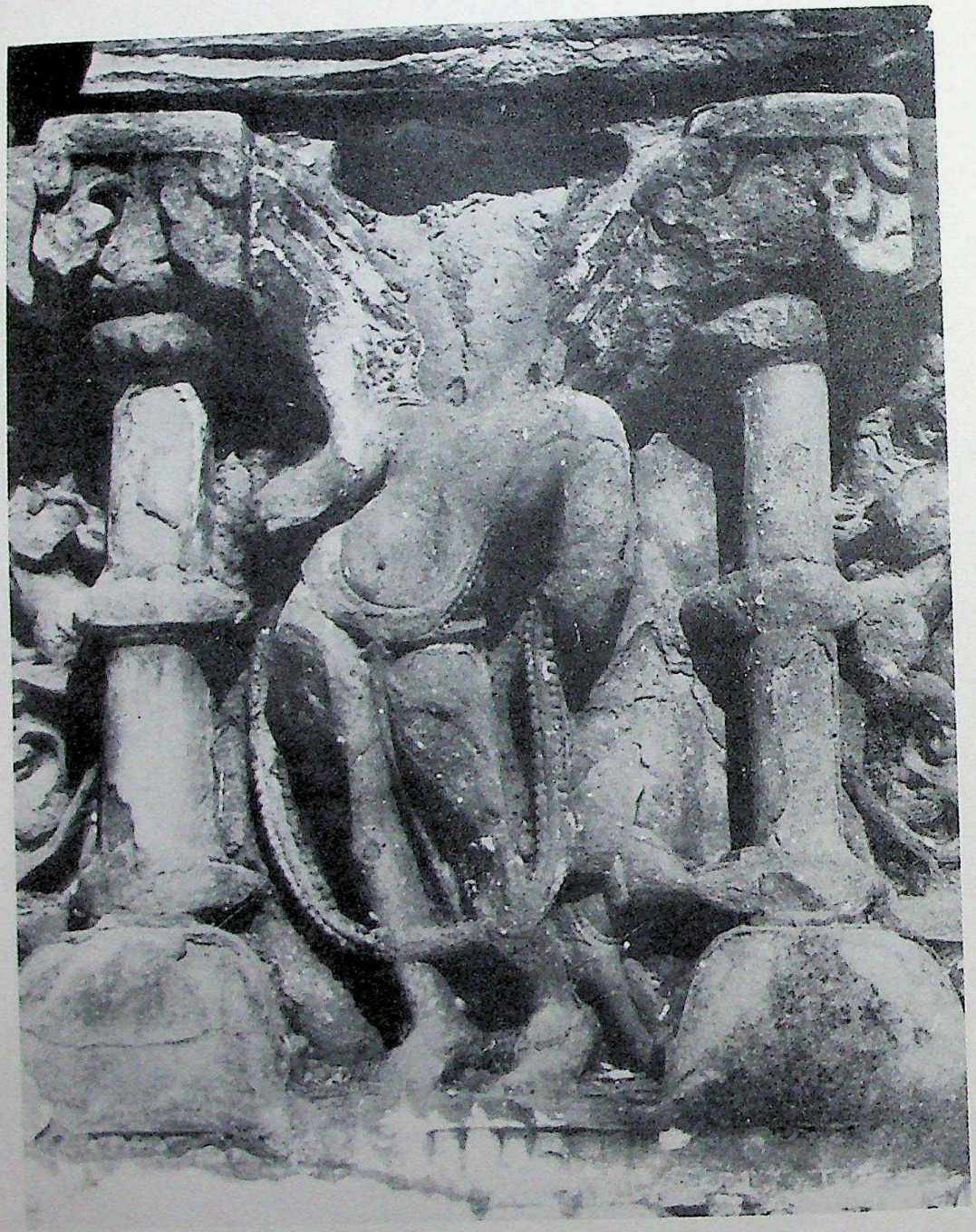

XLVII - III

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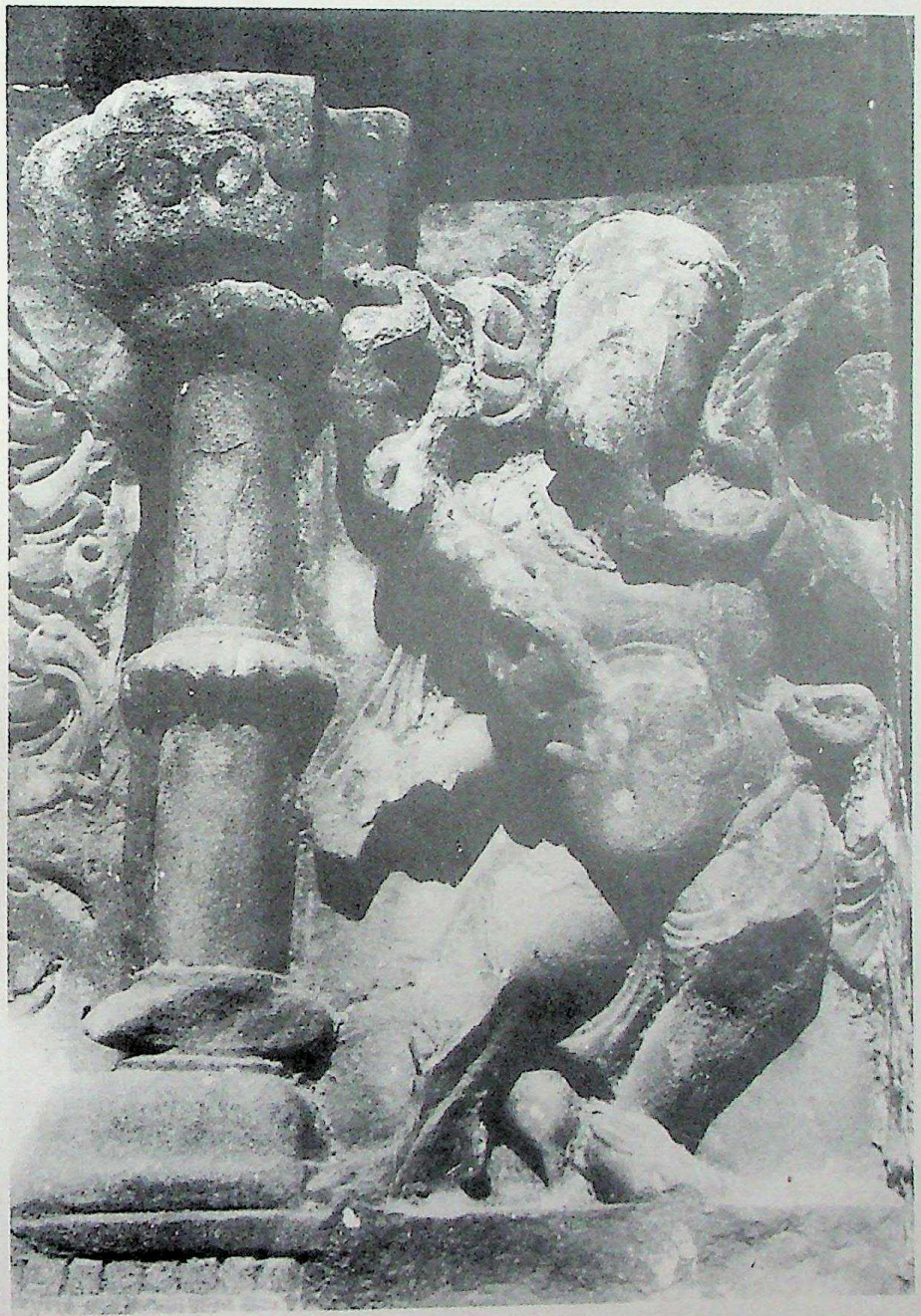

XLVIII – IV

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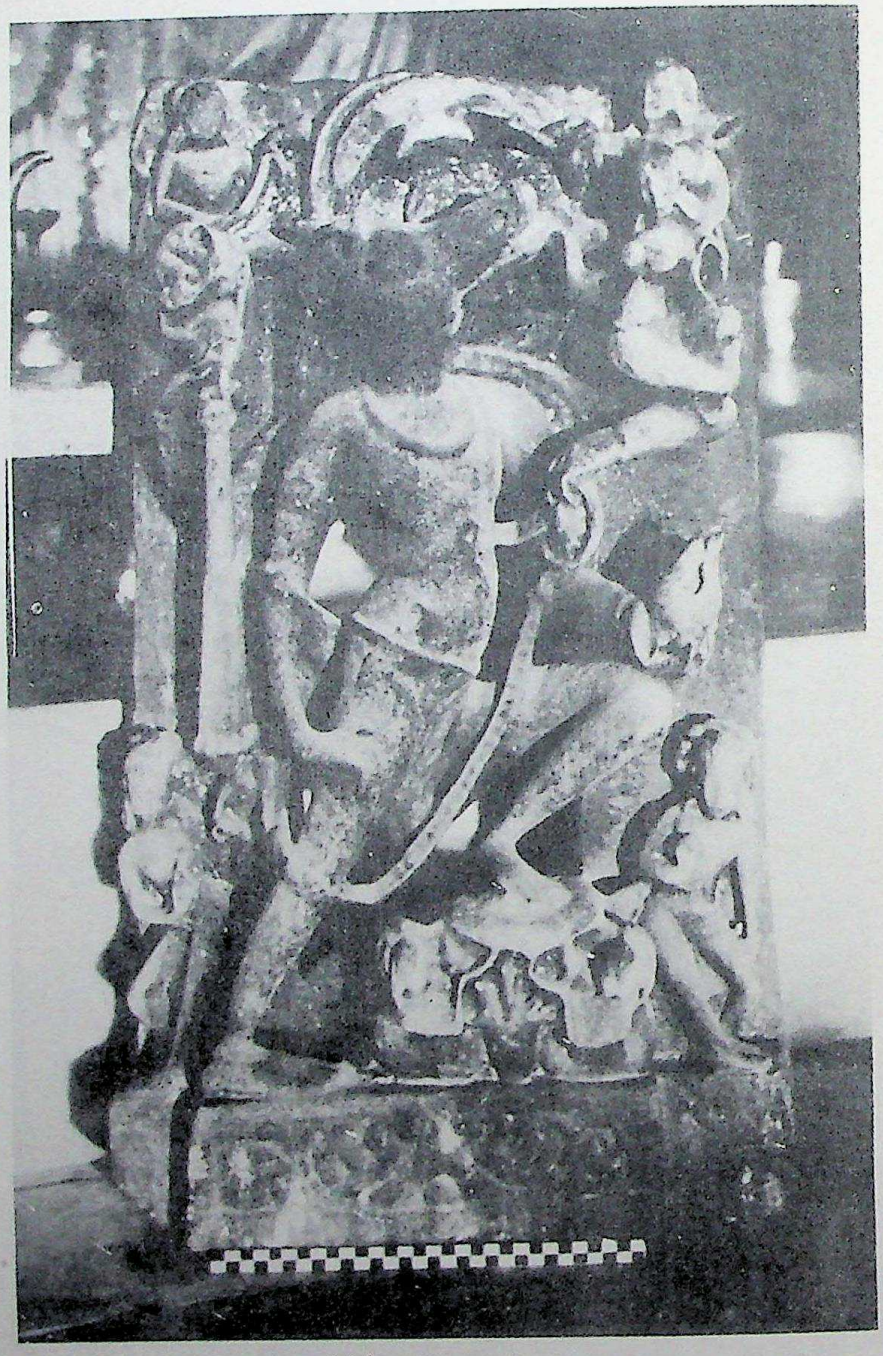

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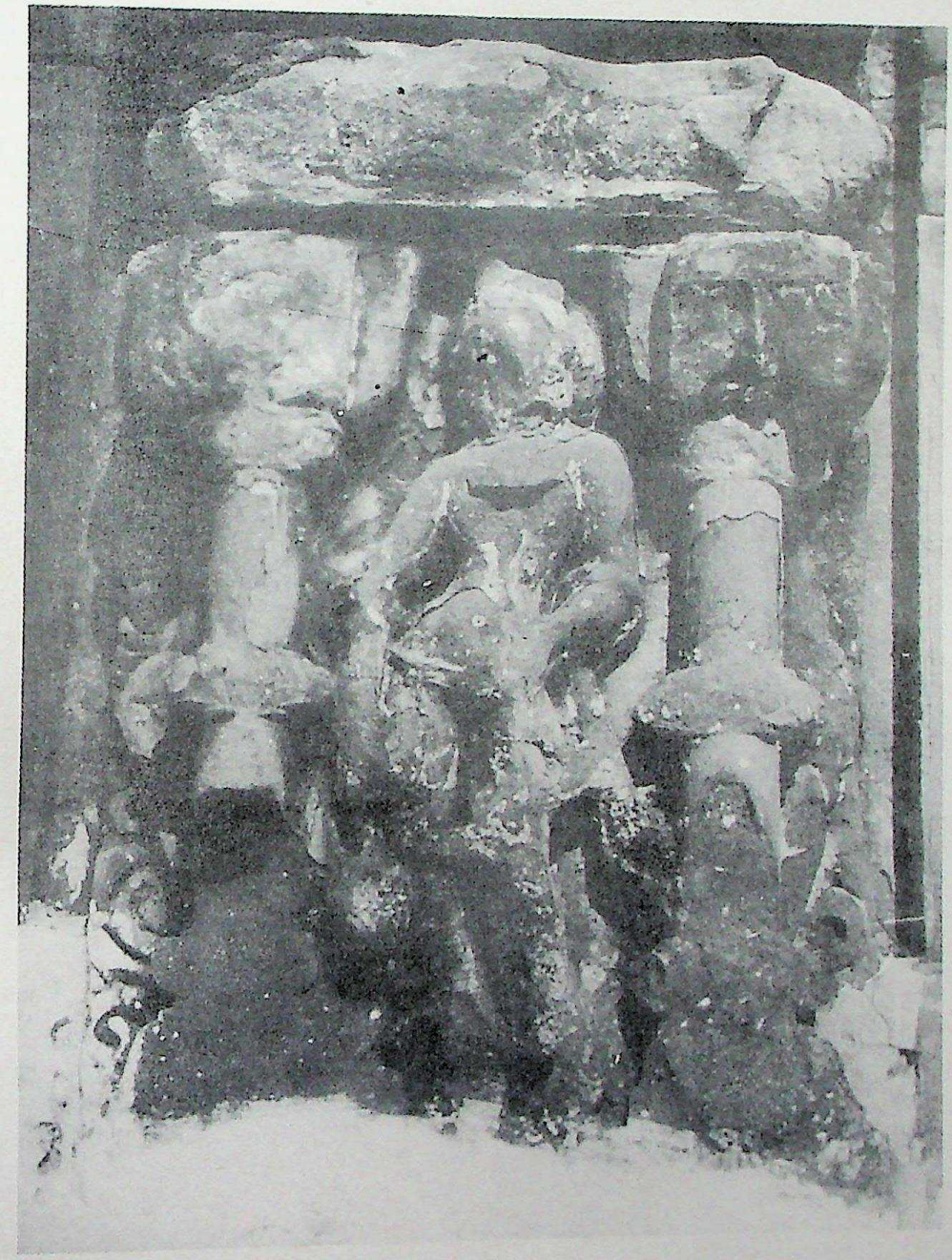

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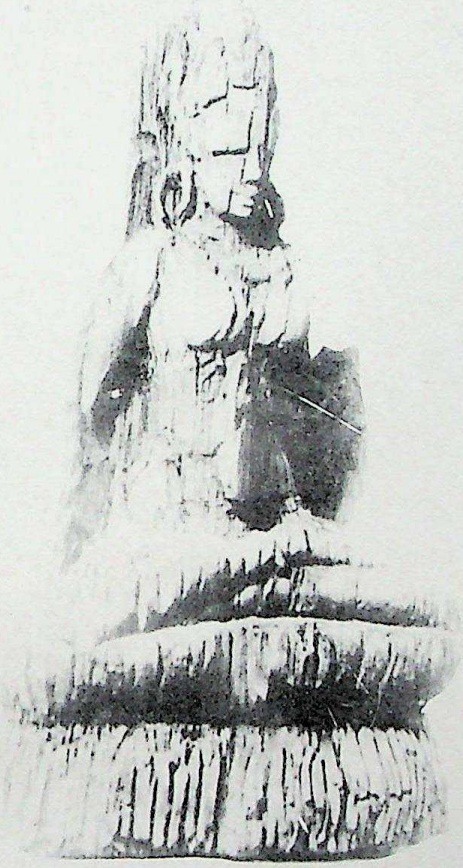


LVII-1

LVIII - 1

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

II-A17

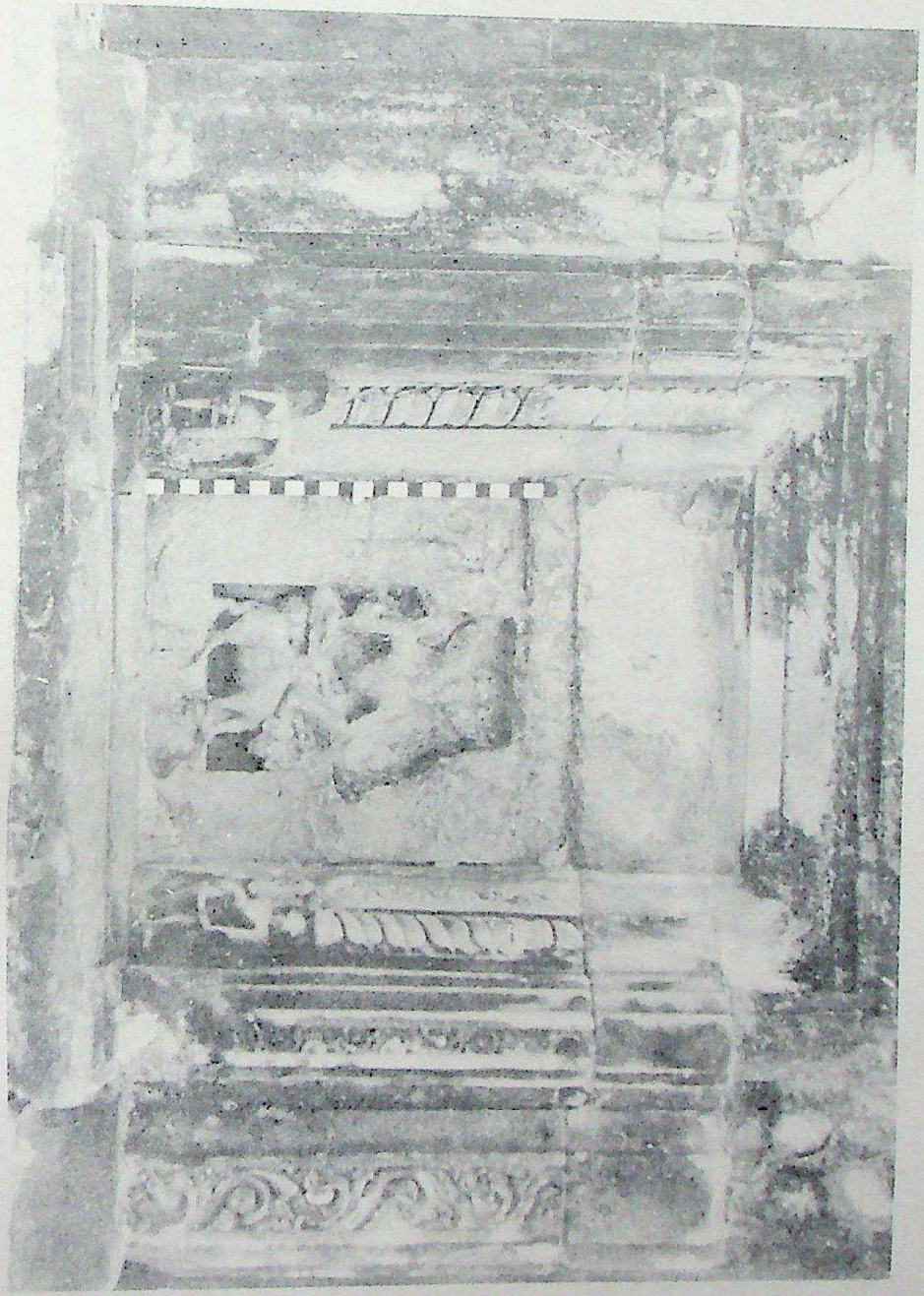
I-III

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

L V-III

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



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L IX —II

L X —III

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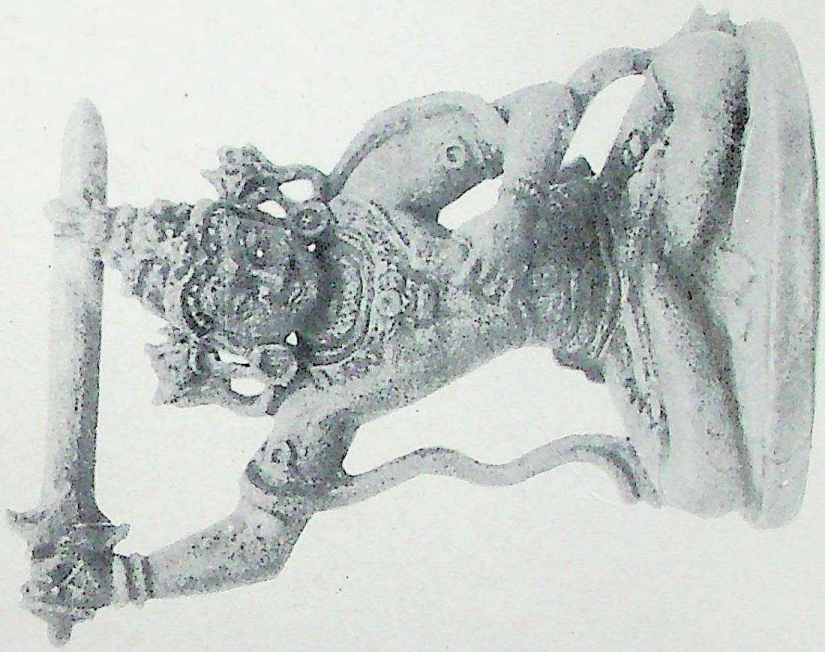

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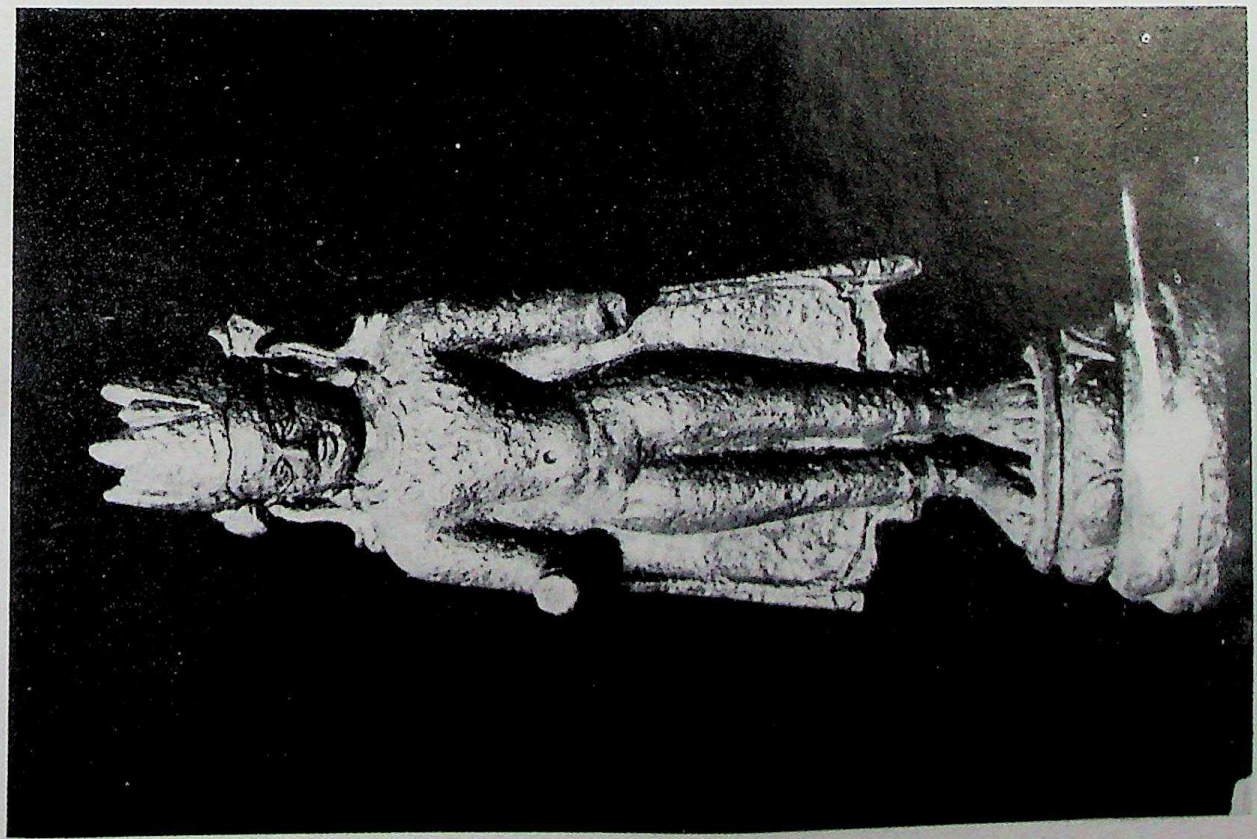

LXII - IX

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L XIII – VI

L XIV – VII

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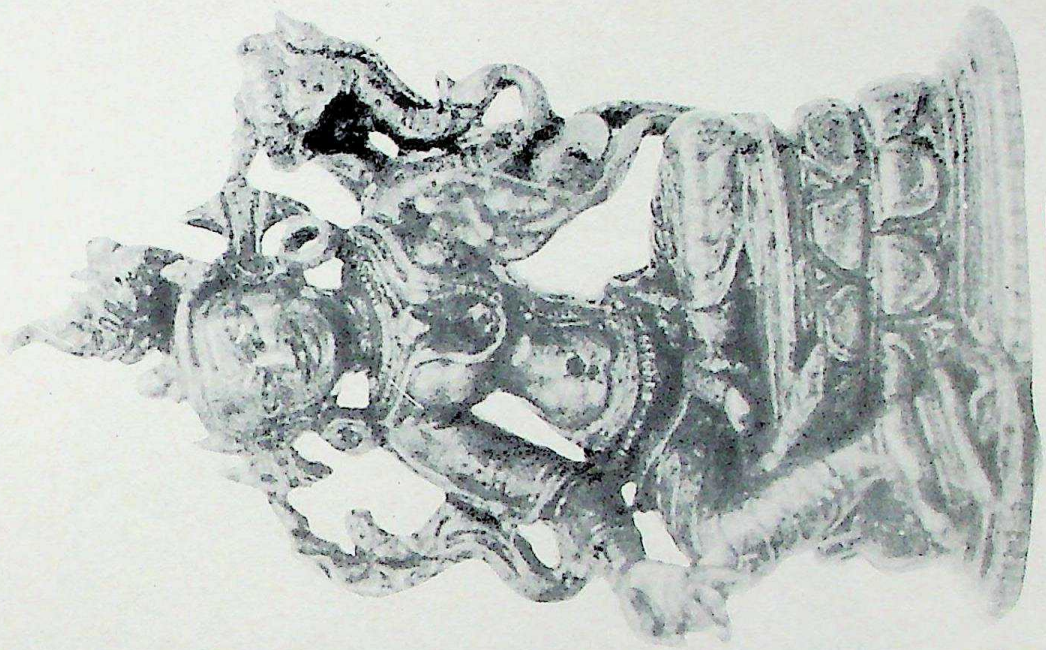
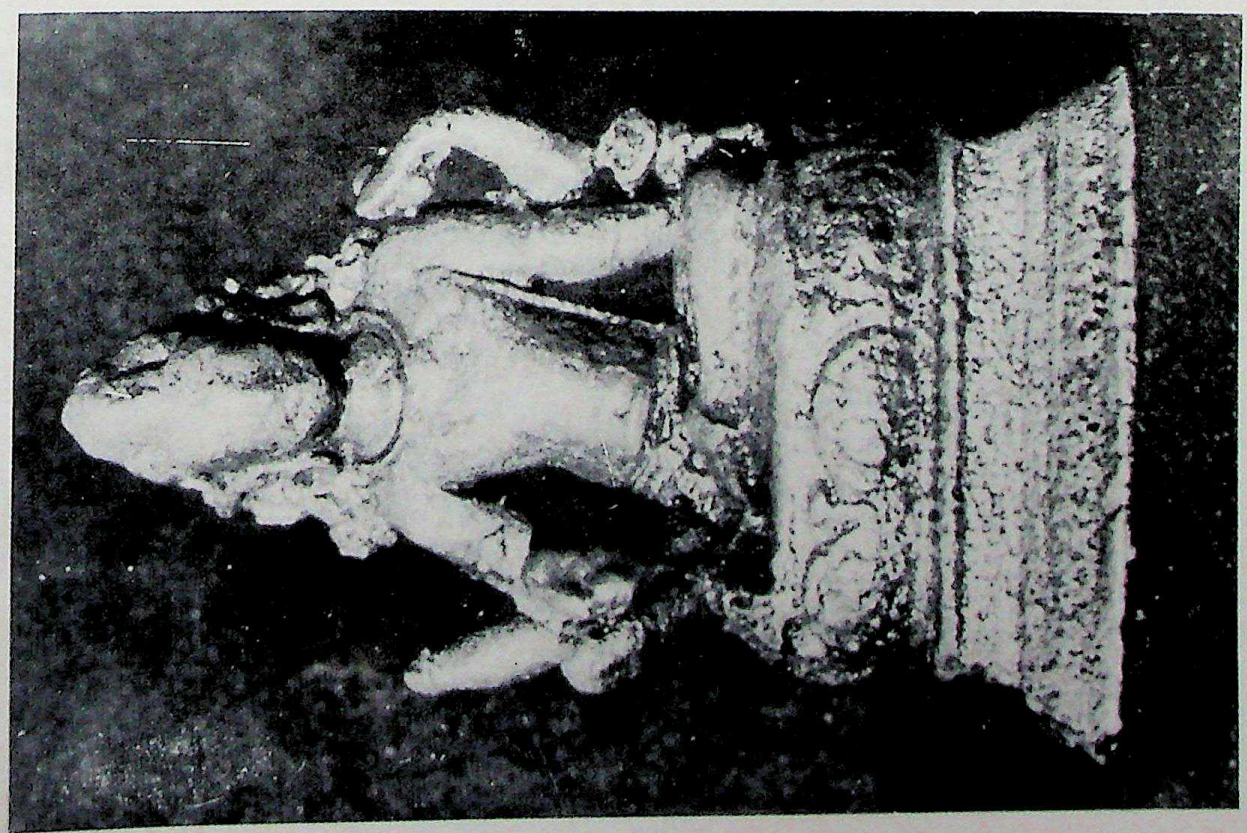


L XV - VIII



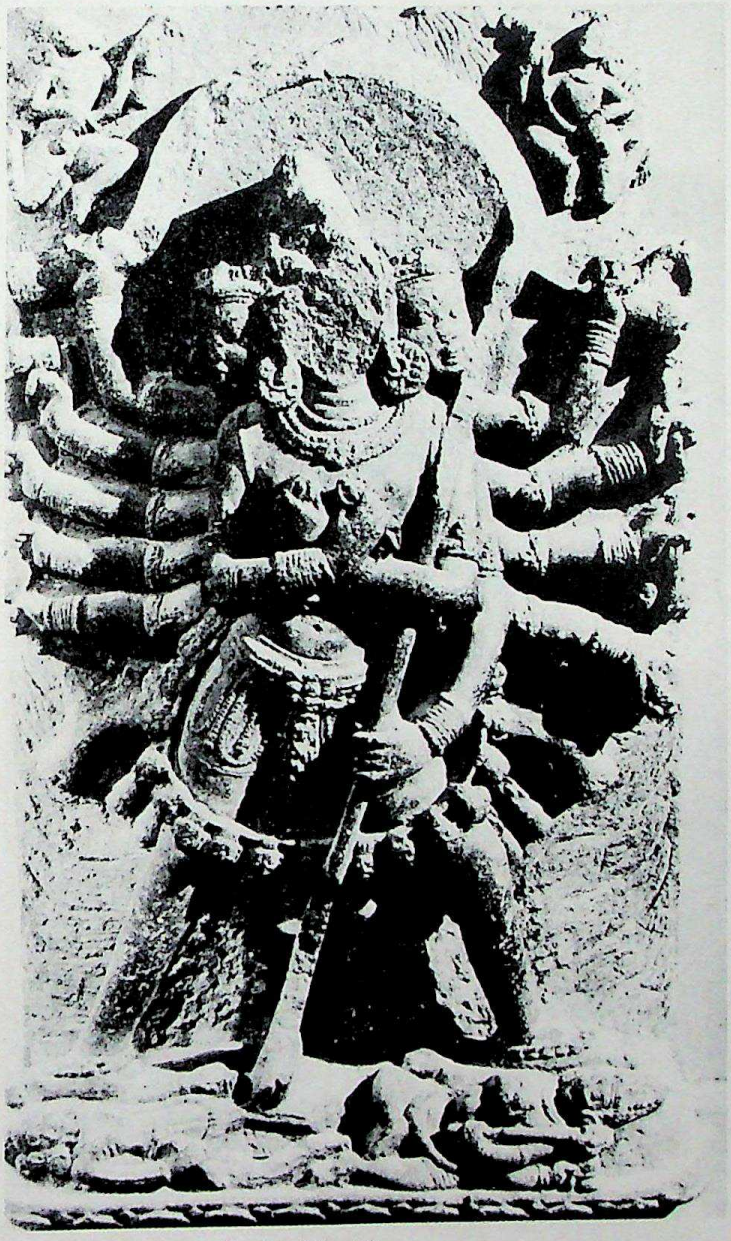
L XVI - IX

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LXVII – X

LXVIII – XI

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



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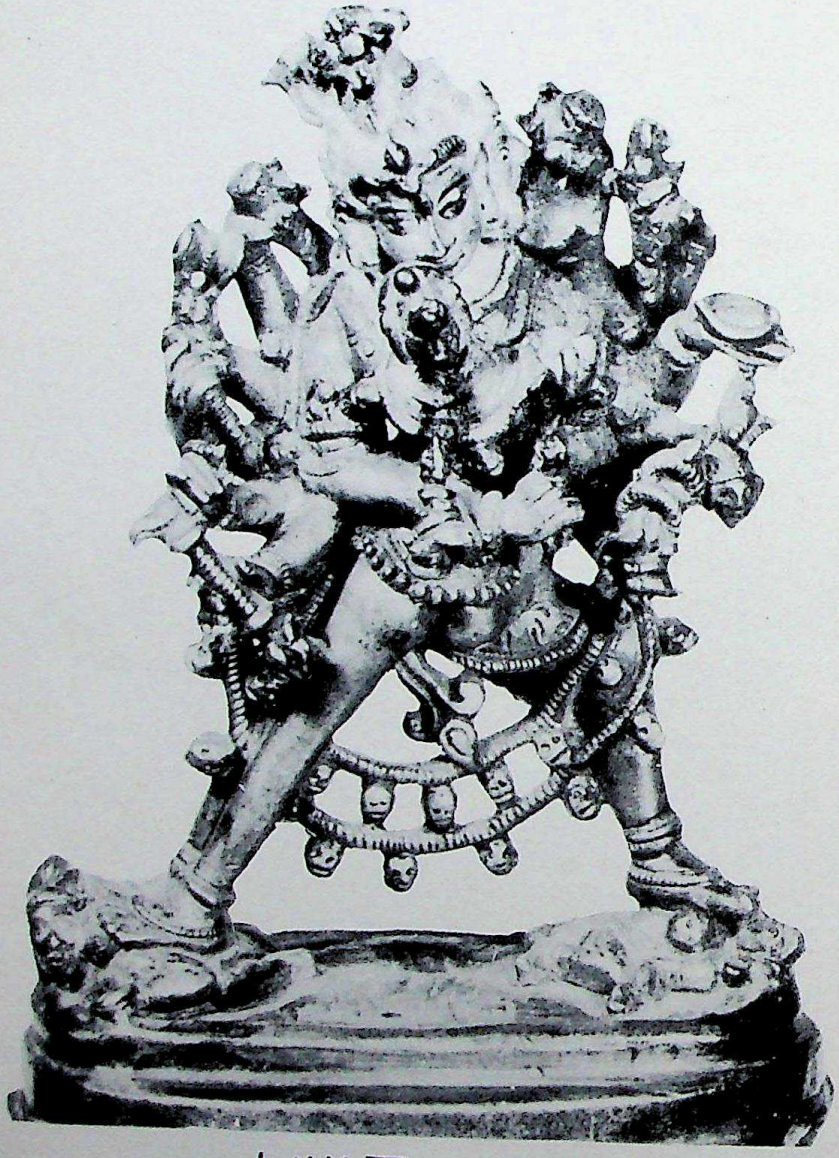


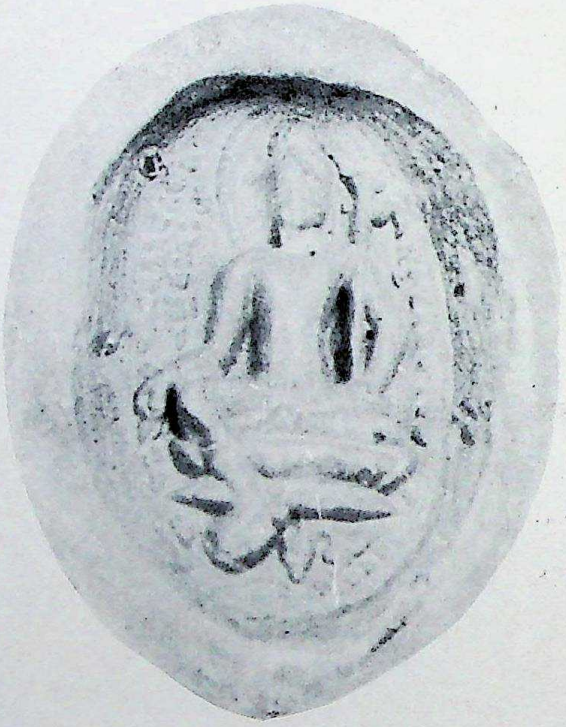
LXX-II

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LXXI-I

LXXII-II

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



LXXIII – III

LXXIV – IV

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LXXV - V

LXXVI - VI

LXXVII - VII

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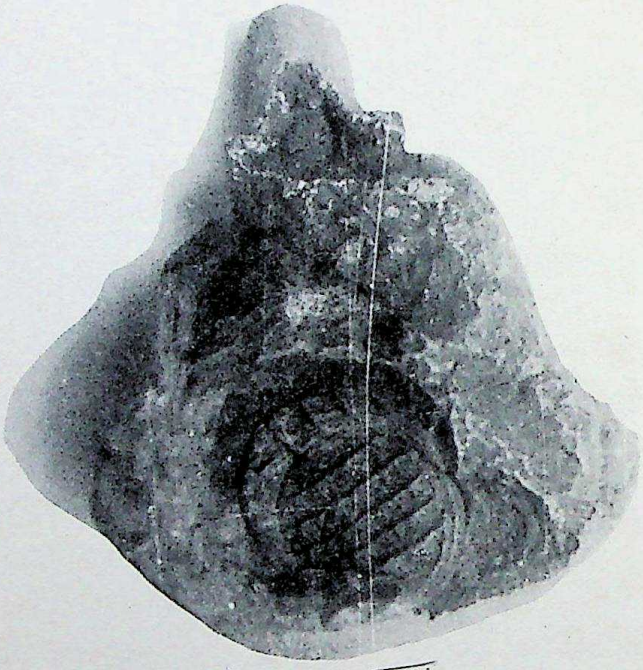

L XXVIII - VIII

L XXIX - IX

L XXX - X

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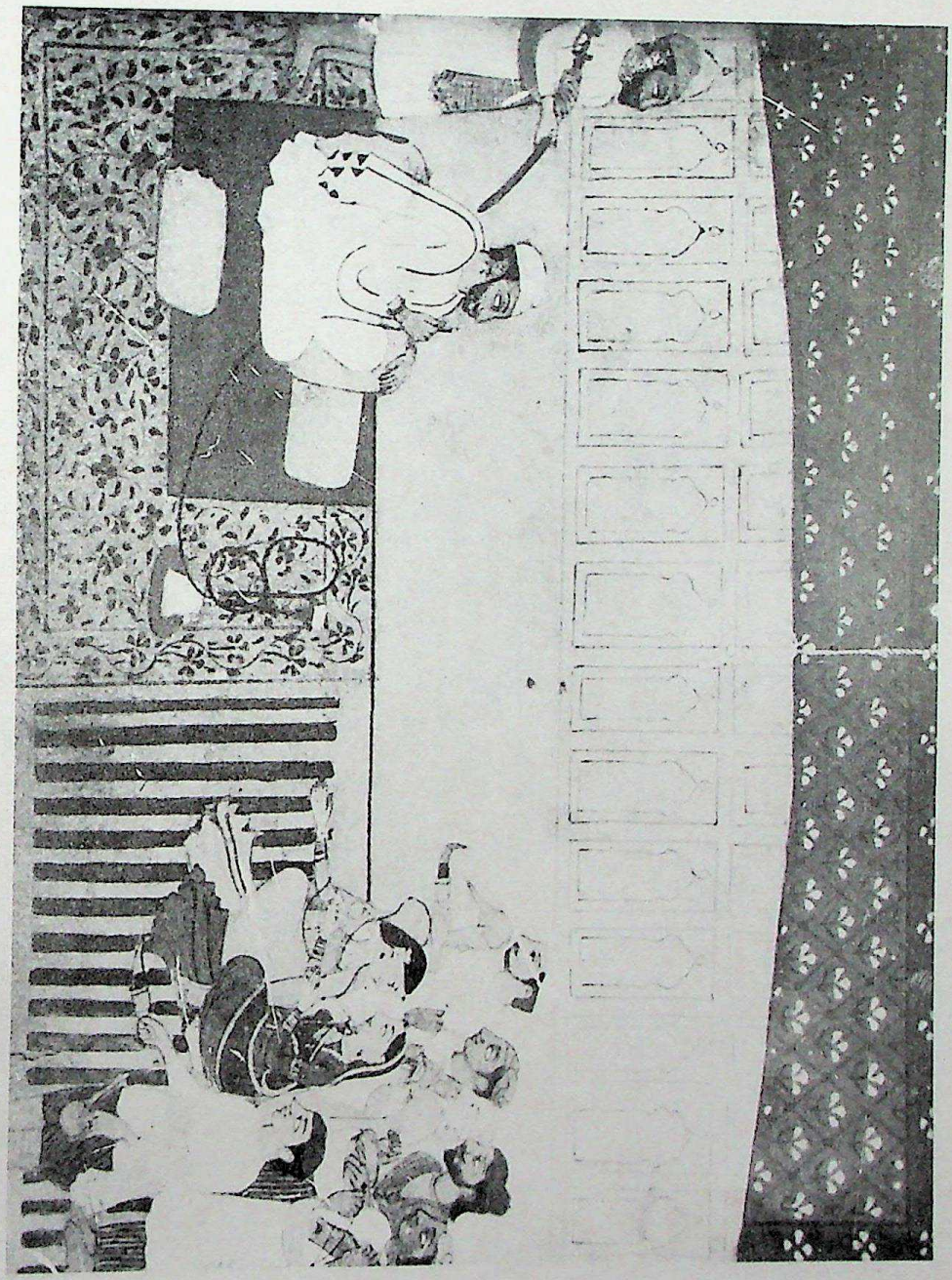
LXXXI - I

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



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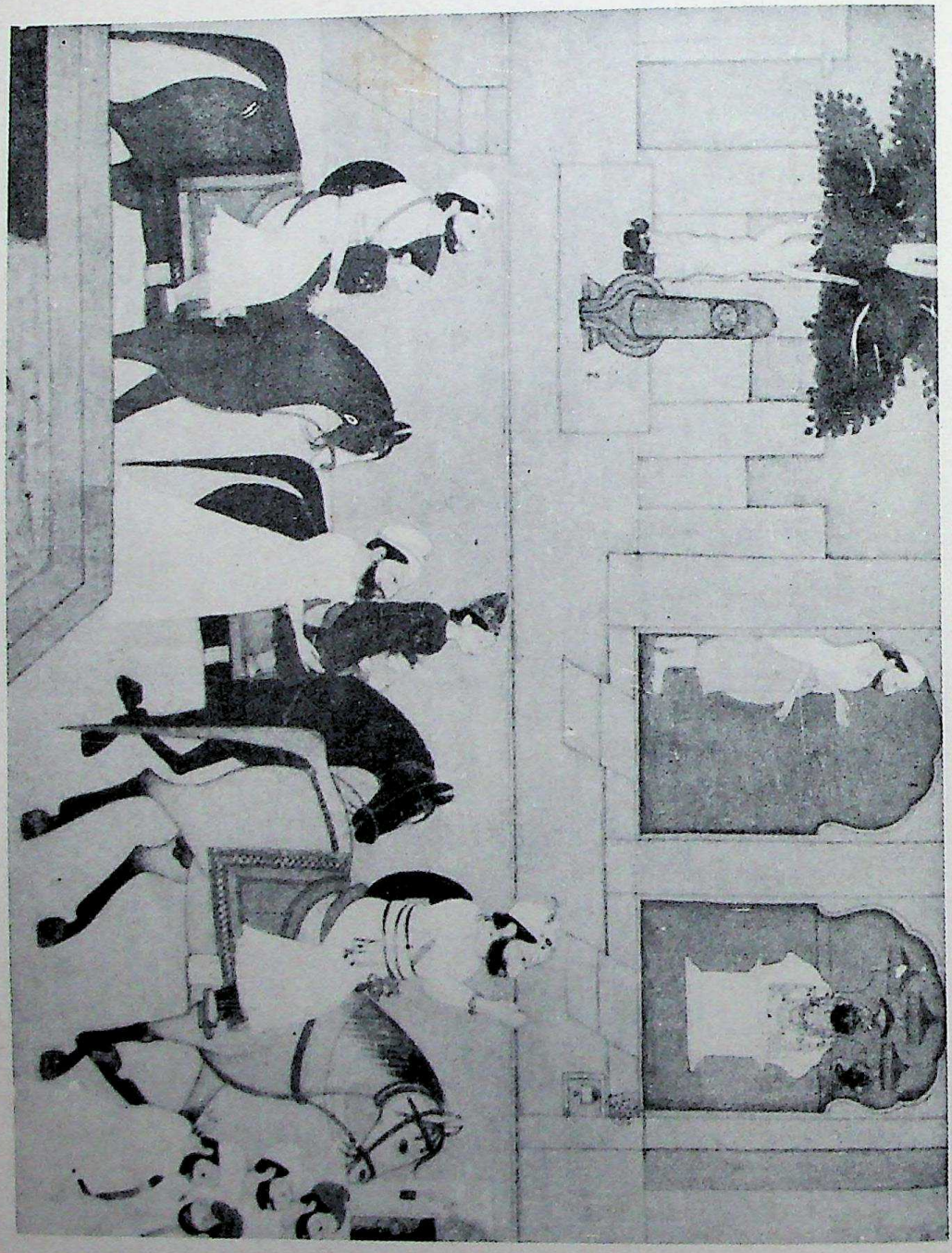

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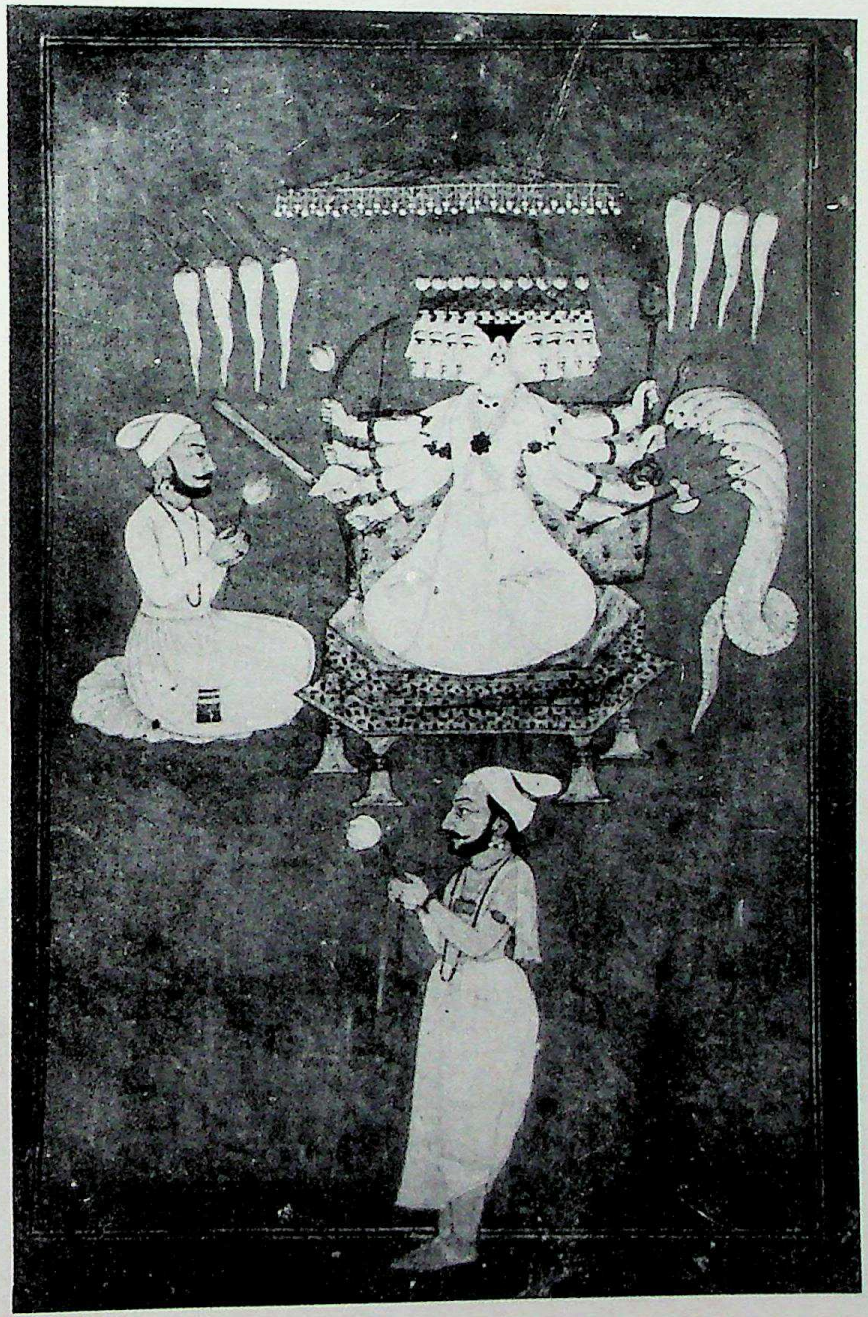

LXXXV V

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LXXXVI – VI

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LXXXVII — VII

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LXXXVIII-I

Plate - 1 Photomicrograph of Rajghat Nail X 200 Etched with I_2O_2 and orthophosphoric Acid mixture. Micro constituents show equiaxed ferrite grains and small amount of iron carbide at the grain boundaries.

LXXXIX-II

Plate - 2 Photo micro graph of Indian Wootz Steel X 60 micro-constituents show cementite in a ground mass of pearlite.

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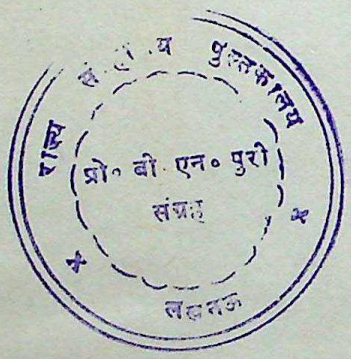
Mahendravarman's stone inscriptions in the Museum at Bangkok, Thailand.

XC.I

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



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35. A Note on Coinage and Culture of Ancient India. S. K. Maity

D. POLITY, SOCIETY, ECONOMY AND CULTURE

36. Three Empires and a Culture.
—K. V. Soundarajan.

37. Material Progress, Taxation and State Formation in the Age of the Buddha.
—R. S. Sharma

38. Some Dimensions of Hindu Political Institutions and Thought.
—Vishwanath Prasad Varma

39 The social Evolution of Indian Market
—Suman Kumar

40. मनुस्मृति की अप्रतिम महत्ता का रहस्य
—हीरा लाल गुप्ता

41 प्राचीन भारतीय अर्थतन्त्र में स्वायत्तशासी संस्थाओं की भूमिका (६०० ई० पू० से ३०० ई० तक)
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Ramanand Vidya Bhawan
J. 3/227 D. D. A. Flats, KALKAJI, NEW DELHI-110019